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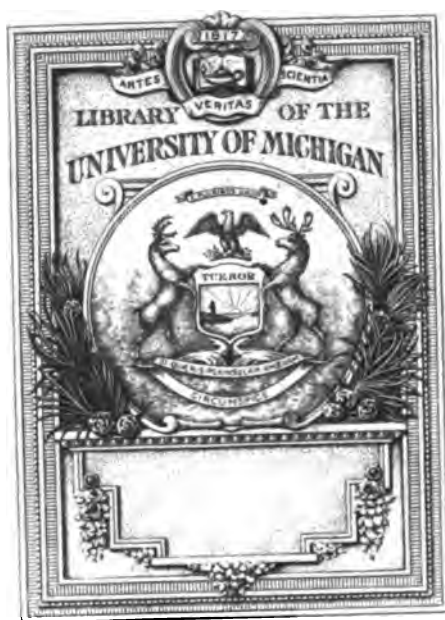
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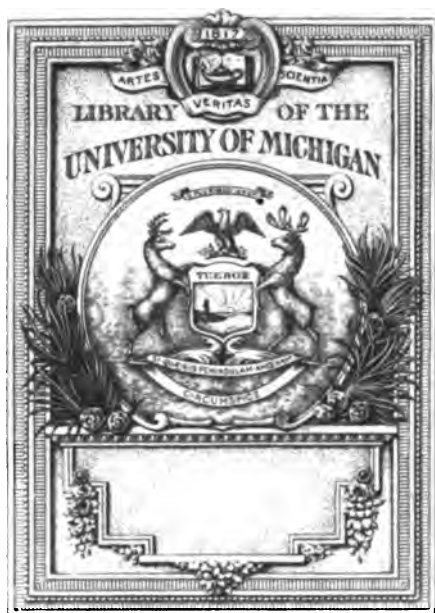


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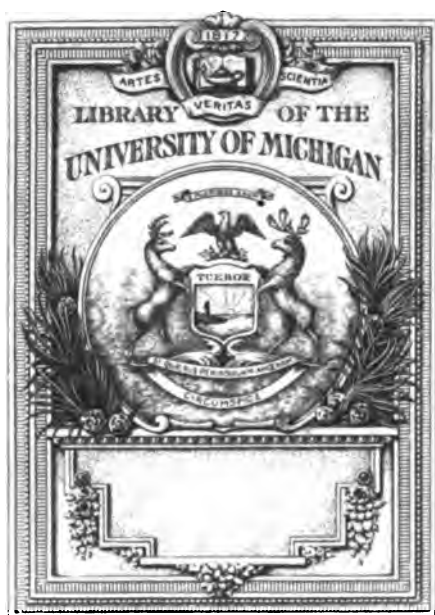




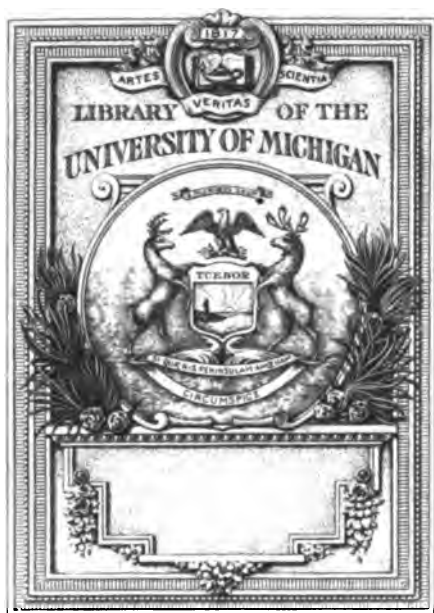
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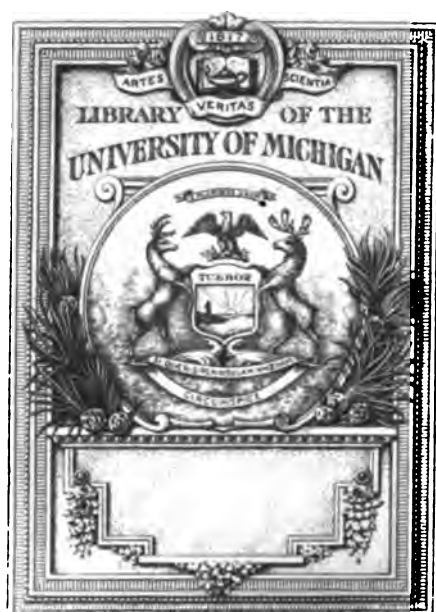
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THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW.

MDCCCXXXII.

JULY—DECEMBER.

THIRD SERIES.

VOL. VIII.

Φιλοσοφίαν ἢ οὐ ἐν Ἰωνικῇ λέγω, οὐδὲ ἐν Πλατωνικῇ, ἢ ἐν Ἑσπερίῳ τι καὶ Ἀριστοτελικῇ· ἀλλ' ἵσαί μιν παρ' ἑκάστην τῶν αἰρετικῶν τάσεων παλῶς, διακρινόμεναι μετὰ ἐπισκοπῆς ἰσχυρῆς ἐκδιδάσκοντα, ταῦτα σέμναι τὸ ἙΚΑΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίας φῆμι.

CLEM. ALEX. Strom. L. 1.

LONDON:
HOLDSWORTH AND BALL,
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1832.

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THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JULY, 1832.

- Art. I.—1. *The Alhambra*. By Geoffrey Crayon. In 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 640. London, 1832.
2. *A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada*. From the MS. of Fray Antonio Agapida. By Washington Irving. In 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 851. London, 1829.
3. *Histoire de la Domination, &c.* History of the Domination of the Arabians and the Moors in Spain and Portugal, from their Invasion to their final Expulsion. Edited from the History translated from the Arabic into Spanish by M. Joseph Conde. By M. de Marlés. 3 Vols. 8vo. pp. 1430. Paris, 1825.

THERE are no sections of Modern History more interesting than those which relate to the gallant and extensively successful attempts of the Moslem to effect the conquest of Europe. On all the salient points of the European continent, they laid a stern and strenuous grasp; and they hold to this day the ancient empire of Byzantium. They long maintained flourishing colonies in Calabria; and their Spanish dominion threatened at one time to give them power and occasion for the subjugation of France and Italy. Proud was the wreath which encircled the brow of Charles Martel, when he had gained 'the battle of the civilized world'; and the victory of Tours might well have disarmed the mean malice of the monks whose very existence he saved, and who acquitted themselves of their debt, by anathematizing the memory of the man who rescued them from destruction, but who refused to be their vassal.

But there was a remarkable difference between the tribes, or rather the two races, which, under the common law of Islam, thus

assaulted the southern bastions of Christendom. The Turk and the Saracen were at the opposite extremes of social existence. The first, ignorant and ferocious, retained all the qualities of his Tatar origin, even when he had become lord of the learned East, and ranged among his slaves, the subtle and accomplished Greek. The second, generous and chivalric, carried into Africa and Spain, the high endowments of his nation, and enriched the poverty of European literature by the scientific acquirements and poetic inspirations of Arabian genius. Between them, however, the Turk and the Arab shook Europe to its centre; and though we cannot quite think, with Gibbon, that there was ever much danger lest the 'budge doctors' of Oxford should be ousted from the pulpit of St. Mary's by an irruption of the Ulema; yet, it is not to be forgotten, that Vienna was only saved from the storm of the Janizaries by the chivalry of Sobieski; nor that the Moorish war-shout was heard on the banks of the Loire. It should, in fact, seem that the Asiatic armies were, at this time, under a better *ordonnance* than those of Europe. The men were inferior in strength and hardihood, but the scheme and scale of warfare were scientific and consistent; the infantry was an efficient arm, and available both for tactics and strategy. It is probable that the Easterns were better officered than the troops of the West, inasmuch as their entire system was essentially military, and a long habitude of regular warfare had taught them the nature of an extensive graduation of command. The chivalry of Europe, on the contrary, was little better than a mere groupe of independent soldiers, armed to the teeth and individually expert, as well in the use of their weapons as in the management of their powerful though clumsy horses, but by no means suited for rapid and combined manœuvres. The European infantry was, in most cases, nothing more than a half-disciplined assemblage, always in danger, when beyond the protection of the horsemen, of utter and irrecoverable rout.

Such were the men, of whom and of their concerns, historical, social, and miscellaneous, the books before us profess to tell, and, sooth to say, keep their promise to all reasonable satisfaction. Respecting one of them, we owe to the Author and to our readers, something in the way, if not of apology, at least of explanation. The 'Conquest of Granada,' as the work of a writer so justly celebrated as Mr. Washington Irving, might seem to have demanded from us a prompt and extensive notice; and we shall frankly acknowledge ourselves somewhat to blame touching that matter. We were, in truth, unfavourably impressed by what we are still inclined to think a cardinal error on the part of Mr. Irving; an error which has lessened the value, and hindered the popularity of an otherwise admirable book. He was strangely ill-advised when he determined to clothe veritable history in the

vestiture of romance. He may have gained something in point of effect, by the slight, though well-sustained fiction of the monkish chronicler; but he has sacrificed to it the simplicity of truth, and the implicit confidence of his reader. Our first hasty inspection of his book, gave us this unpleasant impression: we every where encountered the man of straw, and we cordially wished 'the venerable Fray Antonio Agapida' at the antipodes. The frequent introduction of the name, as well as the manner in which it was introduced, kept up the vexatious feeling, that we were reading romance with a basis of truth, instead of truth with the rich colouring of romance. We laid the book aside, preferring to pass it by, rather than to apply severe criticism to a favourite author, and not unwilling to believe that our fastidiousness might be more in fault than his discretion.

The publication of 'The Alhambra' induced us to take up again the Chronicle of Granada; and we are much gratified with the correction which has been applied to our rather precipitate conclusions by a second perusal. We have, in various instances, brought his most highly adorned statements to the test of reference and comparison, and in every case have found his facts thoroughly sustained; nor have even the decorations been without a sufficient and satisfactory warrant, either in the character of individuals or in existing circumstances. We have not, of course, extended this examination to every portion of the volumes, and cannot, therefore, venture to affirm that there is nothing in them of pure invention; but, so far as we have gone, nothing has occurred to us, that could in the smallest degree shake the credit of the history. We still think that it was not judicious to assume a mask, and that it would have been wiser to leave Fray Antonio to more congenial company; but, apart from this, we know of no book that we can more cordially recommend. It is, throughout, beautifully and spiritedly written; it is trustworthy as a narrative; the subject is of romantic interest; and the descriptions, instinct with life and reality, instead of being mere applications of general circumstances, have the advantage of an intimate knowledge of the localities. The work has been too long in the hands of the public, to require from us the usual detail; and we shall limit ourselves to a single extract, exhibiting the humour, quiet and quaint, which few writers have more skillfully employed, and to which the excellent and infidel-abhorring Agapida is made to furnish continual opportunity. At the time referred to in the following passage, the tribute due from the Moorish king of Granada to the Catholic sovereign of Castile, had been withheld, and an embassy demanding its full discharge was admitted to the royal presence.

'Muley Aben Hassan received the cavalier in state, seated on a magnificent divan, and surrounded by the officers of his court, in the

hall of ambassadors, one of the most sumptuous apartments of the Alhambra. When De Vera had delivered his message, a haughty and bitter smile curled the lip of the fierce monarch. "Tell your sovereigns" (Ferdinand and Isabella), said he, "that the kings of Granada, who used to pay tribute in money to the Castilian crown, are dead. Our mint at present coins nothing but blades of scimetars and heads of lances." The defiance couched in this proud reply, was heard with stern and lofty courtesy by Don Juan de Vera; for he was a bold soldier, and a devout hater of the infidels, and he saw iron war in the words of the Moorish monarch. He retired from the audience chamber with stately and ceremonious gravity, being master of all points of etiquette. As he passed through the Court of Lions, and paused to regard its celebrated fountain, he fell into a discourse with the Moorish courtiers on certain mysteries of the Christian faith. The arguments advanced by these infidels, says Fray Antonio Agapida, awakened the pious indignation of this most Christian knight and discreet ambassador; but still he restrained himself within the limits of lofty gravity, leaning on the pommel of his sword, and looking down with ineffable scorn on the weak casuists around him. The quick and subtle Arabian witlings redoubled their light attacks upon that stately Spaniard, and thought they had completely foiled him in the contest; but the stern Juan de Vera had an argument in reserve, for which they were but little prepared; for on one of them, of the race of the Abencerrages, daring to question, with a sneer, the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin, the Catholic knight could no longer restrain his ire. Elevating his voice of a sudden, he told the infidel, he lied, and raising his arm at the same time, he smote him on the head with his sheathed sword. In an instant, the Court of Lions glistened with the flash of arms, and its fountains would have been dyed with blood, had not Muley Aben Hassan overheard the tumult, and forbid all appeal to force, pronouncing the person of the ambassador sacred, while within his territories.'

The account was settled on a future day, during the siege of Alhama by the Moors. Don Juan de Vera, returning after a successful sally, was challenged by the Abencerrage—"Turn back! Turn back! Thou who canst insult in hall, prove that thou canst combat in the field."

'All his holy zeal and pious indignation rekindled at the sight: he put lance in rest, and spurred his steed, to finish this doctrinal dispute. Don Juan was a potent and irresistible arguer with his weapon; and he was aided, says Fray Antonio Agapida, by the peculiar virtue of his cause. At the very first encounter, his lance entered the mouth of the Moor, and hurled him to the earth, never more to utter word or breath. Thus, continues the worthy friar, did this scoffing infidel receive a well-merited punishment through the very organ with which he had offended.' *Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada.*

The Alhambra, our readers are aware, was at once the palace and the citadel of the Moorish kings of Granada. It was their

delight to accumulate within its favoured precincts, all of beautiful and rich that nature or art could furnish. There, they enjoyed the power and magnificence of empire; and there, they made their final stand against the ascendant fortunes of the Christian monarchs of Spain. The fortress occupied, with its winding and bastioned walls, the summit of one of the counterforts of the Sierra Nevada; and, besides the buildings of the royal residence, contained accommodations for an immense garrison, when foreign invasion or domestic treason might compel the sovereign to take refuge in his last and strongest entrenchments. After the fall of the Mohammedan power, the Castilian kings occasionally tenanted the Alhambra; and Charles V. commenced the erection of a splendid palace, in vain rivalry of the exquisite structure at its side, but was withheld from completing it by the earthquakes which have frequently shaken to their foundation the edifices of Granada. At length, the place was altogether deserted by the court, and the buildings began to exhibit the usual signs of neglect and decay. The halls were dilapidated; the gardens ran to waste; and the machinery of the fountains ceased to play. By degrees, a 'loose and lawless population' usurped the right of residence, and the palace of Alhamar and Hegiag became the dwelling-place of smugglers and thieves. These lawless doings grew, at last, too injurious for endurance; and the apathy of the Spanish Government was roused to energetic measures: the Alhambra was purged of its nuisances, and none but respectable persons were suffered to remain. The French, during their temporary possession of Granada, held the fortress as their head-quarters, and took effectual measures for the preservation and partial restoration of the palace; a course which has been, as far as possible with limited means, followed by the present governor, Don Francisco de Serna. Its actual state, as well as some intimation of its former splendour, may be inferred from the following description. Mr. Irving's first visit to the spot led him through streets and squares, of which both the name and aspect called up lively ideas of the olden time. He first traversed the celebrated Vivarrambla, the wide esplanade in which the Moorish chivalry were wont to joust and tourney: he next passed through the Zacatin, formerly the Grand Bazaar, and still retaining much of the oriental aspect: then the Calle, or street of the Gómeres, led him at once to the entrance of the Alhambra.

'At the gate were two or three ragged and superannuated soldiers, dozing on a stone bench, the successors of the Zegrís and the Abencerrages; while a tall meagre varlet, whose rusty-brown cloak was evidently intended to conceal the ragged state of his nether garments,

was lounging in the sunshine, and gossiping with an ancient sentinel on duty. He joined us as we entered the gate, and offered his services to shew us the fortress.

‘I have a traveller’s dislike to officious ciceroni, and did not altogether like the garb of the applicant.

‘“You are well acquainted with the place, I presume?”

‘“*Ninguno mas; pues Senor, soy hijo de la Alhambra.*”—(Nobody better; in fact, Sir, I am a son of the Alhambra!)

‘The common Spaniards have certainly a most poetical way of expressing themselves. “A son of the Alhambra!”—the appellation caught me at once; the very tattered garb of my new acquaintance assumed a dignity in my eyes. It was emblematic of the fortunes of the place, and befitted the progeny of a ruin.’ (*The Alhambra.*)

Mateo Ximenes, the ‘son of the Alhambra’ by a title of several generations, was forthwith installed into his new office as guide and attendant; and under his leading, Mr. Irving passed onward into the magic scenery before him.

‘It seemed as if we were at once transported into other times and another realm, and were treading the scenes of Arabian story. We found ourselves in a great court, paved with white marble, and decorated at each end with light Moorish peristyles: it is called the Court of the Alberca. In the centre was an immense basin or fish-pond, a hundred and thirty feet in length by thirty in breadth, stocked with gold-fish, and bordered by hedges of roses. At the upper end of this court rose the great Tower of Comares.

‘From the lower end, we passed through a Moorish gateway into the renowned Court of Lions. There is no part of the edifice that gives us a more complete idea of its original beauty and magnificence than this, for none has suffered so little from the ravages of time. In the centre stands the fountain famous in song and story. The alabaster basins still shed their diamond drops; and the twelve lions which support them, cast forth their crystal streams, as in the days of Boabdil. The court is laid out in flower-beds, and surrounded by light Arabian arcades of open filagree-work, supported by slender pillars of white marble. The architecture, like that of all the other parts of the palace, is characterized by elegance, rather than grandeur; bespeaking a delicate and graceful taste, and a disposition to indolent enjoyment. When one looks upon the fairy tracery of the peristyles, and the apparently fragile fretwork of the walls, it is difficult to believe that so much has survived the wear and tear of centuries, the shocks of earthquakes, the violence of war, and the quiet, though no less baneful pilferings of the tasteful traveller; it is almost sufficient to excuse the popular tradition, that the whole is protected by a magic charm.

‘On one side of the court, a portal, richly adorned, opens into a lofty hall, paved with white marble, and called, the Hall of the Two Sisters. A cupola, or lantern, admits a tempered light from above, and a free circulation of air. The lower part of the walls is encrusted with beautiful Moorish tiles, on some of which are emblazoned the es-

cutcheons of the Moorish monarchs: the upper part is faced with the fine stucco-work invented at Damascus, consisting of large plates, cast in moulds, and artfully joined, so as to have the appearance of having been laboriously sculptured by the hand into light relievos and fanciful arabesques, intermingled with texts of the Koran, and poetical inscriptions in Arabian and Cufic characters. These decorations of the walls and cupolas are richly gilded, and the interstices pencilled with lapis-lazuli, and other brilliant and enduring colours. On each side of the hall are recesses for ottomans and couches. Above an inner porch is a balcony which communicated with the women's apartment. The latticed "jalousies" still remain, from whence the dark-eyed beauties of the haram might gaze unseen upon the entertainments of the hall below.' (*The Alhambra*.)

Mateo justified his title by his learning in all the legendary lore pertaining to his *alma mater*, and by his implicit faith in all the tales of magic and sorcery with which, from time to time, he is represented as amusing his patron. From this quarter, and from other sources presenting themselves in the course of an actual residence in the Alhambra, Mr. Irving describes himself as having derived the materials of his work; and in this way, mingling pleasant fiction with lively portraiture, he has made up two slight but agreeable volumes. The same quiet humour, the same easy and happy style, the same talent for rich and beautiful, though unexaggerated description, which were so attractively conspicuous in his former publications, will be recognized in the present work, which we receive with regret as a parting gift, a friendly leave from a valued guest. If we have missed the more racy character that distinguishes his Rip van Winkle, his Dolf Heyliger, and his Stout Gentleman, we have, at least, found the same qualities under a different garb. His comedy sports as playfully, if not as vigorously, among his Spaniards and Orientals, as among his Englishmen and Hollanders. His *diablerie* has changed its country, but not its ingenious invention: he has done few things better than the fine description of the spell-bound warriors of Granada in the cavern of the Nevada mountains.

Mr. Irving has been judicious in the choice of his localities. A lovelier spot does not exist on earth, than the *Vega*, or great plain of Granada, spreading out to a circumference of nearly forty leagues, surrounded with lofty mountains, and watered by the Xenil. The industrious Moors made of this beautiful site, a rich and luxuriant garden, every where intersected by refreshing rills, drawn from the main stream, and forming a complete system of artificial irrigation. Orchards and vineyards, corn-fields and pleasure-grounds, fountains and pavilions, grove and parterre, covered the whole surface of this region of delight. Its pure atmosphere, its glowing vegetation, its infinite variety, so enraptured the imaginative people who had thus called forth and

cherished its breathing beauty, that they believed the paradise of their prophet to occupy that portion of the heavens which overhung the kingdom of Granada. Nor were the glorious palaces which from their mountain throne overlooked this scene of enchantment, unworthy of its splendour. Enough has been already said and cited concerning these marvellous edifices, to convey some slight and general idea of their magnificence; but even the happiest description must fail to impress adequate notions of the exquisite finish and redundant fancy exhibited in the details. Of the structures of Grecian art, it is possible to give exact definition; for in them, beautiful as they are, every feature is subordinate to strict and severe principle, and every outline may be subjected to cord and compass. But the architecture of the East-erns, in this the high and palmy day of Arabian power and genius, displays a complication and luxuriance that bid defiance to simple description. The pencil alone can fairly exhibit the forms and enrichments of the Alhambra and the Generalife; yet, even in its happiest efforts, the imagination must supply much in the way of accompaniment, and all that relates to magnitude and extent. Maugre the difficulties and disagreeables connected with Spanish travel, we are surprised that our artists have not been more attracted in this direction. Mr. Murphy made, a few years since, a spirited, though, we fear, an unprofitable attempt to give a faithful portrait of the Moorish antiquities of Spain; but the plan of his work was in some respects injudicious, and it did not even pretend to give the picturesque character of these admirable remains. Lithography, skilfully managed, might be turned to good account here; and we would recommend Mr. Harding, Mr. Prout, or Mr. Stanfield, severally or together, to obtain passports forthwith from Ferdinand the Beloved. Instead of Rome and Venice, places of which we are getting a pictorial surfeit, we would recommend to the editors of our Landscape Annuals, Granada, Cordova, and Seville.

And the singular people by whom all these wonders were achieved—what was their origin, and whence did they derive all that mastery in arts and arms, which gave them the dominion of Spain, made them the instructors of Europe, and enabled them to design and build the Mosque of Cordova, the Alcazar of Seville, and the halls of the Alhambra? These are questions which have been largely and sometimes ably discussed, but concerning which far more certainty is desirable in their solution, than has hitherto been attained. In architecture, at least, we suspect that their genius was imitative, rather than inventive; unless they may claim the horse-shoe arch,—a feature rivalling in ugliness and absurdity the broken entablature, or the truncated pediment. In science, they were the disciples of the Greeks: their metaphysics may have been unborrowed. Still, they were a brilliant and

high-spirited race, accomplished and industrious, 'gallant and 'gay', although offering many embarrassing anomalies to the investigation of the historian.

Among the various specialties of their story, their conquest of Spain is, perhaps, the most remarkable. It was achieved marvellously and at once: one fierce struggle, one bloody fight, and the Iberian submitted to the Moor. The very origin of the business is involved in mystery: no one puts faith in the romance of La Caba, and yet, there are clear, though imperfect indications of strange and treacherous elements at work throughout the early scenes of Spanish subjugation. Happily for Spain—happily, at least, for the European Spaniard—the mercurial tribes that overran her fairest provinces, were connected by no consolidating bond of political constitution. The successful warrior became the powerful chieftain; the Alcayde of a strong fortress held it on his own account, rather than for the interests of his sovereign; even the ties of family and clanship became sources of discord and motives of ambition. Nor did these causes of disunion and weakness cease or diminish with the continued possession of the land; while, on the other hand, the feuds and divisions which broke down the strength of the Christian states, and opened the way for the Moorish inroad, gradually yielded to the sense of a common danger, until, at length, the united force of an aroused and determined nation swept before it every vestige of opposition. The history, both general and particular, of these events, has of course been often written, and with various degrees of skill and success, but, up to a late period, on an erroneous principle. The old and shrewd fable of the Lion and the Sculptor, had found its application on both sides; but, on the Christian part especially, it seems to have been held 'very stuff of the conscience' to write without the smallest regard to the Arabian authorities. Other causes, however, than prejudice or bad faith, contributed to this neglect. The study of the Arabian language has always been exceedingly limited; nor have facilities for its acquisition at all times presented themselves. At the period, in particular, of the fall of Granada, the literature of the Moors was held in great contempt; and when that city fell into the hands of the Christian army, thousands of volumes were consigned to the flames, while as many as could be saved by the possessors were transported to Africa. Still nearer to our own times, this loss had been in part repaired by the library of Muley Zidan, Emperor of Marocco, which was taken at sea during the reign of Philip III., and deposited at the Escorial; but, in 1671, the greater portion was consumed by a casual conflagration. Enough, however, yet remains of this invaluable literature, to throw a strong and steady illumination along the whole track of Spanish history from the date of the invasion to that of the expulsion; and a slight expo-

sition of the character of the materials on which the native annals of Spain have been hitherto constructed, will enable our readers to appreciate the labours of Señor Conde.

The early chronicles of Spain are singularly sterile: they have not even the comparative merit of piquant and picturesque detail, but set down events of all magnitudes in the dry, brief style of a shopkeeper's day-book. *Erá 1124 fuit illa die Badajoz*, is the sole description of the bloody and disastrous battle of Zalaca, afforded by the Chronicle of Compostella. The Toledo Annalist is more communicative. *Erá 1124*, he informs us, *arrancaron Moros al Rey Don Alonso en Zagalla*.—‘In 1124, the Moors defeated the king Don Alphonso at Zagalla’. From such materials as these, as also from certain Arabian documents, the learned Archbishop of Toledo, Ruy Ximenes, compiled his history; a creditable, but imperfect work, and extending downward only to the year 1140. The general chronicle composed by the order of Alphonso the Sage, adopts with insufficient discrimination, the fabulous intromissions of the antient annalists. Such are the principal sources of Spanish history; and it will be acknowledged that they leave ample room for a diligent reference to Arabian documents. This interesting field has been explored by Conde with great diligence and with no mean skill. His opinion of the necessity for its laborious investigation, is strongly stated in the following passage, which we translate in illustration and enforcement of our preceding observations.

‘It was not, in fact, possible to write this history without the help of Arabian books. All that we know, up to the present time, of them and of their long sojourn in Spain, we owe to our old chronicles; but the brief, imperfect, incorrect notions which they convey, their prevalent confusion, and the barbarous style which augments their obscurity, make them unfit for consultation; and if it be also considered that they were written under the influence of strong antipathy, at the very time when all the passions in arms allowed no other intercourse between the nations, than such as might spring from the circumstances of war, it will be evident that no reliance can be placed on these ancient annals. It is because they have been made up from such vicious sources, that our histories exhibit such numerous errors; such, for instance, as the prevailing opinion that the conquerors of Spain were followed by innumerable armies, and by barbarous hordes, shedding, with no distinction of age or sex, torrents of blood, and covering the ground with ruins. These ideas, originating in the terror inspired by the rapidity of the conquest, were embodied in the traditions adopted by the old chroniclers; but, in order to form a sound judgement concerning the events of those times, we must consult the Arabian authors. From them only do we learn, that a veteran army, not only brave but animated by religious fanaticism, landed in Andalusia, ravaged the deserted fields of Lusitania, and, by a single victory gained over the degenerate Goths, effected the conquest of all Spain: that, instead of the

oppression which they dreaded, so mild was the treatment of the conquered, as to give them cause for rejoicing in their transfer to masters who, leaving them the free exercise of their religion, the possession of their property, and the enjoyment of their freedom, exacted from them nothing but a moderate tribute, and submission to laws enacted for the general good.' (*Conde—Preface.*)

Señor Conde's is not the first, though it is the only decidedly successful essay to obtain the details of these transactions from Arabian writers. In 1765, M. Cardonne, an accomplished Orientalist, published an '*Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes*', drawn up from various manuscripts in the library of the king of France. The authorities were not of primary value, but they were the best within the reach of the learned Compiler; and the work itself was for many years the only reference of the kind, though now superseded by the present Writer's far superior and more extensive labours. Indefatigable industry, and the most scrupulous attention to accuracy, appear to have marked all Conde's processes of thought and composition. He not only analysed a large series of Eastern writers, but carefully examined the literature of other nations for comparison and elucidation. In his original work, the Arabian chroniclers were allowed to describe events in their own words carefully rendered; and so far did he carry his attention to accuracy, that he gave a minute description of the form, size, and character of every manuscript used by him in his task.

We exceedingly wish that M. de Marlès had dealt with the learned Librarian of the Escorial, as that well-judging scholar did with his Arabian manuscripts. He has, however, chosen a different course; and he had quite as good a right as his Grace of Newcastle, to do as it might please him with *his own*. That course, however, we cannot but regret, since an opportunity, not likely to recur, has been missed, of transferring from a language but partially studied, into the most current dialect of modern times, a work of the highest worth. M. de Marlès has made the Spanish original of Señor Conde, the ground-work of a complete history; discarding, to a great extent, the Arabic peculiarities of phrase, and supplying, what the Spaniard had almost altogether neglected, the contemporary history of the Christian states of Spain. By this process, he has probably increased the popularity of his book; and we will not quarrel with a valuable publication, because we differ from the Author as to its form. So far as we have examined the volumes, we have found them ably executed, and of uncommon interest. Nor is it enough to say of them, that they furnish the best historical illustration of their particular subject, that is to be found in the French language, since they are entitled to something very much beyond merely comparative praise: they may claim a high place among the permanent con-

tributions to the better knowledge of the history of mankind *. Having thus put our readers in possession of the character and general merits of the work, we shall present them with a specimen of its more ornamental qualities. During the latter periods of the Moorish domination, the frontier government of Antequera was held by Ferdinand Narvaëz, a gallant knight, always in the saddle, and harassing the Moors by bold incursions up to the very walls of Granada.

‘ On the eve of one of his expeditions, Narvaez had detached a body of horsemen to scour and explore the country. His cavaliers, not having fallen in with any of the enemy, were returning to Antequera, when, at a sharp angle of the mountain road, a Moorish warrior rode into the midst of their troop, and was made prisoner. He was in the prime of manhood, strikingly handsome, richly clothed, superbly armed, and excellently mounted. His appearance spoke him of high family. He was brought before Narvaez, who asked his name and errand. He replied with faltering voice, that his father was the Alcayde of Ronda ; but when he endeavoured to proceed, his flowing tears choked his utterance. “ You astonish me,” said Narvaez, “ son of a brave soldier, for I know your father well ; you weep with a woman’s weakness. You have but met with the common chance of war.” “ I weep not for the loss of liberty,” replied the youth ; “ I mourn a far heavier calamity.” Urged by Narvaez, the Moor proceeded. “ I have long loved the daughter of a neighbouring castellan ; and, softened by my devoted affection, she returns my love. I was on my way to her when surprised by your detachment : she now awaits me, my love, my bride. — Ah ! how shall I utter the despair that fills my heart ? ” “ You are a noble cavalier,” rejoined Narvaez, touched by his grief ; “ if you will pledge your word of honour for your return, I will permit you to keep your engagement with your mistress.” The young Moor joyfully ac-

* ‘ Conde as spoiled by Marlès’, — ‘ the Frenchified work of Conde ’, — is the manner in which the work of the learned Frenchman is continually referred to in the notes to the “ History of Spain ” in Lardner’s Cyclopædia, Book III. ‘ We may well say *spoiled*’, it is added in one of the notes, ‘ for he has sadly blundered the Christian affairs ‘ in this reign ’. (Abderahman III.) Still, the ample and acknowledged use that has been made of his work, in this part of the History, is an emphatic testimony to its value. To the elaborate researches of Masdeu, the Writer also owns his obligations ; but his great work, ‘ destitute alike of taste and method, meagre in facts and arid in ‘ style ’, is strangely confused in some parts, and only comes down to the re-conquest of Toledo in 1085. ‘ It is a work which the critic ‘ and the scholar will be glad to consult, but which will never be read ’. We must take this occasion of repeating our warm commendation of the great ability and laborious pains discovered in this anonymous History, the first volume of which was noticed in our Number for May. When it is complete, we shall find an opportunity of more particularly noticing it.

cepted the offer of Narvaez, and immediately quitting Antequera, reached ere morning the castle where dwelt his lady-love. Seeing his deep affliction, and learning its cause, she thus addressed him. "Before this fatal hour, you had well approved your love, and in this very moment you give me new evidence of sincere attachment. You enjoin me to remain, fearing for me the loss of liberty if I follow; but think me not less capable than thyself of generous devotedness. Your lot is mine: bond or free, I shall be always at your side: this casket, filled with precious gems, will buy our liberty, or alleviate our bondage." The lovers set forth without delay, and reached Antequera at even-tide. Narvaez welcomed them right cordially, and giving just praise to the honour of the knight, and the attachment of the lady, sent them home with rich presents and a powerful escort. The fame of this adventure spread throughout Granada: it was sung by bards, and recited by historians: and Narvaez, celebrated by the enemies of his nation, enjoyed the high reward of his knightly courtesy.

(*Conde—Histoire.*)

We shall make one further extract, by way of text to a closing observation on a subject much agitated among writers on history and political economy,—the partial depopulation of Spain by the expulsion of the Moors.

'Three millions of Moors', writes either Señor Conde or his Translator and Editor, M. de Marlès, 'were, it is said, compelled or induced to quit Spain, carrying with them their property and their skill as artificers, the property and wealth of the state. What have the Spaniards substituted for these? Answer there is none. A mourning veil rests for ever on those very regions where nature always wore a smiling aspect. A few mutilated monuments still lift their heads amid the ruins which cover the waste; but from the recesses of those monuments, from the centre of those ruins, rises the cry of truth—"Honour and glory to the conquered Arab! Decay and wretchedness to the victorious Spaniard!"'

For the expatriation of the Moors in the first instance, strong political reasons might be assigned; and we shall not hastily join in the censures which have, in this matter, been prodigally thrown upon the Spanish Government. We say nothing in defence of the manner in which the decree was carried into execution, nor of the atrocious conditions which avarice and bigotry attached to its promulgation; but we repeat that, on grounds of policy, the dominant power was justified in removing from a dangerous and almost inexpugnable territory, a people essentially and unalterably hostile, and continually in friendly correspondence with exterior enemies. The Moors were formidable in numbers, warlike, and restless; no means existed of altering their inimical disposition; and extreme as was the measure, we cannot see the alternative. The attribution of the decadence of Spain to this cause, seems to us unfounded. The abrupt removal of so many diligent cultivators, ingenious artificers, and enterprising mer-

chants, would be of course, under any circumstances, long and severely felt; yet, a vigorous and wise administration would have ultimately rectified all this. But a fatality has rested upon Spain: for centuries, it has been the worst governed country in Europe, and to this, far more than to its dealings with its Moorish dependents, it owes its declension. Be it, however, observed, that these remarks apply only to the earlier counsels adopted in this business. Concerning the miserably impolitic and iniquitous banishment of the last unoffending remnant of this people, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, commonly distinguished as the Expulsion of the Moriscos, there can be but one sentiment: it was a deed of unredeemed cruelty and baseness, vile in motive, tyrannous in act, and in result most injurious, not only to its victims, but to its perpetrators.

Art. II. *The Truth of Revelation, demonstrated by an Appeal to existing Monuments, Sculptures, Gems, Coins, and Medals.* By a Fellow of several learned Societies. 12mo, pp. 276. London, 1832.

THIS interesting book is clearly the production of a mind pious and cultivated, enriched by science, and enlarged by various information. Adapted especially to guard the young against the too welcome theories of scepticism, it will also afford to the general reader both gratification and improvement. It chiefly consists of striking facts deduced from the labours of modern inquiry, of allusions gleaned from literature, of memorials of past events scattered over the relics of by-gone times, in sculptures, gems, and medals; and its object is, to apply these various materials to the illustration and establishment of the sacred records;—as well as to impress the conviction, that the foundations of a scriptural hope are not to be shaken by advancing knowledge, nor ultimately injured by the rash assaults of a class of men, who, aspiring to be deemed the votaries of philosophy, give too much reason for the suspicion, that the stimulus by which their industry is excited, is the vain expectation of some discovery adverse to the Christian religion, rather than zeal for the promotion of science.

The truth of the Bible is established upon evidences so various, independent, and forcible, as to have been long since considered by men without superiors either in intellect or in learning, as fully adequate to set the question at rest;—to justify secession from further strife with cavillers, to brand objectors as unreasonable, and to leave them without relief from the stings of conscience, or appeal from the already recorded judgement of their Maker, that *He who believeth not, is condemned already.* Little new, indeed, can be advanced; and, were it not for the ever

reiterated attacks of the malignant, and the necessity of varying in some degree the forms of argument, to meet the ever changing methods of presenting stale objections, the advocates of Heavenly Truth might, with all honour, lay down their pens.

There is no line of investigation, in which the Scriptures have not been proved to be invincible. In general, that proof is distributed into the internal and the external; branching, in each kind, into many distinct topics of consideration. Into which of these, it may be asked, has there not been the keenest scrutiny which zeal could prompt? Which of them has not been repeatedly tested by whatever learning, science, or wit could bring to bear in opposition? Yet, in which of these, has not the cause of Revelation triumphed? Were it to be admitted as possible, that a temperature of mind peculiarly addicted to scepticism, might, after due inquiry, be still assailed by honest doubts; yet, to *disbelieve*, or to arrive at a conviction that the Christian religion is *false*, even candour itself must pronounce to be impossible. Ignorance alone can shield the man who avows his belief, his positive belief, that the Scriptures are a counterfeit, from justly incurring imputations on his character for honour and honesty.

How could falsehood have been so accredited? How could craft endure such sifting? Is the distinction between truth and cunning so impalpable? Can neither talent, time, subsequent discovery, application, nor sagacity, avail to mark it? Had the Scriptures been false, assailed as they have been, so long, so industriously, and from so many quarters, they must, without question, have been convicted long ago, and their support have been relinquished to human authority and state-craft. Before it can be positively believed that they are fabulous, it must be believed that falsehood is as strong as truth; that laws of evidence and rules of argument, which on every other subject are deemed to be just and safe, have, after all, no foundation; that we are wholly without landmarks for the mind; that history, reason, knowledge, are a blank; a mockery rather, which may delude and bewilder, but can never guide to confidence.

An attentive survey of the New Testament, must force upon every reader the conviction, that those parts of it which are most simple, which come within the compass of direct practical judgment, are indisputably true. The writers of it plainly display an accurate moral taste, a knowledge of what would be perfection in human character, which cannot be impeached, which was no where extant before, and to which nothing has been added since. Whence, then, could the human mind, all at once, attain to this justness of thought, this comprehension of the entire code of morals? No justice can be done to these writers, except they be compared with those who lived before the light which they them-

selves were the instruments of introducing, had illuminated the world. It cannot be questioned, that the judgements of men on the most important subjects underwent an immense change after the reputed time when the New Testament was written ; a change manifestly referrible to its authors. From whom then could they derive that light ? Was it so easy of acquisition, that it needs excite no wonder ? Where was the sage or philosopher who had made the attainment ? By the infidel it has been deemed to be an achievement for the industry of his numerous associates, industry extended through several generations, to discover, *not* that any thing which the sacred authors have written on the duties of man to man, or of man to his Maker, is ill founded ; *not* that any thing has been omitted by them which is essential ; but that there might be found, scattered through the writings of all countries, a little here, and a little there, those truths, which, when collected, and separated from a thousand errors, would make up the Christian system of morality. Even the precepts, *to do good to our enemies, and to do to others, as we would that they should do to us*, they, in no measured terms of triumph, assure us, have at length been fished from ancient documents.

Were the facts they state unquestionable, and the prior date of every precept clearly proved, (which, however, cannot be done,) yet, of what avail were it, for practical use, that a body of moral truth, dissevered limb from limb, lay scattered in innumerable fragments, among a mass of writings of various ages, countries, and languages, buried also among pernicious errors, more completely than gold among the sands ? Where was the unaided intellect which should be equal to the task of selecting all the good, and at the same time of rejecting all the evil ? Where were the individuals, or combination of individuals, who, at that time, could have even taken a survey of the amorphous masses of fable and speculation, for the purpose ? How, especially, could those who gave us the New Testament, have performed the enterprise ? How came it that a few plain men living in despised Judea, should accomplish such a task ? Can it be possibly accounted for, that they, without doubt or faltering, in clear, pointed directions, not as inquiring philosophers, but as authoritative lawgivers, should, at once and in brief, give to the world the whole of that practical, moral truth which, here a little and there a little, may have sparkled amongst the varied productions of all the powerful minds, the philosophers, poets, lawgivers, who had ever thought to instruct mankind ? Let the unbeliever mark the position of which he incautiously vaunts, the humiliation of his glorying ? Let him recollect besides, that both the beauty and the benefit of a rule of morals, consist, not in detached and widely dissevered precepts, but in their harmonious attemperament, in the exhibition

of their due proportions and dependencies ; and then, with all his names of pagan splendour, what becomes of rivalry with the Fishermen of Galilee ?

But, besides rules of duty, man requires to be made acquainted with those principles within him which war against it, and which, when he knows the right, still induce him to prefer the wrong ; with the power and prevalence of those principles, and with the misery to which they lead ; but above all, with the way by which that fearful issue may be averted. Let it be granted, that the necessary rules of duty might be found elsewhere ; let it be also allowed, that in self-knowledge some discoveries, far from adequate, had been made by man's unassisted reason ; still, on the last, incomparably the most important point, nature through all her works is dumb, and reason utterly foiled. How shall man escape the consequence of his sins ? How shall his nature become duly upright, that so he may attain to the perfection of his being ? These are questions to which no oracle professed to give an answer, which no philosophy pretended to resolve. These were questions often put, but all was silence, while hope would sometimes whisper, that the time would come when Heaven would reveal the glorious secret ? When Socrates, Plato, Cicero, confessed themselves to be baffled, how came the Authors of the Christian Scriptures to grasp these questions ? How came those uninstructed men to reach their depth and height, to understand their various bearings, and, with constant regard to justice, truth, and purity, without by the least shade obscuring the honours of the universal Law-giver, or involving any of the interests of intelligent, accountable beings, exist in what world they may, to give explicit, unembarrassed answers ? To conceive aright of what was due to Him who is at once the highest Legislator and the supreme Benefactor ; to harmonize these characters, to adjust the several claims of each,—of law, justice, and veracity, on the one hand ; of mercy, grace, and love on the other ; what an amazing attempt for uneducated men ! Who, then, were these men, and whence their knowledge ?

To attack their system on these momentous topics, how often soever attempted, has been proved to be a hopeless undertaking ; and to change or mutilate it but a little, has been shewn to introduce confusion somewhere,—to dethrone the Heavenly Law-giver, to impair the mercy of the universal Father, to endanger the safety of those spirits who still retain their allegiance, or to intercept recovering interference.

How, again, are other subtle questions disposed of in the Scriptures,—those of freedom and dependence ?—questions full of mystery, giving rise to interminable discussions among ingenious men, and almost always dividing the disputants into opposite parties, of which the one virtually destroys the sovereignty of God,

the other the moral agency of man? Have the sacred writers, on any of the points which involve these abstruse inquiries, been at all convicted of error? Have not the fallacies of every metaphysical system which has impugned their *dicta*, been successively exposed? And has it not been proved, after the most elaborate researches, that man is, in fact, what the Scriptures every where represent him as being, at once a free and accountable agent, and yet, dependent upon his Maker for all the good he has or needs, moral as well as physical? Who taught the despised men of Galilee this profound philosophy?

Many difficulties, indeed, appear on the surface of the Scriptures, relating to the state and prospects of man, the methods of Providence towards him, the threatened results of his conduct hereafter, and its actual consequences in this life. But how stand the statements with the analogies of constituted nature, with the events occurring before our eyes, which implicate similar principles? How happens it, that the closer the comparison instituted between the God of nature and the God of Revelation, the more do they appear to be the same? Who gave to the sacred writers that glance so searching through the vast field of operations in the world around them, especially as those operations bear on man and sentient beings? Who taught them not to err in drawing the portrait of their Deity, and of His various dealings with His creatures? Far from throwing themselves on the current of ordinary notions, their thoughts on these subjects have met the powerful tides of men's opinions; while yet, when tried by the only proper test, not by what man thinks, but by what God actually does before our observation, they are found to bear down all resistance.

Of the two portions of the Sacred Writings, the Old Testament and the New, the diversity in many respects is very striking; while yet, it seems impossible to deny, on close inspection, that there is discovered, a singular uniformity of design, a gradual unfolding of the same comprehensive scheme, a constant keeping in view of the same purpose to be accomplished,—a purpose of which, however, the precise nature was hidden for ages. Had there from the beginning been some presiding intelligence perfectly acquainted with the facts and doctrines to be promulgated in a distant age, intending to announce them gradually, to interweave them with other matters, to introduce such notices of them as might excite ambiguous hope at the time, and which, when accomplished, should become entirely unequivocal; it cannot be denied, that some such work as the Old Testament would have been the production of that intellect. That design it exactly answers. But since, without a governing intelligence, no such design could by possibility have been entertained, the result actually existing is left without a cause, and can on no principles

whatever be accounted for. Can ignorance be supposed to have for ages performed the work of knowledge? Of the existence of the Old Testament before the events recorded in the New, it is impossible to doubt: of its anticipation of those events, the appearances are too plain to be denied. Yet, whence could arise this anticipation? A seeming foresight of few and common events creates no difficulty; but when the circumstances are numerous, the events entirely singular, events which the human mind is slow to apprehend, slower still to credit, even though clearly announced and well attested; then, in this case, that the coincidences could be casual, cannot be admitted. With this difficulty, the infidel has never seriously attempted to grapple. The only effort towards it displays at once its unmanageable nature. His method is, to try to defeat the forces of his adversary in detail. He insulates every reference, calls it an extravagant figure, divests it of its meaning, applies it to some common occurrence, and then presumes to treat its resemblance to a prophetic announcement with contempt. The difficulty is thus left unheeded, or rather, acknowledged to be insuperable. Of that difficulty, the very essence consists in the *number* and the *peculiarity* of the references, and in the exactitude of their agreement, when collected and combined, with subsequent events most complicated and unexpected.

The writings of the New Testament display a similar feature, independently of prophecy. Those of them which are ascribed to authors who could be cognizant of the same facts, exhibit innumerable coincidences, where concerted design is impossible; of which coincidences, no reason can be given, but that the facts really occurred, and that the minds of the authors were alike imbued with their influence. Of this nature, examples are every where discernible, and, in those parts which have had a Paley to illustrate them, so established, that even Scepticism itself, the most inveterate, has been compelled to grant the inference, that those events at least were real.

Independently, therefore, of the personal character of the writers, as fairly to be deduced from the style, and the sentiments and feelings manifested in their writings, independently too of such proofs as demand Christian knowledge and experience to comprehend them, nothing less can be inferred from the various considerations of internal evidence, than that imposition in this case were the greatest of anomalies.

The external proofs of the truth of Scripture have, in like manner, often been shewn to be unassailable by any legitimate methods of reasoning. That a general change was effected in the opinions and practices of large masses of mankind, for which a growing belief of the facts stated in the New Testament will

satisfactorily account, no one will venture to deny. Of such a change,—which, whether we regard the extent of its operation, its completeness as a revolution of thought, opinion, and sentiment, or the learning, habits, and secular influence over which it prevailed, is absolutely without a parallel in the history of the human race,—no cause at all adequate to the effect, except the one above mentioned, has ever been as yet devised. And from what has been attempted, we may plainly infer, that to imagine such a cause surpasses the sagacity of man.

In addition to this fact, sufficient of itself to inspire confidence, no attempt has so far succeeded as to appear even plausible, which has been directed against the authenticity of the Sacred Books. It is supported by more historic document than on any other subject would be deemed at all needful; and there is no contradictory or conflicting testimony, except on questions of no importance, as applying merely to some insulated part. To evade the force of this testimony, nothing has yet been imagined, which in any other case would be allowed a moment's consideration. What is the refuge of the unbeliever? He is obliged to insinuate that some documents which might have opposed the present inferences, *have possibly perished*; or that some remaining works, in which there is no mention of them, *would have adverted to the facts, if true*. Thus, a conjecture respecting something which may possibly have existed,—not of what has any probability to support it, but of what by mere possibility may have been,—is alleged to disprove the verdict of direct and multifarious witnesses; and the silence of a few, is to counterbalance the declarations of many. This is not the course of inquiry, but of determined prejudice; not of argument, but of subterfuge. To make the inference from historical proof to be dependent upon what we may conceive it might have been, instead of resting it upon what we know actually to exist, is plainly want of sense. What less can it be than an abandonment of reason, for us to assume the possibility of something unknown, to contradict what is known? How little also can be fairly deduced from the *silence* of authors, even respecting the most unusual and interesting events,—events to the mention of which their subject directly led them, and respecting which they were in possession of all the means of information,—may be seen by the silence of Pliny, Suetonius, and Tacitus, respecting the destruction of Herculaneum; the two former not having alluded to the fact, and the latter stating only generally that cities were destroyed. For the New Testament, it may be therefore confidently asserted, that, in historic evidence, it is beyond the reach of assault.

But, besides direct historic proof, the external evidences of Scripture diffuse themselves over almost every tract of literature and science. It is true, that no science whatever is taught, as a

vince us that the work was actually thus accomplished, there needs some direct evidence that they really had the time allowed them to effect the results. It was not by shewing the mere fact of gravitation, but by ascertaining the limitations of its influence, and by proving that the effects exactly correspond to a cause so ruled, defined, and limited in operation, that Newton placed his system on the adamantine base of proof. Let then the geologist define the rate of power in his physical causes, and shew their correspondency, working at that rate according to fixed times and distances, with the results ascribed to them, and it will be confessed that he has built an edifice of sound philosophy. Till then, his theories claim to be regarded only as mere opinions, and, as such, liable to be warped by every previous bias which the unestimated force of circumstances may have impressed upon his mind.

Aware of this truth, the Author of this work distrusts such theories. He assumes, that, except they can be proved to be false, the facts recorded in Scripture are to be regarded as having actually occurred; and that if true, we may rationally expect from their very nature, that traces of them may remain to this present time; and be discovered in the obscure traditions of nations, in their written histories and monuments, or in the lasting results of them impressed upon the material frame-work of the globe. He assumes besides, that such facts stated in Scripture, as, antecedently to such corroboration, might seem to be highly improbable, almost impossible; when afterwards proved, not only to have been possible, but to be actually supported by unexpected concurring phenomena, for which they satisfactorily account; become not only worthy of credit, but nearly demonstrated to have certainly occurred. Nor can we doubt, that this kind of proof, if not demonstration, is nevertheless, in the view of reason, fully as convincing. We are not less certain of multitudes of truths which are unsusceptible of demonstration, than we are of those which are demonstrated. If the most questionable and astounding announcements of a book, professing to have been given by Divine authority, and otherwise established to be worthy of credit by internal and external media of evidence, are themselves also shewn to be supported by subsequent discoveries; then, the book itself becomes altogether, without any deduction, worthy of full reliance on its veracity. Nothing can have a more powerful effect upon a sound mind, than such solutions of difficulty, such clearing of contradictions, such confirmation of otherwise confounding statements. He that, unless it can be rigorously proved that no other causes can account for them, refuses to admit such causes as the Scriptures assign for amazing effects, which effects he is nevertheless obliged to acknowledge, manifests that he has determined beforehand to reject their verdict. He distrusts it as if

already convicted of fraud, while yet, before he can justify his scepticism, he must be held bound on other grounds to shew its unworthiness of credit. Till he do this, he must be considered as under a determined but unreasonable bias, and not to be regarded by any candid investigator of truth. If, in a court, an event is proved, and witnesses are adduced, who state how that event occurred; is their testimony to be treated as undecisive, till it is further shewn that in no other way could the event have taken place? Except the credit of the witnesses had been already impeached, would not this be trifling intolerably? And would not the trifler who should plead for that course, meet with deserved contempt from reasonable men? Of similar contempt are the learned triflers worthy, who so treat the Scriptures, and those advocates of them who endeavour to shew, that admitted phenomena would be the result of facts which those Scriptures state. For it is to be remembered, that these advocates of Scripture are assailed, not for having *failed* in their elucidations, but for having made the *attempt* to elucidate Scripture facts by known and acknowledged phenomena.

But in this case, who are the persons who with propriety may be held to rigorous proof? Are they the advocates, or the repudiators of Scripture? The case, be it recollected, is literally this. The Scriptures, by other and many independent media of evidence, are proved to be true; but they declare certain facts, which their opposers have held to be impossible, or at least highly incredible. On further research, it is found in the progress of discovery, however, that events wholly before unsuspected, and denied to be possible, have actually occurred; events, for which, if true, such facts would satisfactorily account. Now, the advocates of religion treat these admitted events as proofs of the facts before asserted in Scripture; but, says the sceptic, 'No, I will not concede that inference, I will not allow that these undoubted events are proofs of those contested facts, until you advance another step; until you shew, not only that those facts will sufficiently explain them, but that no other possible supposition can be devised, to which their causation might be adequately ascribed.'

Irrational men,—thus the Christian advocate might justly retort upon his sceptical opponents,—determined foes of truth and piety, it is you that must shew, and by all reasonable men will be held most strictly bound to shew, the *exclusion* of those facts. You must prove, not only the possibility, but the certainty of some other cause. You must not amuse the world with fantasies subversive of Scripture, grounded only on possibility, but either demonstrate your positions to be conformable with fact, or submit to be considered as invidious enemies of the faith of the Christian world; as cowardly seeking to destroy by craft, what you feel yourselves incompetent openly to encounter. Men who,

under the guise of science, endeavour to subvert the faith of the Christian, and who cast their foul reproaches at its defenders, ought to be openly denounced by the steady friends of truth. Complaisance under such circumstances, is treason against the best interests of mankind.

Suppose it could be shewn,—which it cannot,—that the widely spread and astonishing effects attributed by Professor Buckland to a general, simultaneous deluge, might, in all their circumstances, be accounted for by partial, successive floods; would this invalidate, or even weaken the Professor's inference? To have any weight against the combined force of testimony and inference, it must, in addition to this, be established, that a general deluge would be inconsistent with the facts;—that, at least in parts, the phenomena are inexplicable by the cause assigned. It is puerile trifling to tell us that partial floods can produce, *pro tanto*, effects exactly similar to those of a general one. Of those partial alleged inundations, one at least must be shewn to have occurred at every place; and the effects ascribed to them, must carry unequivocal indications that they were successive. To suffer the imagination wildly to wander over immense durations of time, and arbitrarily to assume a long succession in the operation of causes, when the effects to be accounted for, exhibit no distinctions of date, but, on the contrary, every indication of contemporaneous production, is in itself unreasonable; but to do this, in preference to admitting a well attested and simultaneous cause, is not the part of rational deduction, but of unlicensed theory and inveterate prejudice.

Geologists are now, in relation to the question of the truth of Scripture facts, of three principal schools. Those who compose, it may be feared, the most numerous class, are vainly endeavouring to lay the Bible on the shelf for ever. They are for leaving it out of sight, till they shall have succeeded in prejudging its claims, by imbuing their readers with counter theories, and persuading them that those theories are really science, the legitimate and necessary results of the inductive philosophy. Having accomplished this, their object will doubtless be achieved; for what respect can a book secure, which, professing to be a revelation from the Author of Nature, and to found its claim to obedience in matters of religion, solely upon its own authority, shall be proved untrue in some of its main averments? If, where we are supposed to be competent to judge, we find it to be false, how shall we confide in it as true, when treating of matters beyond the reach of our scrutiny? To maintain that in a physical sense the Bible is false, though in a moral sense sacred verity, is a species of philosopher-craft that is becoming stale, and its effects have been more than sufficiently developed in other countries.

Doubtless the plea is plausible, that, in order to support the Scriptures effectually by the discoveries of science, the investigations of science must be conducted independently. We object not against the maxim, but complain of the *malus animus* with which it is manifestly propounded, and the bad faith with which it is applied. We complain, that theories are obtruded as deductions of science, which are not even legitimate inferences from the facts, and which have obviously been suggested by the desire to get rid of Scripture statements. Had there been no such statements, no such theories had ever seen the light. Such reasonings are not really *independent*: they owe their origin to a knowledge of what the Bible teaches, and are contrived to negative its testimony. Of this, the extravagance of the theories themselves, affords sufficient proof.

Admitting that science is independent, still, it must be science, rigorously such, cautiously deduced and necessarily resulting from indubitable premises. Of science truly such, the believer in Scripture can entertain no fear. No discovery of what is still unknown, can ever contradict what we already know. It is ignorance alone which time and advancing light will dissipate. But to put in this claim of independence in favour of every theory, and to maintain that we are at liberty to enter the wide region of possibilities, and to assume, in contradiction to an accredited basis of religion, agencies and operations to have been actual and real, merely because we cannot prove them to have been impossible,—is an abuse of science, which its enlightened friends must join with the friends of religion in indignantly reprobating. When, therefore, we find elaborate theories built upon mere possibilities, in direct opposition to Scripture on the one hand, while those hypotheses which accord with Scripture are gratuitously rejected on the other, what must we conclude, but that enmity exists, and that the maxim above referred to is advanced merely to mask the attack upon Revelation, and to beguile the unsuspecting reader into infidelity?

Another class of Geologists maintain the consistency of the phenomena of nature with the Scripture records, not only as they may be interpreted without violence, but as they have been popularly understood. They not only repudiate the theories of those who demand immense durations of time, even myriads of ages, for the slow operation of existing causes, but will admit of a duration no greater, from the first creation of the matter of the earth, than the few thousand years which have ordinarily been assigned for it by the common chronologist. Of this class is our Author, concurring, in this particular, with Mr. Granville Penn, Dr. Ure, and others. Without denying the possibility that all the phenomena of geology may be reconciled with this view, (a supposition which, quite contrary to his inferences, we think Mr. Lyell

has rendered more plausible,) we do not feel that Scripture lays us under the necessity of maintaining it. Irrespectively of any reference to geology, the term days, in the first chapter of Genesis, may be taken to mean periods of duration of indefinite extent, without exceeding the latitude often assumed in the application of that word in Scripture. Nor does this admission at all affect the notion of creating acts being independent of time. All must agree, that the creative acts recorded were successive; and it cannot affect their extra-natural, their immediately divine character, whether we suppose them to have been exerted at intervals of twenty-four hours, or of longer periods. To that part of the work before us, which seems to insist upon the necessity of adhering closely to the restricted system of interpretation, we, with all respect for the Author, demur.

The third class of writers on Geology is intermediate between the two just mentioned. Of these, De Luc is at the head. We cannot again name this eminent man, without expressing our admiration of his genius and industry, and our pleasure at seeing a recent edition of his letters, accompanied with valuable remarks and illustrations, by the late Rev. Henry De La Fite.

Of Geology in general, we may confidently affirm with the present Writer, that, so far as it can be considered as established science, it contains nothing contrary to Scripture. But, with him, we may go further, and supported by such high authorities as De Luc, Professor Buckland, Mr. Young, and others, differing among themselves on many points, yet on this point agreed, may add, that its researches have afforded much valuable and interesting corroboration of the sacred narrative.

In accordance with these views, our Author remarks:—

‘ While we profess the highest respect for the valuable researches of a Cuvier, a Brongniart, a Buckland, a Ledgwick, a Greenough, a Lyell, and many others, we consider that they are not infallible. We much esteem the interesting facts which they have presented; but their deductions may not always correspond with the legitimate requirements of inductive truth; and it is admitted on all hands, that our advancement in geology must extend very far beyond our present attainments, before we have any right to think about the structure of a theory. Geology was formerly called a “system of paradoxes.” Is it consistent with induction, to overlook the *only* authentic record of the infant history of the world, and yet introduce eastern fables, because they happen to exceed the limits prescribed by the Mosaic cosmogony, and dance to the tune of millions of years; and that because such a term of years has been preconceived to be necessary? This takes for granted the thing that remains to be proved, and is in direct variance with the maxims of inductive science. It will be time enough to grant the requirement, when positive and substantial facts shall have *proved it to be necessary*; but we deny the concession on the mere dictum of pre-

conceived opinion, or bold assumption. We cannot establish our premises better than by referring to geologists themselves. Are not the proteus forms of geological speculations, systems of geology, and theories of the world, at this moment, the laughing-stock of well informed men? Cuvier pays a well merited compliment to Professor Buckland, for steering his bark of observation clear of these whirlpools of fantastic opinions, in which so many have perished. M. Cuvier calls this distinguished geologist, "a philosopher who does honour to geology by precise and consistent observations, as well as by the steadiest opposition to random hypotheses;" and in geology, these "random hypotheses" have been almost as numerous as the authors who have written on this branch of science. Nothing can be more opposed to true science, than to pronounce on the priority of formation, or the comparative age of rocks, from either their structure or the organic remains they present:—the entire question remains just as it was. M. Alexandre Brongniart thus propounds his opinion: "In those cases where characters derived from the nature of the rocks are opposed to those which we derive from organic remains, I should give the preponderance to the latter." This seems to us to imply an admission, that nothing definite can be inferred from the *nature of the rocks*; moreover, that between the nature of the rock, and the organic remains, there may be a palpable discrepancy; and that these may be even at complete antipodes with each other. The event has proved, from what we have already mentioned, that no evidence as to priority can be obtained from the nature of the fossil remains displayed in particular strata. In addition to what has been said on this subject, we may further state, that *encrinites*, *entrochiles*, and *pentacrinites* are found in clay slate, grauwacke, transition limestone, alpine limestone, lias, muschelkalk, and chalk. It may be reasonably asked, how these three species of fossils could indicate any particular formation, when they are found in so many types and structures of rocks altogether different? If they would go to prove any thing at all, it would be that of a *contemporaneous* formation; but certainly not distinct epochas. The same observation applies to *madrepores*, *belemnites*, &c. which are equally diversified in their abodes. It follows, therefore, that they afford no clue whatever either as to "the order of creation," or priority in the question of the "epochas of formation." We find the same evidence when we take up the fossil-bones of quadrupeds in their more complete and perfect organization. To this interesting topic we shall again recur. We therefore infer as a matter of fact, that the theory of successive development is founded in *error*. Certain organic remains have been considered peculiar to certain formations, at once supplying data to determine the identity of such formations in remote countries, and becoming a chronometer to determine the relative epochas of formations; but this is altogether illusory; and yet, these have been propounded with an effrontery sufficient to overawe, for a time, the disciple of truth. These errors, though now completely exploded, are still however, by some, promulgated at the present moment as truths. "It is," says Mr. Lyell, in a foot note, "an encouraging circumstance, that the cultivators of science in our own country, have begun to appreciate the true value of

the principles of reasoning most usually applied to geological questions." He then adverts to the expression, *a geological logician*, used by the President of the Geological Society, in an address to its members, and adds:—"A smile was seen on the countenance of some of the auditors, while many of the members, like Cicero's augurs, could not resist laughing; so ludicrous appeared the association of geology and logic." It is almost unnecessary to say, that, however the doctrine of repeated destruction, and as repeated creation, might coalesce with the slumbers and waking hours of the mythology of Menù, it laid the axe to the very root of the volume of Revelation. Those have been greatly deceived, who expected to see the order of creation registered in the rocks of the globe; who supposed that zoophytes were historic medallions of the most ancient formations; that other rocks, agreeably to their presumed relative age, carried the series from this point upwards, until it terminated in the more perfect types of organization displayed in quadrupeds; and that all these had been swept away before the creation of quadrumanous animals and of man, just as if the destruction of inferior tribes was the necessary pioneer for monkeys and humanity Worlds of living beings alternating with worlds of death, destruction and death supervening *before the creation of man and the first transgression*, were the opinions of geologists."

pp. 98—100.

'We believe that no quadrumanous animals, such as the ape or monkey, have ever been found fossil in the great formations of the globe; but it by no means follows from hence, that the discovery is not yet to come. Quadrumanous animals are entirely tropical, having their dwelling in trees. One of the most important of recent discoveries in geology, is the fact of the bones of the *MAMMOTH* having been found at North Cliff in Yorkshire, in a formation entirely lacustrine; while all the *land and fresh-water shells* in this formation, thirteen in number, have been accurately identified with species and varieties *now existing in that county*. Bones of the bison, whose habitat is now a cold, or at any rate a temperate clime, have been found in the same place. That these quadrupeds and the indigenous species of shells found along with them, had a contemporaneous existence in Yorkshire, (a fact which Mr. Lyell justly considers to be of vast importance in geological science,) has certainly been demonstrated by the Rev. W. V. Vernon, who had a pit sunk to the depth of upwards of two hundred feet through undisturbed strata, in which the organic remains of the Mammoth were found imbedded, together with shells, in a deposit which seems to have resulted from tranquil waters. Mr. Vernon considers these phenomena as proving, that there has been but little, if any change of temperature in the climate of Britain since the Mammoth lived there. Dr. Schouw, of Copenhagen, had come to a similar conclusion as to the climate of Palestine, from calculating the mean temperature necessary to the growth of the palm. The date palm is as successfully cultivated now in Palestine, as in the earliest period of which we have any account. The city of palms, or Jericho, was so called from the groves of palms in its vicinity; while pagan historians amply confirm what sacred history has so unequivocally described. Thus there seems no legitimate ground to suppose, either

that mammoths were non-contemporaneous with fossil remains of existing genera and species; or that the climate of the globe has materially changed since the era in which mammoths lived. The indiscriminate mixture of the higher types of organization with the lower types of animal formation, bids defiance to their being legitimately considered as a test in the decision of the question of the comparative age of rocks. The date of formations cannot, therefore, be determined from any particular description of organic remains, because the same organic remains are found in other strata and other formations. The obvious inferences from these premises are, that, 1. The theory of the successive development of animal forms has not the shadow of proof; 2. The various types of organization were contemporaneous; and as they now are, so they have ever been; 3. That geological facts, so far from countenancing an entire change of climate, prove the very reverse; and it follows, therefore, 4. That tropical vegetation, and tropical zoology, the organic wreck of which has come from every quarter of the globe, must have been transported by the violent action of the currents of an universal deluge, which has certainly circumfused the globe.' pp. 111—113.

Upon the interesting inquiry respecting fossil remains of MAN, the Author has the following remarks.

'It has often been asserted, that MAN, from never having been found in the state of a fossil, must needs belong to a creation comparatively recent, as the commencement, perhaps, of what Mr. Lyell would call a "geological cycle;" which, however, we confess our inability to comprehend: and if there is one more decided attempt to strike at the very foundation of Revelation, than another, it is this. But it is not more repugnant to Revelation, than to sound philosophy and right reason; nor is there a single fact which can be brought forward to warrant such an assertion. Suppose that nothing of the kind had really been found, would it not be rash, in the present infant state of geological science, to infer that such may not be found? And yet, this has been received amongst geologists as a species of *axiom*. When the vast diluvial beds of clay and gravel, and the superior strata in Asia, shall have been explored, it will be time enough to venture on such a conclusion; but to hazard this opinion at present, is of a piece with the sweeping assumptions of geologists from first to last.'

'We pity the evasive shifts to which those who reject Revelation are reduced, in considering this question. Let us take Mr. Lyell's remarks. "But another and a far more difficult question may arise out of the admission that man is comparatively of modern origin. Is not the *interference of the human species* (!) it may be asked, such a deviation from the antecedent course of physical events, that the knowledge of such a fact, tends to destroy all our confidence in the uniformity of the order of nature, both in regard to time past and future? If such an innovation could take place after the earth had been exclusively inhabited for *thousands of ages* by inferior animals, why should not other changes as extraordinary and unprecedented happen from time to time? If one new cause was permitted to supervene, differing in kind and energy from any before in operation,

why might not others have come into action at different epochs? Or what security have we that they may not arise hereafter? If such be the case, how can the experience of one period, even though we are acquainted with all the possible effects of the then existing causes, be a standard to which we can refer all natural phenomena of other periods?" Now these are certainly very heavy reasons, and entirely neutralize Mr. Lyell's assumptions; (for they are no better;) while our Author, in these very admissions, becomes suicidal to the whole drift of the argument for which his volume was written. The title of this otherwise certainly interesting work is this:—"Principles of Geology, being an Attempt to explain the former Changes of the Earth's Surface, by reference to Causes now in operation." Let us examine how Mr. Lyell meets his own inferences. "Now these objections," says he, "would be unanswerable, if adduced against one who was contending for the absolute uniformity throughout all time of the succession of sublunary events." Then follows an assurance, that he is not disposed to indulge in the philosophical reveries of the Egyptian and Greek sects. He, however, says nothing about those of India. Shall we call Mr. Lyell a "geological logician;" and is this to be accepted as a specimen? If Revelation is to be encountered with this kind of *Logic*, it may be safely met with pity and contempt.' pp. 116—118.

The Author then states the facts connected with the most striking cases of human fossils, for which we must refer to his book. Upon the strength of these facts he contends, in opposition to the mass of geologists, for the equal antiquity of human bones with those of antediluvian animals; and expresses his concurrence with Mr. Granville Penn, Mr. Young, and others, who think that, in addition to partial changes, both ante and post-diluvian, one universal deluge is quite sufficient to account for the facts and phenomena of geology; and that 'to suppose any more, 'is a positive infraction of Sir Isaac Newton's celebrated maxim, 'that if one explanation is sufficient, it is superfluous and unnecessary to assume more.' He then proceeds.

'Besides the authorities above mentioned, it is cheering to learn that M. Constant Prevost has lately laid before the Academy of Sciences, a treatise on the great geological question,—Whether the continents which are now inhabited, have or have not been repeatedly submerged? This Author maintains firmly, that there has been only one great inundation of the earth; and that the various remains of animals and plants, which have given rise to the supposition of successive inundations, have floated to the places where they are now occasionally found. Every successive investigation and every new discovery weaken the speculations of geologists; which are, at the present moment, only, at the best, "a bowed wall and a tottering fence": and though they may, for a little longer, be able to *satisfy themselves* in the principles of "geological logic", we doubt whether they will be able to convince others. None who are capable of reflecting, will be disposed to abandon Revelation, the proof of which is adamant at every

link, for the fooleries of a sceptical geology ; and if there are any who, on a calm survey of geological facts, can discover a solitary one counter to the palpable truths of the Mosaic cosmogony, his opinion is at antipodes with our own ;—we view things through media that are altogether different.’ pp. 119—122.

It has already been stated, that the work, besides its reference to the present state of geology, comprises an appeal, in confirmation of the Scriptures, to other branches of science, to historic fact, to rudiments of tradition, to sculptures, gems, coins, and medals. In addition to the direct confirmation of Scripture facts, the Author argues likewise from the dissipation of those many cherished theories of successive sceptics, which are ever exhaling before the advancing sun of science. Now when we witness, one after another, every theory, how ingenious soever, which has been devised in opposition to the facts of Scripture, proved to be incapable of standing the test of increasing knowledge ; when we find them severally, in their day, entertained with all the confidence of scientific certainty, and vaunted as undoubted proofs of error in the word of God, but, by and by, convicted, withdrawn from observation, willingly consigned to forgetfulness, or exciting shame in their former advocates ; may we not safely conclude from such repeated failures, that the facts which they were intended to discredit, will defy every future assault ? May we not infer this consequence, just as certainly as, from finding that every structure not in accordance with the laws of equilibrium derived from gravity, becomes unstable, and threatens speedy ruin, we feel assured that the force of gravity certainly exists ? If, in like manner, every device which contradicts the statements of the Bible, speedily comes to nought, are we not to reverse those statements as the truth, which finally must prevail ? The exposure of those theories, therefore, is justly placed in the work before us, among the demonstrations of the truth of Scripture. They are reductions to absurdity, not less convincing than the most positive proof.

We have dwelt at the greater length upon the volume before us, as being the work of a layman devoted to literature and science, and as it seems, in these times, peculiarly desirable to encourage gentlemen of the Author’s character and attainments to come forward courageously to oppose the growing scepticism of the day, —to detect the sophistries, and to repel the daring insults levelled at the only system of religious truth which ever professed to cheer the heart of man with the substantial hope of a blessed immortality. The work is very miscellaneous, and, we must add, has been compiled without much regard to methodical arrangement. It is, however, full of interesting facts and observations ; and one which we can cordially recommend, as adapted not less to please

than to instruct and convince. Had it been entitled 'Illustrations', rather than a 'Demonstration of the Truth of Revelation,' the designation would have been, perhaps, not less inviting and more appropriate. The book is got up in a very respectable style, and is embellished with several plates, consisting of fac-similes of the various existing monuments to which the appeal is made, and comprises much valuable matter in a convenient compass.

Art. III. *Memoir of the Life of the Rev. Matthias Bruen, of New York.* 12mo, pp. 441. Edinburgh, 1832.

WE have perused this volume with feelings of high gratification. The subject of the memoir was, in his own country, universally respected by men of every rank, and by religionists of all persuasions. To many individuals of eminence in this country, he was also well known; and by all who had the opportunity of making his acquaintance, he seems to have been regarded with feelings of the warmest interest, not only as a man of talents and piety, but as exhibiting a degree of suavity of manners, delicacy of feeling, and gentleness of deportment, of which our American brethren have afforded us but too few specimens. In a letter to a friend on the occasion of his death, Dr. Smith of Homerton thus speaks of him:—'My dear and never to be forgotten friend 'was an extraordinary man. In him were found qualities which 'we think ourselves very happy to discover dwelling apart, each 'having a separate bosom for its temple.' That a memoir of such a man should be given to the world, by which, as his Biographer remarks, 'the image of one so peculiarly beautiful in his 'moral and intellectual structure, might for a while be kept from 'oblivion', must have been felt by all his friends to be exceedingly desirable. We are happy that the execution of this task has devolved upon one so well qualified to do justice to it as the Author of the memoir before us. Though published anonymously, it is sufficiently evident from some of the letters, as well as from internal evidence, that we are indebted for it to a female pen. Now the character of Mr. Bruen's mind,—distinguished, as it was, by delicacy of taste and perspicacity of conception, rather than by profundity or power,—as well as the peculiar cast of temper and feeling which he exhibited, was exactly such as is most likely to be appreciated and accurately delineated by a highly cultivated woman. We are inclined to think, therefore, that, in the volume before us, we have a more faithful portrait of the mental and moral character of Mr. Bruen, than would in all probability have been afforded to us, had the execution of it been entrusted to one of more masculine ability, but less congenial mind. Indeed, we do not at this moment recollect any biogra-

phical work, the general style and sentiments of which are more in accordance with the spirit and temper of the individual whose life it professes to set before us, than the volume now upon our table. If we have any fault to find with it, it is that there appears to us rather a superabundance of illustration and of extract, as well as an occasional unnecessary enlargement on the part of the Writer, upon topics which, however dear to recollection, have but a slight bearing upon the development or elucidation of the character of the excellent individual to whom they relate. It is from this source, from *character*, that the entire interest attaching to the life of Mr. Bruen is derived. He passed through no extraordinary occurrences; he performed no wonderful or uncommon feats of intellectual or benevolent exertion; and accordingly, but for the beautiful symmetry of his intellectual and moral being, there would be little to recommend him to the notice of the public. We could have wished, therefore, that every thing not directly tending to bring out the distinctive traits of his character, or to illustrate it as a whole, had been either entirely passed over, or only cursorily noticed. We must also take the liberty of suggesting to the Author, the propriety, in the event of a second edition, of curtailing a few of the many dissertations introduced upon topics incidentally alluded to in the course of the narrative. Important as are several of the subjects so discussed, and graceful and correct as is the manner in which they are handled, yet, as they have no immediate reference to Mr. Bruen, they must be regarded as unnecessary additions to the size of the volume. Some of the most striking instances of what we now allude to will be found in Chapters I, XVII, XX, and XXIV. With these exceptions, (and they are really so slight as hardly to be entitled to the name,) we think the volume quite a model of biographical composition, and should be happy to aid in promoting its extensive circulation, especially among those who are engaged in preaching the Gospel, or who are preparing for that work.

Mr. Bruen was born at Newark, New Jersey, on the 11th of April, 1793. His father was the representative of a family which had long resided in that town, and were descended from its founder, Obadiah Bruen, a worthy Puritan who had emigrated to New England in the reign of Charles I., to escape the persecutions which were levelled against him because of his kindness to Prynne during his imprisonment in Chester. From a very early age, the young Matthias was noted for a love of retirement and a thirst for information, so strong as frequently to induce him, when a mere child, 'to lock himself into a room that he might enjoy 'his book undisturbed.' A residence of seven years (from his eighth till his fifteenth year) with his paternal grandfather, who was intimately acquainted with history, and especially with that of

America, and who delighted in communicating the information he possessed to his intelligent descendant, tended not only to keep alive his desire after knowledge, but also to give it a useful and instructive direction. From the house of his grandfather, he was removed to Columbia College, in 1808, where he graduated with much honour in 1812. During his residence at college, it pleased God to relieve him from a state of deep depression, under which a concern for his eternal interests, accompanied with indistinct views of the way of salvation, had caused him to sink, by opening his eyes to the fulness and freeness of that redemption which is offered in the Gospel. It would have been interesting to know something of the workings of his mind during this momentous period; but of these, as of the events of his college life generally, scarcely any memorials exist. Under the impulse of the feelings produced by the change of mind he had undergone, having determined to devote himself to the work of the ministry, (though placed in circumstances which rendered his adoption of a profession purely optional,) he entered the Theological Seminary at New York, at that time under the superintendence of Dr. J. M. Mason. There he continued to prosecute the study of his profession, with the same assiduity and success which had marked his pursuit of general knowledge, till the year 1816; when, having fulfilled the prescribed term of study, he was licensed to preach the gospel, according to the form prescribed in the Presbyterian Church. Being naturally of a constitution far from robust, his close application to study, and the effects of a severe fit of illness in the year 1812, from which he had never thoroughly recovered, rendered it expedient that some time should be spent by him in endeavouring to obtain a larger stock of constitutional vigour before entering upon the arduous services of a Christian minister. This formed one of the principal reasons which induced him, in the summer of 1816, to visit this country in company with his tutor, Dr. Mason. On that occasion, after passing hastily through England and Scotland, they visited Paris, where they spent some time, and then proceeded southward as far as Switzerland. Some interesting extracts from Mr. Bruen's letters at this time, are furnished by his Biographer, highly indicative of the devotional and pious state of his mind, while surrounded with the gayety and irreligion of Continental society. In a letter addressed to his parents, and dated Paris, 1st December, 1816, he thus gives vent to his feelings:

“ This is the first Sabbath, except those on board ship, in which I am obliged to feel myself altogether from *home*. In England and Scotland, the day brought with it Christian communion. The society of those whose hearts we knew were possessed with the same powerful desires, while it strongly recalled to our recollection friends and enjoyments far away, at the same time gave us an equivalent, to a certain

degree, for what our affection felt to be wanting. But on this Sabbath we are excluded from our privileges. It brings with it here no holy public exercises; we are shut up to our own meditations; we sigh for home. 'O that I had the wings of a dove!' My heart throbs and melts at the remembrance of this day's occupation there. . . . I look at the spectacle, present to my imagination, of our fire-side at this hour; I look at the situation—the face—and every feature of every one there. May the blessing of the Holy One richly descend into the hearts of them all! This city, above all others, perhaps Rome alone excepted, is destitute of true religion. Here the Sabbath never comes. Sunday indeed they have; they greet its return; but it is with such festivities as exhibit a most entire want of the fear of God. The streets here, on this day, are exactly as ours on the 4th of July, except that our 4th looks more like a Sabbath, since nobody pretends to work. But here the blacksmith is at his forge, and the other mechanics at their labour; and the streets crowded by an immense multitude of people, with bellmen hawking about their things for sale, and showmen consuming the time selected by the Creator as holy to himself, every hour of which brings those myriads of immortals nearer their eternal, immutable condition. Poor Paris! what are splendid palaces to the want of the church of the living God! Of what value these gewgaws of an hour, in comparison of the glorious condition of that city or nation whose God is the Lord! Oh! how miserable is the spectacle, if we throw upon it the light of eternity!" p. 16.

In the following spring, Dr. Mason returned with his young companion to London, to attend the religious anniversaries in May. After participating in the exhilarating emotions which these interesting occasions are adapted to excite, Mr. Bruen set out on a journey northward, travelling more leisurely than he had done before, and visiting in his way the individuals and places of which he had heard with interest and reverence in his own land. It was upon this occasion that, when he arrived in Scotland, he first presented himself at the hospitable mansion which he ever afterwards designated as his 'Scottish home,' and where he found that congenial society in the midst of which some of his happiest hours seem to have been spent. It was here that he commenced that intimacy to which we are indebted for the memorial of his life now before us, and for many of the beautiful specimens of epistolary correspondence with which it is adorned. Here he continued to reside until the month of September, when he rejoined Dr. Mason, whom he had left in London, at Edinburgh. After enjoying for a few weeks the society of that capital, they returned to the house of his Biographer, where, we are told, 'they together lingered out their last days in Scotland;—days fraught with spiritual improvement, and affecting, because they included the prayer and parting blessings of Dr. Mason on the family whom he honoured with his regard.'

It had been the intention of Mr. Bruen to spend the succeed-

ing winter in study at Utrecht ; but the state of his health rendering it very doubtful whether a residence in so damp a climate might not prove permanently injurious to him, he changed his plan, and determined to winter in Italy. He seems to have come to this resolution not without considerable hesitation, arising from the conscientious doubt, whether it was consistent with his duty to spend so much time in the mere pursuit of information and the gratification of taste, instead of entering upon the discharge of the duties of that profession to which he had devoted himself. In a letter written while he was in London, preparing to embark for the Continent, he thus expresses his feelings.

“ The tone of my feelings has been lowered by an innocent remark of a friend here. ‘ He came from home just when he had collected all the instruments of usefulness, and now goes to let them rust in France and Italy.’ Am I in the path of duty ? That is the one great question. In that day when God shall judge the world by Jesus Christ, will it be answer sufficient for the use of my time—‘ He left off preaching the gospel, to go and see St. Peter’s, and the place where Satan’s seat is ?’ Oh ! I had rather be with you at the sick man’s couch ; but this cannot be. I am now in a course which I cannot decide *not* to be the course of duty. We shall know *in that day*. Meanwhile, if I have erred, pray for me that my sins may be pardoned, and that while I suffer loss, I be not lost.” p. 32.

The tenderness of conscience which he exhibited on this occasion, attended him through all the engagements of his future career, and formed one of the most striking traits of his character. That it was sometimes carried to a morbid excess, so as to diminish in a serious degree the peace and consolation which as a Christian he might otherwise have enjoyed, seems too evident from some of the letters in the volume before us ; but that his error, if such it may be deemed, rather his infirmity, was on the safe side, will not be questioned by those who are acquainted with the temptations to which men of literary tastes and habits are peculiarly exposed. They will see, in this tendency of his mind, the best preservative against the encroachments of that spirit which too often leads such persons to prefer the cultivation of the intellect to the discipline of the heart, and the gratification of the taste to the exercises of devotion and the conscientious discharge of the more private and less exciting duties of religion.

In pursuance of the plan which he had formed, Mr. Bruen spent the winter of 1817, and the spring of the following year, in a tour through part of France, Switzerland, Italy, the Tyrol, part of Germany and of Holland. His letters written during this period, present to us many very lively and interesting sketches of the manners, habits, and appearance of the people, as well as the general features of the countries through which he passed. He

seems to have kept a pretty full journal of his adventures and feelings, the substance of which he afterwards published under the title of "Essays, Descriptive and Moral, of Scenes in Italy and France. By an American." The chief excellence of this volume, his Biographer remarks, is, that it gives us a *moral* view of Italy. 'Others have described palaces and pageants, churches and ceremonies: Mr. Bruen's aim is, to describe the effects of 'despotism and Popish superstition on the national character, the 'private morals, and the spiritual interests of the people.' A work that should occupy this field in all its wide and momentous extent, has long been wanting among our works of travels in Modern Italy; and as tending in some degree to supply the *desideratum*, the "Essays" of Mr. Bruen may be regarded as valuable contributions, which an individual of more extensive observation, and of a more highly philosophic cast of mind, might advantageously employ as materials in constructing such a work. From the copious extracts which are given by his Biographer, we select the following remarks on St. Peter's, as a fair specimen of Mr. Bruen's general style and manner.

"When, at the first view of the interior of St. Peter's,—for I think we were all disappointed with the exterior, until we examined it closely,—we behold the mighty columns, the magnificent statues, the brilliant roof, the rich chapels, and the brazen baldaquin under the mighty dome, we feel that we stand where Charlemagne and Hildebrand might have met as compeers,—we see, as in one perspective, what we have before gathered in detail, that it was indeed an immense structure, which bound together the remotest parts of Christendom under an iron domination, which gave the right to a proud priest to force emperor and king to hold his stirrup.

"But these reflections are too stern to bear their sway long; for the admiration of the work shadows our remembrance of the infamy of those who built it. We would not mingle the memory of the prodigality of Leo X., or the crimes of Alexander VI., or the tyranny of Sixtus Quintus, with our elevated feeling in beholding this masterpiece of human science and sentiment; for what richness of sentiment is there in all the paintings, and what immense knowledge in raising these mighty arches!" p. 70.

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"I saw St. Peter's when it was illuminated by the cross suspended from the dome; and the effect of light and shade was superlatively fine. Nowhere did it strike me more than when the light fell upon the gigantic statues which adorn the tombs of the Popes, especially upon that of Clement XIII., where we see Canova's Sleeping Lions, and watchful Genius, which is the most affecting representation of an angelic being I ever beheld in marble.

"On the following Wednesday (Ash Wednesday), at the Sixtine chapel, the first Miserere is sung, and can never be listened to with-

out profound feeling. It is said that the music, which was written for this chapel, cannot be performed elsewhere with the same effect; and in a matter where fancy has so much play as in the effect of music, it can easily be imagined, that the associations of the place should give an exquisite tone of sentiment to the whole. I shall never lose the recollection of the solemn sensations produced by the first note of '*Miserere mei Domine.*' The evening had gradually shut in; I had been observing the Last Judgement of Michael Angelo, which occupies all the large space of wall behind the great altar. The scene had faded to my eye until only the more vivid figures could be perceived; and when realities almost sunk into shades, and pictures seemed realities—as the lights upon the altar were all save one extinguished—the cardinals and the whole assembly fell upon their knees, and in the dead silence the choir chanted 'Pity me, O God.'

"It was the single occasion in which, as a Protestant, I could not, and did not wish to restrain my sympathy. And so much did the music force each one to shrink from contact, and prepare for a spiritual supervision, that in the crowd I felt alone, and could willingly have wept in penitence for myself, and in adoring commiseration for my Lord." pp. 71—73.

From this extensive tour, Mr. Bruen returned to England in July 1818; and after a short excursion to Ireland, he once more found himself at his Scottish home, where he spent a few weeks 'rich in intellectual and Christian enjoyment' with his much valued friends. Of these 'precious weeks', his Biographer speaks in terms of fond remembrance, as not unmoved by the solemn consideration that their enjoyments can never be renewed on earth, and yet cheered with the prospect of their resumption in that eternal abode 'where no enemy can ever enter, and whence 'no friend shall ever depart.'

'How chastened', she elegantly remarks, 'is that friendship which must transfer its hopes of future personal intercourse to another state of being! How sore the penalty paid, in such circumstances, even for the highest moral delights! How vainly, during the last days, did we endeavour to interest ourselves in subjects of general philanthropy, or our own future plans of usefulness! They were not to be accomplished, if ever accomplished, but in stations far remote from each other. We exclaimed with Klopstock, in sadness of heart,—

"Alas! they find not each the other; they
Whose hearts for friendship and for love were made;
Now far dividing climes forbid to meet,
And now long ages roll their course between." p. 92.

In the month of September, Mr. Bruen left Scotland for Liverpool, with the intention of sailing from that port to America; but when on the point of embarking for his native land, he was arrested by a very urgent and pressing solicitation from some Americans resident in Paris, who had formed themselves into a

small Christian Church, that he would visit them, and endeavour to establish amongst them regular preaching and the dispensation of the ordinances of the gospel. So strongly expressed was their wish, and so clear to Mr. B.'s mind did the call of duty in the matter appear, that he immediately resolved to comply with the invitation; though, from several passages in his letters written at the time, it is evident that the resolution cost him no small degree of pain, as obliging him to relinquish, at the very moment when there seemed a prospect of their being speedily realized, all his fondly cherished desires after the enjoyments of home.

As it was necessary, before he entered upon the functions of a Pastor, that he should be solemnly set apart to that office, he proceeded to London for that purpose; and about the beginning of November, he was publicly ordained to the Christian ministry, at the chapel of the Rev. Dr. J. P. Smith, who, with Mr. (now Dr.) Fletcher, Dr. Winter, the late Dr. Waugh, and a Presbyterian clergyman from Greenock, officiated upon the occasion. To a mind constituted as Mr. Bruen's, it may easily be conceived, that the services of the day would be peculiarly and almost painfully impressive. Tenderly alive as he was to his own imperfections, and deeply sensible of the responsibility attaching to the office, it was with no merely perfunctory solemnity that he took upon himself the office of an ambassador for Christ. To so high a degree, indeed, were his feelings excited, that he seems to have been thrown into a state almost bordering on despair, and from which even the contemplation of the Divine promises of strength and guidance failed for some time to recover him. That so excessive and inordinate anxiety is not only unauthorized by the religion of the Bible, but even positively discountenanced by it, hardly needs be pointed out. Yet, who that has seriously reflected upon the subject, and, with the word of God as his guide, has endeavoured to take the gauge and dimensions of the responsibility involved in the solemn vows of the ministerial office, would not rather participate in the exquisite anguish into which Mr. Bruen was plunged, than enter upon that office with the unhallowed confidence and almost callous indifference that too many persons on such occasions exhibit? Happy the individual who, under such circumstances, can so far forget himself, as to feel that he is but an instrument in the hand of the Almighty, by whose grace alone he is to be fitted for his work, and to whose glory all his exertions must tend!

Mr. Bruen remained in Paris for about six months. Finding, however, that there was little prospect of his efforts reaching beyond the few who had first invited him to become their pastor, and feeling that his own country had much more imperative claims upon his exertions, he resigned his charge, and returned to America in the summer of 1819. Almost immediately after

his arrival, he commenced his labours for the spiritual benefit of his countrymen, preaching wherever he had an opportunity; sometimes in farm-houses and private rooms, and sometimes in deserted chapels where not a single pane of glass remained, so that the wind had free liberty of entrance. While thus usefully occupied, circumstances occurred, by which he was induced again to cross the Atlantic, and revisit this country. What these circumstances were, we are not informed. A desire once more to mingle in the society of those friends whom he so much loved, before he should be placed in circumstances that might render a visit to them scarcely practicable, had, probably, some share in his decision. With these friends, the months of February, March, and April, 1821, were spent; during which, some afflictive occurrences in his own family and in that of his friend's, afforded an opportunity for the display of all the more amiable and attractive elements of his character, and for exhibiting to the fullest advantage the tenderness of his heart and the depth of his piety. To his friends, 'he was every thing that a brother in adversity can be'. He despised fatigue, he forgot his own griefs, and seemed only solicitous to minister to the welfare and comfort of those around him. In May, Mr. Bruen returned to America, where he resumed his former labours, employing himself chiefly in itinerant preaching, and in attending to the interests of the Home Missionary Society, of which he had been elected secretary. In the discharge of the duties connected with this office, a large portion of his time was occupied; and he seems to have watched over its procedure, and to have sought the success of its object, with a zeal and assiduity not less advantageous to the society than it was honourable to himself. About this period, he entered into the marriage relation with Miss Davenport; a lady who seems to have been in every respect qualified to become the wife of such a man, and between whom and her husband there existed, we are told, 'an entire sympathy in taste, principles, and habits.' Early in 1825, they were called to endure the loss of their only child. Deeply as this affliction seems to have affected Mr. B., it did not prevent him from prosecuting his exertions as a minister of the gospel, or discharging his duties in connection with the Home Missionary Society. In June of the same year, he entered into a stated engagement with the church which had been collected together through his ministrations, and the members of which had built a commodious and elegant place of worship for him in Blucher Street, in the city of New York. He now felt it to be his duty to resign his situation as Secretary to the Home Missionary Society; and as soon as a suitable successor was found in the person of the Rev. Absalom Peters, Mr. Bruen devoted his undivided attention to the instruction of his flock, and to preaching as extensively as he had opportunity. Successful in his ex-

ertions, beloved by his flock, and respected by all who knew him, in the prime of life, and with every prospect of comfort and usefulness, he seemed now to have reached the very station for which he was most eminently qualified, and in which a long course of useful and honourable exertion was presented to his view.

If such contemplations were indulged by his friends, they were destined very soon to be disappointed. Scarcely three years had elapsed from the time of his settlement over the church in Blucher Street, when it pleased the All-Wise Disposer of events to remove him from the scene of his labours to the enjoyment of that "rest which remaineth for the people of God." His demise took place rather unexpectedly in the autumn of 1829. In the month of August of that year, he was in the enjoyment of his usual health, and actively engaged in the discharge of his various duties. About the middle of that month, he left his family, who were at that time residing in the country, in company with Professor Taylor, of New Haven, to go to Woodbury, for the purpose of taking a part in the ordination of four missionaries, who were appointed to go to the valley of the Mississippi, 'to preach the gospel, and establish a college.' To them, on the morning of Wednesday, the 27th, he delivered a charge, (written on the preceding evening after his arrival at Woodbury,) which is replete with the soundest advice, and evinces the most extensive knowledge both of men and things. As this was the last of his pulpit addresses, our readers may not be uninterested in perusing a few sentences, as they are furnished in the volume before us.

"There is a common feeling, which is in a high degree reasonable, that a minister of Christ should bear about him an atmosphere purer than that of other men; that, secluded by his great privileges from many temptations, he should even breathe a better air; that, like the angel who carried light in his garments into Peter's dark prison, he should be always ready to give forth consolation to the prisoner, and guidance to the lost. Let this anointing be on you. Let the spirit of the Lord your God be upon you, because the Lord hath sent you to preach the gospel. Except you realise this first blessing—if you go to war without the sword of the Spirit—you bring your own souls, and those of your hearers, into everlasting peril.

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"Let a manifest dependence upon God mark every sentiment and gesture. It is not in man that walketh to direct his steps. It is not in the wisdom of man to sharpen and sort his arms, so that they shall reach the heart. If you feel this dependence, you will be earnest, hearty, prevailing in prayer: if you express it and make it manifest, God will be in the midst of you of a truth. 'Paul may plant, Apollos water—God giveth the increase.'

"Go, then, beloved brethren, go under the guidance of the Angel of the covenant. May he make you the angels of his churches! Go where such vast desolations draw your pity; go with the unction of

Christ our Saviour, making known Jesus Christ and him crucified. You carry with you the prayers and the sympathy of the churches ; and if at any time your hearts yearn again for your home, remember whose piety has made your home so delightful, and live for the holy vocation of making a delightful home for Christ and His church in the now waste and howling wilderness.” pp. 401—404.

On Thursday, the 28th, Mr. Bruen rejoined his family, and spent a part of the day in reading aloud to them communications relating to Greece, in the welfare of which he was deeply interested. During the whole of the day, he felt himself remarkably well ; so much so, that he declared that ‘it was a happiness to breathe’. In the night, and during the following day, he was sensible of indisposition, though his tender regard for the feelings of his family, and his anxiety not to be hindered from proceeding to New York, to preach to his flock on the following Sabbath, induced him to conceal it. He left his family on the Saturday ; and on the Sabbath, though suffering from severe sickness, he entered the pulpit, and began the services of the day. He soon found himself, however, unable to proceed, and requested the Rev. Mr. Peters to take his place. Shortly afterwards, he retired to his own house ; ‘a brief journey, to be retraced by him no more, till his frame had lost the principle of life, and was conveyed to that spot, the scene of many solitudes and prayers, to wait for the blessed morning of the resurrection.’ Medical assistance was promptly procured, and the progress of disease seemed at first to have been arrested, as on the following morning he appeared quite lively and active. Thinking himself recovering, he would not allow Mrs. Bruen to be sent for ; but on the Thursday, she arrived of her own accord, having learned that he was unwell. It had then become too evident, that all expectations of recovery had been delusive, and that his slender frame could not long sustain the weight of suffering by which it was oppressed. During the intervals between the paroxysms of his disease, his mind was calm and serene ; ‘the bitterness of death was past’ ; the concerns of time were gradually losing their influence upon his mind ; and the glories of the eternal world were acquiring a greater value in his estimation, and a more powerful hold upon his affections, as he approached nearer to the enjoyment of them. To each of his friends, and to each of the members of his church, he sent earnest messages of love ; in all of which he spoke as one who, in the hour of extremity, was tasting that it was no vain thing to have called upon the Lord. In this pleasing state of mind he continued until the 6th of September, (his biographer writes *December*, obviously from oversight,) when, just as the dawn was ushering in the first day of the week, were his labours and sufferings consummated. ‘And now,’ adds the

Author, 'we rejoice to believe that he dwells in the presence of 'Him whom, having not seen, he loved.'

A variety of interesting reflections are naturally suggested by a review of such a life as that of Mr. Bruen; but this article has already extended too far to allow of our indulging in any further comment upon the volume. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with again recommending it to the attention of our readers; expressing our hope, that it may prove the means of stirring up in the minds of many of our young ministers and probationers, a kindred spirit of zeal for the service of God, of ardent aspiration after all that is praiseworthy and excellent, and of delight in every thing that can enlarge the understanding, cultivate the taste, or refine the feelings. With the superior advantages which this country presents for the successful cultivation of talent, we need but a clearer insight into the philosophy of preaching, and the theory of the mental action of mind on mind, to render our ministers as completely furnished for the successful discharge of their work, as the agency of human means can effect; and we know not where this insight can be more easily and effectually gained, than from observing the procedure, and studying the opinions, of such men as Mr. Bruen.

Art. IV. 1. *On Political Economy, in Connexion with the Moral State and Moral Prospects of Society.* By Thomas Chalmers, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. 8vo. pp. viii. 566. Price 12s. Glasgow. 1832.

2. *Illustrations of Political Economy.* By Harriet Martineau. No. I. to V. Price 1s. 6d. each. London. 1832.

IN this volume, Dr. Chalmers 'bids adieu to political economy, 'with an earnest recommendation of its lessons to all those 'who enter upon the ecclesiastical vocation.' 'They are our 'churchmen, in fact,' he adds, 'who could best carry the most 'important of these lessons into practical effect.' In Scotland, at least, he thinks, the clergy might, 'with the greatest ease, if 'sufficiently enlightened on the question of pauperism, clear away 'that moral leprosy from their respective parishes;' while, 'standing at the head of Christian education', they form 'the only 'effectual dispensers of all those civil and economical blessings 'which would follow in its train.' In other words, the great secret of political wisdom, the foundation stone of national prosperity, the key to political economy, is—EDUCATION, under the effectual superintendence of the ministers of religion. The Author's main design, in the present work, has been to establish the following specific proposition :

‘That no economic enlargements in the wealth and resources of a country, can ensure aught like a permanent comfort or sufficiency to the families of the land. Followed up, as these enlargements are, by a commensurate, or, generally, by an over-passing increase of the population;—the country, while becoming richer in the aggregate, may continue to teem with as great, perhaps a greater, amount of individual distress and penury, than in the humbler and earlier days of her history. In these circumstances, the highway to our secure and stable prosperity is, not so much to enlarge the limit of our external means, as so to restrain the numbers of the population, that they shall not press too hard upon that limit. But the only way of rightly accomplishing this, is through the medium of a higher self-respect, and higher taste for the comforts and decencies of life among the people themselves. It is only a moral and voluntary restraint that should be aimed at, or that can be at all effectual; the fruit, not of any external or authoritative compulsion, but of their own spontaneous and collective will. This is evidently not the achievement of a day, but the slow product of education, working insensibly, yet withal steadily and surely, on the habits and inclinations of the common people; begetting a higher cast of character, and, as the unfailing consequence of this, a higher standard of enjoyment; the effect of which will be, more provident, and hence, both later and fewer marriages. Without this expedient, no possible enlargement of the general wealth can enlarge the individual comfort of families; but, as in China, we shall behold a general want and wretchedness throughout the mass of society. With this expedient, no limitation in the way of further increase to our wealth will depress the condition, though it will restrain the number, of our families; but, as in Norway, we shall behold the cheerful spectacle of a thriving, independent, and respectable peasantry.’

pp. 551—552.

We exceedingly like the idea, that Education is the one simple and specific remedy for all the evils resulting from the unequal distribution of wealth, the excess of population, and the other sources of distress and embarrassment which press so heavily upon the country at the present moment. We are so deeply convinced of the importance of a moral and religious education for ‘the economic well-being of a people’, that we should have thought it difficult to over-estimate its value and efficiency; nor can we have any objection whatever against Dr. Chalmers’s doctrine, except this one,—that the brilliant promise which it holds out, rests upon calculations, we fear, of that one-sided character, which omit to take into account the *per contra*. We feel some difficulty in believing that the entire difference between the Norwegian peasantry and the Chinese, as regards their social condition, would be removed by their being placed on a par in point of moral and religious education. We very much fear that Christian instruction, although it has changed the face of society, and is, we trust, destined to effect changes still more extensive and beneficial, will not immediately operate as an efficient check of all the

political evils that afflict the community. It is quite true, that, in proportion as men learn to govern themselves, they stand less in need of the restraints and interference of government. And the predicted time is approaching, when all the governments of this world will be, in some sense and degree, merged in the government and kingdom of Christ. Nevertheless, for some ages to come, there seems to us reason to apprehend, that governments will find something more to do, than to support the clergy, in order to the education of the people, in order that they, the people, being educated, may marry later, or not at all, and not contribute by their imprudence to overstock the country. Even supposing that this scheme should succeed in Scotland, and the great political lesson of celibacy *pro bono publico et suo*, be there implanted by the endowed clergy in the minds of the people, how would it succeed in China? There, no 'law of pauperism', except that of nature, 'maintains the population in a state of perpetual overflow'; and yet, we fear that Christian instruction would do little towards checking its increase, or raising the price of wages in the Celestial empire.

Dr. Chalmers may well claim a respectful hearing upon any subject, even although it may be one that may seem out of his province, or which he does not perfectly understand. If not a very profound political economist, he is what is far better,—a sincere philanthropist; and if his theoretic principles are not always sound, his aims and motives are always guided by an enlightened benevolence. His practical measures for promoting the 'Christian and Civil Economy' of large towns, are also admirable, and entitle him to national gratitude. The present volume contains much that is excellent in sentiment, ingenious in argument, and eloquent in discussion. Still, it has confirmed the impression produced by the Author's former writings on subjects of political economy, that his talents and turn of mind do not remarkably qualify him for such inquiries. He is by far too bold a thinker, to be trusted in matters of historical accuracy or financial calculation; too sweeping a generalizer, to be correct in statements relating to complex subjects involving infinite details; too apt to suffer one great idea to fill up the whole field of his intellectual vision, to the exclusion of other objects which, by being taken in, would have corrected his false perspective. The volume abounds with the most startling paradoxes,—with some positions, indeed, which, if proceeding from a writer of less eminence and unimpeachable integrity, would lead one to lay down the book with feelings bordering upon contempt. Of this description are some of his remarks on the 'scurvy economics' of the day; although we feel persuaded that nothing is further from his design, than to advocate a profligate expenditure of public money, even could he prove it to come wholly from the pockets of the landlords.

But, as the Author has favoured us with a synoptical view of his own economical principles, it will be but fair and proper to lay these before our readers in as compressed a form as may consist with their being made intelligible. The propositions—we cannot call them conclusions—are thirty-six in number, and as they occupy fourteen pages of the volume, we cannot of course give them entire.

Having divided the labouring population into three classes, 'the agricultural, the secondary' (i.e. manufacturing), 'and the disposable,' the Author lays it down as his first axiom, that 'the higher the standard of enjoyment is among the people at large, the greater will be the secondary, and the less will be the disposable class; or, corresponding to this, the greater will be the wages, and the less will be the rent; while at the same time the more limited will be the cultivation.' And this is followed up by position the second; 'that the great aim of every enlightened philanthropist and patriot, is, to raise the standard of enjoyment, even though it should somewhat lessen the rent, and somewhat lessen the cultivation.' These not very intelligible initial principles rest upon the supposed 'discovery' made almost simultaneously by Sir Edward West and Mr. Malthus, with respect to the laws that regulate rent. Rent, our Author conceives, is *measured*, though not originated, 'by the difference between the produce of a given quantity of labour on any soil, and the produce of the same labour on the soil that yields no rent'—wherever that soil may be found. Or, to state the doctrine in fewer words, the rent of good land is calculated on the rent of poor land. That the difference of quality in soils is the efficient *cause* of rent, Dr. Chalmers denies; and by rejecting this part of the modern discovery, he reduces it to a very innocent proposition, but one which hardly supports the consequences that have been raised upon it. The Author's own propositions above cited appear to be grounded on some such process of reasoning as this. The higher the standard of enjoyment is among the people at large, the more the labourer will require in the shape of wages as the remuneration for his labour; and the higher the wages of labour, the greater the expense of cultivation, and the less surplus will remain for the landlord in the shape of rent. Now good land only will, under such circumstances, pay for cultivation, and less land therefore will be cultivated. And though this may be an evil in itself, it will be counterbalanced by the good resulting from the higher standard of social enjoyment, and the additional employment thereby furnished to the manufacturing class.

If this be what Dr. Chalmers means, we cordially agree with him in thinking, that the higher the wages of agricultural labour, the better for the country, provided it only lessens rent, and does not raise the price of domestic produce too high above that

which would pay for importing it. But we question whether the raising of the standard of enjoyment will ensure the effect which Dr. Chalmers ascribes to it. Many other things must be presupposed, or taken for granted, which are not here expressed. The next proposition, indeed, partially explains the Author's meaning, and qualifies it. It is this: 'That there is no other method by which wages can be kept permanently high, than by the operation of the moral preventive check among the working classes of society; and that this can only be secured by elevating their standard of enjoyment, through the means both of common and Christian education.' After comforting the landlord under the 'menacing aspect' of this policy, with the assurance, that there is no danger, thanks to the strength of the principle of population, but wages will be kept sufficiently *low* for his purpose, and cultivation be carried down, by means of improvements in husbandry, among the inferior soils sufficiently far; Dr. Chalmers affirms, in his fifth proposition, 'that it remains in the collective power of labourers to sustain their wages at as high a level in the ultimate, as in the progressive stages of the wealth of a society; that the moral preventive check on population can achieve and perpetuate this result, but that nothing else will do it.' In the next two paragraphs, (6. and 7.) the Author vehemently deprecates the scheme of home colonization, as one which, 'if persisted in, must have its final upshot in the most fearful and 'desolating anarchy'!

Now all this seems to us as loose and unsatisfactory as any statements pretending to scientific accuracy can be. What is meant by a high standard of enjoyment? Does it imply a high state of morals, or only a state in which the artificial wants are augmented by the progress of civilization, so that the labourer requires more things for his comfort than formerly? If the latter be intended, it is obvious that the standard of enjoyment among the lower classes of this country has been raised, not by means of education, but by means of those improvements in manufacturing industry which have brought the comforts of life within their reach. If our peasants now require shoes and stockings, and our servant maids flaunt in silk gowns, it is not that education has raised the standard of enjoyment in these respects, but that silks are cheaper, and that shoes and stockings have ceased to be regarded as luxuries, and have come to be necessities, in consequence of the low price at which they can be supplied. The standard of education is generally supposed to be higher among the barefooted peasantry of Scotland, than among the English poor: but is the standard of enjoyment higher among the former? Just the reverse. The Scotchman would contrive to live, where the Englishman would starve. To raise the standard of enjoyment among a people, nothing more is requisite than to

cheapen the means of enjoyment, either by a rise of wages, or by a cheapened production of the articles of comfort. But how far the raising of that standard shall turn to the happiness of the community, must depend upon the security which the labourer has, that he shall be able to maintain the same permanent command over the comforts of life.

Again, what is meant by high wages? Three very different things may be intended by the expression: high money wages; high in proportion to profits and rent; and high in relation to the means of subsistence or the commodities which the labour of the workman will command. In which of these three respects is it within 'the collective power of labourers to sustain their wages at 'a high level'? They have certainly no control over the currency. Now, during the latter half of the last century, it has been calculated that wages, estimated in money, rose a hundred per cent., while, estimated in commodities, they *fell* thirty-three per cent. In the year 1751, husbandry wages were 6s. per week, which was equal at that time to ninety-six pints of wheat. In 1803, they were 11s. 6d. per week, but this sum was equal to only sixty-three pints of wheat. So that wages underwent a real depreciation of thirty-three per cent., during the very time that they seemed to be constantly rising. Dr. Chalmers maintains, that 'there are only two ways in which to augment the price of 'labour; either by a diminution of the supply, or by an increase 'of the effective demand for it;' which demand, he moreover imagines, cannot be carried beyond a certain limit, and that limit is, the amount of agricultural produce by which labour is maintained. (p. 441.) Now facts are opposed to every part of this statement. If he means the money price of labour, this was raised by causes altogether different from the relation of demand to supply. If he means the real price, it is certain that, during the period above referred to, no such evil as a redundant population was either felt or dreamed of; the demand for labour being steady and effective, and increasing quite as fast as the supply; and yet, as we have seen, it was *not* in the collective power of the labourers to sustain their wages at the same level.

A rise of wages may be produced by a fall of commodities; and again, the real price of labour may be diminished by a fall in the value of money. So far as the rate of wages is regulated by the principle of demand and supply, (which is only one of, the principles by which the rate is really governed,) the demand is created by the prospect of a profitable employment of that specific description of labour on the part of the capitalist. When agricultural profits are high, a greater portion of capital is drawn to the cultivation of the soil, which creates a new demand for agricultural labour, and enhances its value. When labour is in excess, it is not that there are too many hands to be employed, but because

there is not capital to employ them ; and the reason that there is not capital available for that purpose, is, that the production has ceased to yield an adequate profit to the capitalist.

To represent the population as excessive in relation to the productive powers of the territory, is one of the most stupid fallacies that ever obtained currency. Were this the fact, the first measures which the Legislature ought to adopt, would be, to enclose for cultivation all the arable soil now occupied by parks and pleasure-grounds, and to order a general destruction of all grain-consuming, unproductive animals. But how comes it to pass that Holland, one of the most barren regions of the globe, is at the same time one of the most populous ? And how is it that the price of provisions there, has always been lower and steadier than in almost any other part of Europe ? There can be no excess of population, where there is no want of employment ; and there will be no want of employment so long as labour can be rendered adequately productive. The population of Massachusetts is at present about seventy-one to the square league : that of the Middle States of the Union averages thirty-three to the square league. Yet, ' the manufacturers of the interior of New England are able ' to obtain the grain of the Middle States at a less cost than that ' for which the cultivators in their neighbourhood raise their own ' upon the spot.* So far is it from being true, that the supply of the means of subsistence at the disposal of a community, is limited to the produce of the soil they occupy. Yet, this is one of our Author's fundamental positions. And thus he argues.

' There is a necessary limit to agricultural produce, or, in other words, to the maintenance of labour, without which there can be no effective demand for it. Consequent to this, or, rather, almost identical with this, there is a limit to that employment, for the produce of which there might be obtained in return the subsistence of the labourers. There is a limit to the extension of that capital, the accumulation of which has been regarded by many as the grand specific for the indefinite employment and maintenance of the labouring classes. There is a limit to the extension of foreign trade, which has been imagined to afford a field for the profitable industry of our workmen, as unbounded as are the resources and magnitude of the globe.'

And what is this necessary limit ? A limitation of produce !

' It is because the rate of advancing population may outstrip the rate of enlargement in any one of the resources now specified, or in all of them put together, that, in every stage of the progress of society, there might be felt a *continued pressure on the means of subsistence*. It is this increase in the supply of labour, up to, and often

* North American Review, No. LXXII. p. 5.

beyond the increase in its demand; it is this rapid occupation, or rather overflow by the one, of every enlargement that is made by the other; it is this which sustains, under every possible advancement in the resources of the land, *the pressure of the population on the food*, and makes the problem of their secure and permanent comfort so very baffling, and as yet *so very hopeless.*' pp. 441, 2.

And it is this gloomy, repulsive, and, God be praised, most false view of the social constitution, which has converted the science of political economy into a problem of the same character as that of the North-west passage,—placing all who essay a solution of its difficulties in a region of icy horrors, without outlet, and whence they can bring home nothing but 'a message of despair.' Yes, we are 'shut up', Dr. Chalmers tells us,—the Moral Governor of the world, He who said, "Increase and Multiply", has 'shut us up' to this, as 'our only refuge' from a deluge of our kind,—'a diminution of the supply of labour', by counteracting this mischievous tendency to multiply. Emigration, home colonization, any extension of the demand for labour, are impotent or injurious expedients. The only plan is, 'to prevent the formation of a redundancy' by the encouragement of celibacy or late marriages.

'In the whole round of expedients, we are persuaded,' says our Professor of Divinity, 'that this is the only one, which, *however obnoxious to sentimentalists*, can avail for the solution of a problem otherwise irreducible. It has been the theme, sometimes of ridicule, and sometimes even of a virtuous, though, surely, a misplaced indignation; its distinctive excellence being, that it harmonizes the moral and economic interests of a community, and, indeed, can only take effect in proportion to the worth and wisdom of our people.' p. 443.

Or, it ought to have been added, in proportion to their callousness and profligacy; expedients quite as effectual for preventing the formation of a redundant population, as worth and wisdom, especially when aided by disease and infanticide. What wise and worthy people are the Ottomans, who have so completely succeeded in preventing the increase of population in the countries they occupy,—where, under the most genial climate, and on the most fertile soil, 'the human race,' as Burke expressed it, 'itself 'melts away and perishes under the eye of the observer'!

On this point, we are content to rank with *sentimentalists*, rather than with speculatists. For the whole is a baseless speculation,—a spectral hypothesis. Except in cases of accidental scarcity, population never is, never has been checked by a deficiency of the means of subsistence. The poor have been sometimes known to be on the point of starvation in countries that have largely exported wheat; but never has depopulation been the actual result of a pressure upon the means of subsistence as de-

rivable from the soil. For such a case, if it really occurred, emigration would be the obvious and available remedy; and emigration is not an effectual remedy for the evil of a redundant population in this country, precisely because that redundancy has no relation whatever to the productive powers of the soil. If there is a 'necessary limit to agricultural produce,' it is a limit which exists only as an abstraction; a limit to which there may be an indefinite approximation without the possibility of reaching it while the world endures. There is no *actual* limit to agricultural produce; no other, at least, than the existence of agricultural producers. Scarcity is the result of depopulation, not its cause. In countries which were once the granaries of the surrounding region, a scattered population now obtain a bare subsistence. Yet, the soil, in most cases, is as fertile as ever. The scarcity of produce there, results from the absence of population; while an increase of population is found to be every where followed by an increased abundance of the necessities and comforts of life. With these incontestable facts before us, are we to suffer ourselves to be *shut up* into the most cheerless predicament that imagination can conceive, by a geometrical calculation which has obtruded itself into a science of practical induction, to which it bears much the same relation that the doctrine of metaphysical necessity does to the science of law? That a person of Dr. Chalmers's acuteness and philanthropy should have adopted, in all its naked hideousness, the fallacious theory of Malthus, we deeply regret; especially as this cardinal fallacy pervades and vitiates all his reasonings.

Suppose the case were as he puts it, the situation of the labourer would be indeed hopeless. For, granting the efficiency of the preventive moral check in certain circumstances, and to a certain degree, it obviously affords no remedy under an existing pressure, nor any prospect of relief to the existing generation. And how, then, are the labouring classes to be made heroically to deny themselves the immediate benefits and enjoyments of marriage, for the sake of a reversionary benefit to the next generation? Were the subject less grave, the terms in which the learned Professor speaks from the Divinity chair to the lower classes on this subject, would be very diverting.

'Let labourers on the one hand, make a stand for higher wages; and this they can only do effectively, *by refraining from over-population*. And let capitalists, on the other, make a stand for higher profit; and this they can only do effectively, *by refraining from over-speculation*. . . . And, just by the position which they might voluntarily unite in keeping up, may they both lower the rent of land, and somewhat limit its cultivation.' pp. 515, 16.

Refrain from over-population! The next thing we may expect

to hear of, is the formation of a new sort of Temperance Society for the discouragement of over-population,—a Glasgow Celibacy Association for the purpose of raising wages. But what security will be possessed by the combining parties who should make this stand, that when they have seemingly succeeded in lessening their own population, the rise of wages shall not attract an influx of new hands from some foreign quarter? What will be the use of their ‘refraining from over-population’, if other nations, not equally enlightened, go on in the way of natural increase? Besides, if the labourers come to understand that it rests with themselves to make a stand for higher wages in this way,—a very slow method at all events,—is it not probable that they may conceive it right to combine for the same end in other measures? Nor do we feel sure that they would be wrong in so doing. If they can by any means withhold from the market a portion of that existing supply of labour which is said to be in excess, such a step must certainly be as legitimate and feasible a mode of raising wages, as ‘the refraining from over-population.’

But after all, we fear it would prove, under any circumstances, out of the collective power of labourers, to sustain their wages at a high level, for the reasons already hinted at, and which we will briefly recapitulate. First, because the money price of labour bears a very variable relation to the real value of labour as measured in commodities; and the situation of the labourer is liable to be materially affected by changes in the currency, or in the value of money, over which he has no control. In the attempt to accommodate the money price to an acknowledged change in the real value of labour, the weaker party in the bargain is always a sufferer. Secondly, the demand for every species of labour is subject to fluctuations, while the supply of labour is required to be adequate to the greatest demand at any season, and must therefore always be liable to become excessive at the ebb-tide of the demand. Thirdly, the productiveness of labour in combination with capital, depends upon circumstances wholly beyond the calculation of the labourer; and as the capital which maintains the demand for labour, will continue to flow only in the channels of profitable production, the demand may undergo a sudden contraction, producing a fall of wages in that branch of productive industry, not the less ruinous to the labourer, because that capital may find other employment. The demand for agricultural labour is limited by the capital employed in its cultivation. The farmer would often employ more hands upon the same soil, as the manufacturer would set more hands in motion, if he had more capital; and capital would soon be drawn towards the land, as towards the manufacture, if a superior rate of profit were obtainable in that branch of employment. Now over the causes that determine the rate of profit, and ultimately regulate the demand for

labour, the labourer has no control; and all that he could do by making a stand for higher wages, would be, to hasten the withdrawal of capital from unprofitable branches of productive industry. But his 'refraining from over-population' would not enable him to make any stand whatever under circumstances against which no foresight could enable him to provide. The moral preventive check, when held out as a remedy, is a cruel mockery of his helplessness.

But we must proceed with our Author's synopsis, from which we have so long digressed. His eighth position is: 'That no trade or manufacture contributes to the good of society, more than the use or enjoyment which is afforded by its own commodities;' nor bears 'any creative part in augmenting the public revenue.' 9. That the extinction of any given branch of trade or manufacture would not sensibly throw back the agriculture. 10. That 'the destruction of a manufacture does not involve the destruction of the maintenance now expended on manufacturers;' the whole mischief incurred by such an event being a change of employment. 11. 'That they are chiefly the holders of the first necessities of life, or landed proprietors, who impress, by their taste and demand, any direction which seemeth unto them good, on the labours of the disposable population.' 12. That capital, duly protected, has 'as great an increasing and restorative power as population has,' and 'can no more increase beyond a certain limit than population can.' 13. 'That the diminution of capital occasioned by excessive expenditure, whether public or private, is not repaired so much by parsimony, as by the action of a diminished capital on profits; and that the extravagance of Government, or of individuals, which raises prices by the amount of that extravagance, produces only a rotation of property.' 14. 'That trade is liable to gluts, both general and partial.' 15. 'That the rate of profit is determined by the collective will of capitalists, by the command which they have, through their greater or less expenditure, over the amount of capital.' 16. That when the agricultural produce of a country is equal to 'the subsistence of its population, its foreign trade is as much directed by the taste, and upheld by the ability, of its landed proprietors, as the home trade is.' 17. 'That it is not desirable that the commerce of Britain should greatly overlap its agricultural basis; and that the excrescent population, subsisted on corn from abroad, yield a very insignificant fraction to the public revenue.' 18, 19, 20. That nevertheless there should be a free corn trade, which would not be injurious to the British landlords, and, 'probably, not burden the country with a large excrescent population.' 21. 'That Britain has nothing to apprehend from the loss of her colonies and commerce, but that a *change of employment to the disposable population, and*

'of enjoyment to the maintainers, would form the whole result' of it.' 22, 23, 24. That, what is now regarded as one of the exploded errors of the French economists, is undeniable truth; to wit, that all taxes ultimately fall on land.

We pause here, to give the reader time to draw breath; not assuredly to discuss any of the Author's paradoxes, which are too old to excite surprise, and too absurd to require refutation. The only cause for wonder is, that they should be revived by the Author at this time of day. Some five and twenty years ago, many of our readers may recollect, a Mr. Spence put forth an ingenious pamphlet under the title of "*Britain independent of Commerce*;" in which it was attempted to apply the reasonings of the French Economists to the circumstances of Great Britain at that crisis, when Napoleon was endeavouring to exclude our commerce from the Continent, and the tenure of our traffic with both hemispheres was deemed by some persons by no means secure*. Mr. Spence was supported by Mr. Cobbett, and some other pamphleteers of the day, who zealously undertook to prove that Commerce is not a source of national wealth. Their arguments received an able refutation from the pen of Mr. Mill, the Author of the *History of India*; and we had supposed the question had been laid to rest. About the same time, there appeared a work entitled, "*An Inquiry into the Extent and Stability of National Resources*," by a Scottish clergyman whose name was at that time unknown to the Southern public. The object of the Writer was, to advocate an immediate extension of our military and naval establishments, and an augmentation of taxes to any needful extent, such taxation requiring nothing more than the sacrifice of luxuries. Dividing the community into three classes, the producers of food, the producers of '*second necessities*,' and the producers and consumers of luxuries, the Writer contended, that the whole of the last class might be disposed of at will by the authority of the State, might be employed as soldiers and sailors in any proportion, and maintained out of the taxes with the greatest facility and advantage. The only difference would be, a sort of '*rotation of property*.' The money formerly given to the manufacturers of luxuries, and distributed by them as the wages of labour, would just be given to Government, to be distributed in pay. All the difference would be, that the soldiers and sailors would work security for us, whereas the manufacturers wrought luxuries; and the population would be just as effectually maintained, only in a different manner. The loss of foreign trade, the Writer moreover endeavoured to shew, would be a mischief of trifling amount. And the vehement eloquence with which these

* See *Eclectic Review*, 1st Series, vol. iii. p. 1052, vol. iv. p. 554.

astounding doctrines were urged, was singularly characteristic. The following is a specimen.

‘ All that Government has to do, is, to meet the present emergencies of the country by the extension of our naval and military establishments. This they can never do without an addition to our taxes. In the name of every thing dear to the country, tax us with an unsparing hand. It is to avert a greater calamity; and if any grumble, he is not a patriot; he deserves not that an ear should be turned to his remonstrances. . . . No, this is not the time to hesitate about trifles. Accommodate the distribution of your people to the existing necessity. Be prompt, be vigorous, be unfaltering; for I swear by the ambition of Bonaparte, that he will be soon among us at the head of his marauders, if he knows that, instead of meeting the population of the island in warlike and defensive array, he will find them labouring in their workshops, writing in their counting-houses, balancing their ledgers, and persevering in the good old way of their forefathers.’

These exhortations were not meant, as the reader might suspect, in irony. No, they were honest extravagance. And the Writer was Mr. Chalmers of Kilmany, now Dr. Chalmers. But why refer to a youthful production, which the Author may well be supposed anxious to consign to oblivion? So high and sincere is our respect for Dr. Chalmers, that we could not have brought ourselves to do him the unkindness of reminding him that he had ever committed himself by such a publication, had he not, strange to say, referred us again and again to this very work, “Extent and Stability of National Resources,” in explanation and support of the strange propositions contained in his Synopsis. Need we add any further explanation of them?

The twelve remaining propositions may be speedily disposed of. Nos. 25 and 26 relate to tithes, which, Dr. Chalmers thinks, ought to be, not abolished, but commuted. The next two, we cite as they stand, as they will shew we have not misrepresented or exaggerated the wild extravagance of the Author’s early notions, here deliberately reiterated.

‘ 27. That the extreme limit of taxation is the landed rental of the kingdom; and that, were taxation carried to this limit, it would place the great bulk of the disposable population in the service of the State.

‘ 28. That the capabilities of the nation for defensive war are greatly underrated, they being at least commensurate to the extent of the disposable population. (“Extent and Stability of National Resources.”) p. 563.

How unjustly has Bonaparte been stigmatized with tyrannical cruelty and oppression for his *levy en masse*! Has not the State a right to do what it will with its own,—its disposable population?—But to proceed. In No. 29, we are told, that ‘the superior influence of Britain over other nations in distant parts, is due to her—EXPORTS’!! That ‘therefore, the balance of power is a

‘topic of needless and misplaced anxiety on the part of British ‘statesmen.’ Here we are at a loss which more to admire, the self-evident truth of the premise, or the logical strictness and obviousness of the consequence. The next four propositions refer to the national debt, which ought to have been obviated, the Author thinks, by taxes raised within the year. No. 34. ‘That ‘the law of primogeniture is essentially linked with the political ‘strength and other great public interests of the nation.’ The last two inveigh against the poor laws, which render, the Author conceives, every other device that philanthropy can suggest, or an enlightened political economy can sanction, futile and abortive.

‘But for this disturbing force’, he continues, ‘which so unsettles the providential habits of the people, and so undermines every principle, whether of nature or of Christianity, to the spontaneous operation of which the care of the poor ought always to have been confided, —society might undergo a very speedy amelioration. *Because* that a very small excess in the number of labourers effects a very large and disproportionate reduction in the price of labour; and therefore, by a reverse process, it might only require a very insignificant fraction of relief from the numbers of the people, to operate a very large relief on their circumstances and comforts. That emigration for the lessening of the number, and the various other economical expedients for the enlargement of the means, will be of but slight and temporary effect, so long as the law of pauperism shall maintain the population in a state of perpetual overflow. But that, if these were related to a scheme for the gradual abolition of the pauperism, they would smooth the transition from a system of compulsory, to one of natural and gratuitous relief; after which, it were in the power of common, and more especially of Christian education, indefinitely to raise the habits and tastes, and, along with these, to raise the economical condition of the people.’

p. 566.

This paragraph supplies in part its own refutation; for, were it true, that so very small an excess in the number of labourers effects a large reduction of wages, and that a very insignificant fraction subtracted from their numbers would afford a large relief, common sense would dictate, that emigration presents the natural and sufficient remedy; and all that would then be necessary, would be, that emigration from England to the colonies should take place with the matter of course regularity with which, for ages, the population of Scotland have found their way to the south, and to all parts of the globe.

But if it be the law of pauperism that maintains the population in a state of perpetual overflow in England, what is it that raises that overflow to a wide spreading torrent in Ireland? There, no such disturbing force exists as a law of compulsory relief, to unsettle the providential habits of the people; no such insuperable obstacle there retards the immediate melioration of society; there, as, Dr. Chalmers says, ought to be the case every

where, the poor are *confided* to the spontaneous operation of the principles of nature and Christianity. For the result, we need only refer our readers to the facts elicited in the recent debate in the House of Commons, (June 19,) on Mr. Sadler's motion relating to the expediency of forming a provision for the poor of Ireland. We would particularly direct their attention to the speech of Mr. J. Smith, who confirmed, from personal knowledge, the statement of Mr. Ruthven, that an Irish landed proprietor in the county of Mayo, with a rent-roll of 12,000*l.* a year, had refused to give a farthing for the relief of people on his own estate, during the famine which prevailed in Ireland a few years ago; and they were saved from starvation, only by subscriptions from England. 'This was not a solitary case. He (Mr. Smith) knew many others like it!' In this debate, Mr. O'Connell, who appears to have been taking lessons in Christian and Civic Economy from the Edinburgh Professor of Divinity, in the teeth of his own reiterated pledges and avowed opinions in favour of a legislative provision for the poor of Ireland, had the matchless effrontery to argue that such a provision would be hostile 'to the most cherished principles of revealed religion'. Poor laws, the report of the debate makes him say, 'tended to contract the channel of that voluntary social charity which was the only beneficial source of poor-relief, and which was the keystone of Christianity.' But for the free comments which the conduct of this eccentric person drew forth, we should have felt assured that his whole speech was meant for biting sarcasm. Mr. Lambert remarked, in reply, that Dr. Doyle had so fully exposed the cant and hypocrisy of the objection to poor laws, founded on their alleged tendency to narrow the channel of voluntary charity, that he need only refer to that able divine's pages. 'But why', he asked, 'should not the rich landed proprietor, particularly the absentee, be compelled to contribute to the support of those persons to whose labour he is wholly indebted for his wealth and leisure? Was it not a notorious fact, that, in Ireland, the absenteees and great proprietors wholly neglect their duty to the poor, and would continue to do so till compelled by a legislative enactment?' *

Dr. Chalmers, we need not express our conviction, is a man incapable of hypocrisy; and if his political writings are not free from the cant of philosophy, his speculations, not his feelings and motives, are to blame. But the weight of his character, the brilliancy of his reputation, and the fervour of his piety and benevolence, only render the more mischievous the extravagantly erroneous opinions which he has put forth upon subjects of political

* Times, June 20, 1832.

economy. Nine years ago, in reviewing his "Economy of Large Towns",* we exposed the ignorance of historic fact, the gross miscalculation, and the utter fallacy involved in his representations and reasonings on the subject of the Poor Laws and Pauperism. 'Is it not astonishing', we then remarked, 'that, with Ireland before him, Dr. Chalmers can charge the augmentation of want in this country on the English poor laws.' What Ireland is, England, when the law of Elizabeth was first enacted, *was*; or, if any thing, was in a worse condition as regards pauperism and an unbridled mendicity. The annual executions of thieves in this country, limited as was the population, and defective the police, averaged about 400 in the reign of Elizabeth; and Henry VIII. is said to have hanged, in the course of his reign, 'threescore and twelve thousand great thieves, petty thieves, and vagabonds.' There were no poor laws, be it remembered, then. But Dr. Chalmers dwells not in the low region of facts, and he soars above all argument. His speculative opinions, therefore, once moulded, are fixed and unimpressible. Flaws, fallacies, and all, they harden together into a compact mass, specious, hollow, and brittle, ornamental but useless. Of course we speak of his political speculations only; and with these, as we have already intimated, much that is excellent and valuable could not fail to be blended. But the general tendency of his volume is bad, because it is adapted to mislead on some important and fundamental points, and to confirm some most mischievous delusions. We rejoice that the Author has here taken leave of political economy, and sincerely hope that upon this subject he will never write again,—unless it be (which is not very likely) to retract his opinions.

Before we dismiss the volume, we shall make one more brief citation, which will shew that the fear of speaking what he deems to be truth, has no influence upon the Author's mind; and that extreme as are some of his opinions, his integrity is unimpeachable.

'We rejoice to think that a Church may be upheld in all its endowments, without being, in any right sense of the word, an incubus upon the nation; while it serves to mitigate the hardship which has been imputed to the law of primogeniture. We are aware that this is not the precise and proper argument for a religious establishment; yet, convinced, upon other grounds, of the vast utility of such an institution, we cannot but regard it as one beneficent consequence of the law in question, that it enlists on the side of a church, the warmest affections of nature, the sympathies and feelings of domestic tenderness. *We are aware of the reckless and unprincipled patronage to*

* Eclectic Review, 2nd Series, Vol. XX. p. 117.

which this has given rise ; and that a provision for younger sons has been viewed as the great, if not the only good of a church, by many who hold the dispensation of its offices. It is this which has alienated from the Establishment so large a portion of the community ; and, if the abuse of an institute were a sufficient argument for its destruction, perhaps the Church of England will be found to have sealed its own doom, and to have brought upon itself the sentence of its own overthrow. But we still hope, the impetuous spirit of the times may be tempered with discrimination, and that it will be judged better to direct the machinery, than to destroy it. An apparatus, in its own nature beneficial, may have been perverted to evil ; yet, the way is, not to demolish or cast it aside, but to regulate its movements.'

pp. 376, 7.

And now, perhaps, our readers may be beginning to feel tired of the vexatious subject of political economy ; and the signal failure of such a writer as Dr. Chalmers, may seem to justify the scepticism so prevalent in regard to the utility, or, at least, the attainableness of the science. All such doubters, we invite to turn from the dull paradoxes of Dr. Chalmers, to the delightful Political Economy made easy of Professor Harriet Martineau,—the most accomplished and engaging lecturer on abstruse subjects of science, that has taken the chair since the fair Novella d'Andrea, who lectured for her father, in the University of Bologna, behind a curtain

‘ drawn before her,
Lest, if her charms were seen, the students
Should let their young eyes wander o'er her,
And quite forget their jurisprudence.’

Whether our fair *Dotteressa* be charming or homely, old or young, matron or spinster, we know not ; but this we must say, that she has employed to most admirable purpose very extraordinary talents ; extraordinary, not because these Tales of hers are in themselves beautifully simple, yet extremely touching, full of character, and at once dramatic and graphic,—for we have many female tale-writers in the present day, who have discovered similar knowledge of human nature and fertility of imagination ; nor yet, because her notions indicate a clearness and comprehension of thought in relation to abstruse subjects of inquiry, a masculine faculty of abstraction, with a feminine power of illustration, rarely united ; but because the combination of these qualifications for her difficult task is a phenomenon. Without pledging ourselves to an entire accordance with every one of the axioms laid down in these publications, we cannot too warmly applaud the design, spirit, and execution of the Parts which have appeared, and rejoice to know that they are already obtaining a wide circulation.

We must allow Miss Martineau to state her own design in undertaking the series.

'The works already written on Political Economy almost all bear a reference to books which have preceded, or consist in part of discussions of disputed points. Such references and such discussions are very interesting to those whom they concern, but offer a poor introduction to those to whom the subject is new. There are a few, a very few, which teach the science systematically as far as it is yet understood. These too are very valuable, but they do not give what we want—the science in a familiar, practical form. They give us its history; they give us its philosophy; but we want its *picture*. They give us truths, and leave us to look about us, and go hither and thither in search of illustrations of those truths. Some who have a wide range in society and plenty of leisure, find this all-sufficient; but there are many more, who have neither time nor opportunity for such an application of what they learn. We cannot see why the truth and its application should not go together,—why an explanation of the principles which regulate society should not be made more clear and interesting at the same time, by pictures of what those principles are actually doing in communities.

'For instance: if we want to teach that security of property is necessary to the prosperity of a people, and to show how and in what proportion wealth increases where there is that security, and dwindles away where there is not, we may make the fact and the reasons very well understood by stating them in a dry, plain way: but the same thing will be quite as evident, and far more interesting and better remembered, if we confirm our doctrine by accounts of the hardships suffered by individuals, and the injuries by society, in such a country as Turkey, which remains in a state of barbarism chiefly through the insecurity of property. The story of a merchant in Turkey, in contrast with one of an English merchant, will convey as much truth as any set of propositions on the subject, and will impress the memory and engage the interest in a much greater degree. This method of teaching Political Economy has never yet been tried, except in the instances of a short story or separate passage here and there.

'This is the method in which we propose to convey the leading truths of Political Economy, as soundly, as systematically, as clearly and faithfully, as the utmost pains-taking and the strongest attachment to the subject will enable us to do. We trust we shall not be supposed to countenance the practice of making use of narrative as a trap to catch idle readers, and make them learn something they are afraid of. We detest the practice, and feel ourselves insulted whenever a book of the *trap* kind is put into our hands. It is many years since we grew sick of works that pretend to be stories, and turn out to be catechisms of some kind of knowledge which we had much rather become acquainted with in its genuine form. The reason why we choose the form of narrative is, that we really think it the best in which Political Economy can be taught, as we should say of nearly every kind of moral science. Once more we must apply the old proverb, "*Example is better than precept.*" We take this proverb as

the motto of our design. We declare frankly, that our object is to teach Political Economy, and that we have chosen this method, not only because it is new, not only because it is entertaining, but because we think it the most faithful and the most complete. There is no doubt that all that is true and important about any virtue,—integrity, for instance,—may be said in the form of a lecture, or written in a chapter of moral philosophy; but the faithful history of an upright man, his sayings and doings, his trials, his sorrows, his triumphs and rewards, teaches the same truths in a more effectual as well as more popular form. In like manner, the great principle of Freedom of Trade may be perfectly established by a very dry argument; but a tale of the troubles, and difficulties, and changes of good and evil fortune in a manufacturer and his operatives, or in the body of a manufacturing population, will display the same principle, and may be made very interesting besides; to say nothing of getting rid of the excuse that these subjects cannot be understood.'

Political Economy is described as treating of the Production, Distribution, and Consumption of Wealth; understanding by the latter term, 'whatever material objects contribute to the support 'and enjoyment of life.' As the necessities and comforts of life must be produced before they can be distributed, and distributed before they can be consumed, the order of subjects seems determined by their nature; and accordingly, it is first proposed to shew, in the Tale called 'Life in the Wilds', what labour can effect, and how it is to be encouraged, economized, and rewarded. In the second Tale, 'The Hill and the Valley', the nature and operation of Capital are illustrated, the proportions of its increase, and the union of the two mighty agents of Production. The same general principles are exemplified by further illustrations in 'Brooke and Brooke Farm.' In No. IV., 'Demerara', the respective values of different kinds of labour, brute and human, free and slave labour, are treated of, together with the conditions upon which property is held. Having, in these four parts, illustrated the leading principles which regulate the *production* of wealth, the Author proceeds, in No. V., 'Ella of Garveloch', to consider the laws of its distribution; and first, to illustrate the nature of Rent. Wages and Profits will form the subject of illustration in the succeeding parts; and finally, the principles which relate to the Consumption of Wealth, will be treated of in the same ingenious style of familiar exemplification.

We have very few observations to offer upon the Author's doctrines. Political economy may be generally described as treating of the sources and distribution of wealth; although this does not, and is probably not intended to *define* the range of inquiry which the science embraces. These 'Illustrations' sufficiently prove that, with purely economical inquiries, collateral questions of a strictly moral or political nature are indissolubly connected and interwoven. The moment we speak of labour, or at least of the

labourer, man, we have got out of pure 'catallactics', and have entered upon a mixed subject, which may be said to belong to political ethics; and 'national wealth' can no longer be the proper definition of the object of inquiry, unless we understand the term as implying national welfare. In proof of this, we need only transcribe part of the 'Summary' of principles affixed to No. IV.

'Free and slave labour are equally owned by the capitalist.

'Where the labourer is not held as capital, the capitalist pays for labour only.

'Where the labourer is held as capital, the capitalist not only pays a much higher price for an equal quantity of labour, but also for waste, negligence, and theft, on the part of the labourer.

'Capital is thus sunk, which ought to be reproduced.

'As the supply of slave-labour does not rise and fall with the wants of the capitalist, like that of free labour, he employs his occasional surplus on works which could be better done by brute labour or machinery.

'By rejecting brute labour, he refuses facilities for convertible husbandry, and for improving the labour of his slaves by giving them animal food.

'By rejecting machinery, he declines the most direct and complete method of saving labour.

'Thus, again, capital is sunk which ought to be reproduced.

'In order to make up for this loss of capital to slave owners, bounties and prohibitions are granted in their behalf by government; the waste committed by certain capitalists abroad, being thus paid for out of the earnings of those at home.

'Sugar being the production especially protected, every thing is sacrificed by planters to the growth of sugar. The land is exhausted by perpetual cropping, the least possible portion of it is tilled for food, the slaves are worn out by overwork, and their numbers decrease in proportion to the scantiness of their food, and the oppressiveness of their toil.

'When the soil is so far exhausted as to place its owner out of reach of the sugar-bounties, more food is raised, less toil is inflicted, and the slave population increases.

'Legislative protection, therefore, not only taxes the people at home, but promotes ruin, misery, and death, in the protected colonies.

'A free trade in sugar would banish slavery altogether, since competition must induce an economy of labour and capital; *i. e.*, a substitution of free for slave labour.

'Let us see, then, what is the responsibility of the legislature in this matter.

'The slave system inflicts an incalculable amount of human suffering, for the sake of making a wholesale waste of labour and capital.

'Since the slave system is only supported by legislative protection, the legislature is responsible for the misery caused by direct infliction, and for the injury indirectly occasioned by the waste of labour and capital.' Part IV., pp. 142—3.

All this is clearly and admirably stated, nor can we have any

possible objection against thus extending the range of inquiry to the principles of government and the responsibilities of legislators: we protest only against the affectation of those who would represent political economy as a mere technical inquiry into the principles of commercial exchange. In the first Part, we meet with this axiom in the summary of principles: 'All labour for which there is a fair demand, is equally respectable.' Now can this be called an axiom of political economy? It has clearly, whether correct or not, no right to a place in the summary; although, in the tale, the lesson meant to be conveyed is instructively exemplified. The respectability of labour cannot depend, however, upon the 'fair demand' for it; nor is it absolutely true, that every description of labour that is demanded, is equally respectable.

The next sentence to this would also require qualification, to be entirely just: 'Labour being a beneficial power, all Economy of that labour must be beneficial.' This is true as a general rule, but it is not universally true. Economy of labour is beneficial—to whom? To the labourer himself? To the employer of labour? Or to the community? The rule does not say. If it be meant, that it is always beneficial to all parties, the principle is positively erroneous. If the labourer can economize his own labour, he is of course the gainer, unless the whole advantage be taken from him by his employer. But, if it is one benefit of an economizing of labour, that it 'sets a man at liberty for other work,' it is required to realize this benefit, that the man can be set to other work. Whenever the supply of labour is inadequate to the demand, the economizing of labour must be a source of wealth, by giving an augmented power of production. But, when the supply of labour is in excess, the economizing which tends to increase that excess, may be beneficial to the individual capitalist, but must add to the burdens of the community. Should this consequence be temporary and partial, it will not weigh much against the ultimate benefit of increasing the productive power of labour; yet, it is a circumstance not to be overlooked in the statement of principles.

The fact is, that, as labour cannot set itself to work beneficially, but requires the cooperation of capital, the economy of labour is beneficial only when it sets at liberty—not the labour that is superseded, but—the capital which employed it, and which is sure to afford employment for other labour. The benefit consists, not in the employment of less labour, but in the accomplishment of more by the same labour. If, by an economy of labour, five men can be enabled to produce what formerly required the toil of fifty, the benefit to society will be so far absolute, that that species of production will be cheapened, as costing less labour. And this will be the whole benefit, unless, by the increased consumption of

the commodity, the whole fifty labourers are still employed, in producing ten times the quantity that the same labour would formerly realize. This has been the general result of all improvements in machinery, with the exception of agricultural machinery. And the reason of this exception is, that the quantity of agricultural produce cannot be so increased by an economy of labour, as to afford employment for all the labour that is economized. Society may gain by the cheapening of the commodity, consequent upon the saving of labour; but if the unemployed labour is thrown back as a dead weight upon society, the loss will outweigh the gain: just as if eighteen labourers were, by extra exertion, to do the work of twenty, while the other two, being disabled, had to be supported at the employer's expense. And if the commodity is not cheapened, and if less labour is beneficially employed, in proportion as the beneficial power of labour is increased,—the whole advantage of the boasted economy is frustrated, and the gain of the community is something less than nothing.

We cannot help strongly wishing that Miss Martineau would *exemplify* all this; for we are quite sure that her good sense will enable her to perceive the accordance of our principles with facts; facts too generally overlooked by the framers of axioms and the lovers of abstract principles. And there is another point upon which we would recommend her to exercise a strong distrust of the dogmas of political economy; that of the superior benefit of large capitals. We give her great credit for the saving clause, 'capitals may be too large'; and also for the qualification of the principle, that 'large capitals produce in a larger proportion,' implied in the expressive proviso, 'when well managed.' Capitals are too large, it is remarked, 'when they become disproportioned to the managing power.' They are too large also, when they confer the power of monopoly. By enabling the capitalist to content himself with small profits, they tend to produce a fall of profits, which ultimately diminishes the fund for the employment of labour. This has especially proved to be the case with large agricultural capitals, which have had the effect of at once depressing profits and depreciating labour. Nor is this the worst consequence of over large capitals. Instead of uniformly calling into employment new powers of production, 'as in the cultivation of wastes,' they have sometimes led to the abandonment of cultivation for less productive modes of employing the soil, and have converted corn-fields into parks and pastoral wastes. What have great capitals done for Lombardy, for Tuscany, for Ireland? Under the fatal patronage of the Medicean princes, the agriculture of Tuscany revived at the expense of commerce, and all the great capitalists became transformed into territorial proprietors. But, remarks the enlightened Historian of the Italian Republics, it is not agriculture that has ever enriched Italy. 'Agriculture

'can augment capital, and become a source of national wealth, only when the peasantry are accumulating property; and this can take place only when they are at once cultivators and proprietors.*'

How strikingly has this been verified in the history of Ireland! When the trade in grain was first laid open between the two British islands, the effect was immediate and surprising, in promoting an extension of tillage, by which the incomes of the landlords and of the clergy were doubled or trebled; but what was the result with regard to the population? 'Tillage,' it has been justly remarked, 'does not bring wealth into a country, unless the corn grown in it, be consumed there also. The increase of tillage in Ireland, had the effect of sending wealth out of the country. The increase of rents which was derived from the increase of tillage and population, enabled great numbers of the smaller gentry to quit the country. And their removal from Ireland had the effect of impoverishing the country, both by the withdrawal of their expenditure, and by leading to the exaction of high rents. As rents rose in Ireland, as tillage extended, as population increased, the country became poorer and poorer; and every day added to the number of absentees.'† Will it be said, that great properties, rather than great capitals, have contributed to the ruin of Ireland; and that the subletting system proves that capital has been alienated from the land? We reply, that while this has been working destruction in some districts, in others, capital has been exerting its productive energies. For the five years ending in 1816, there were exported from the port of Dublin alone, 1,144,181 barrels of grain and flour; 272,431 casks of beef, pork, and butter; 180,235 head of oxen, sheep, and swine; and 40,335 packs and boxes of linen‡. And the labourers who raised all these provisions, never taste of animal food, never consume a morsel of wheaten bread, but live chiefly on potatoes and water; and the artisans who wove all this linen, are often unacquainted with the comfort of a shirt! And what is the condition of what Dr. Chalmers would call the *disposable* class? It will not endure description. Thus, in unhappy Ireland, doomed to suffer at once from the most opposite evils, and to exhibit all sorts of contradictions, the absence of ca-

* Sismondi. *Tableau de l'Agric. Tosc.* p. 297.

† Eclect. Rev. Vol. XXVIII. p. 101. There can be no impropriety in now disclosing, that for the valuable article on Ireland from which we cite this statement, the readers of our Journal were indebted to the able pen of a sincere patriot, the late John O'Driscoll, Esq.

‡ Eclectic Review, Vol. XXIX. p. 19. During the same period, not more than 2553 packs of linen were used at home!

pital, and the influx of capital, would seem to be alike a source of depression and misery.

When Miss Martineau comes to illustrate the *consumption* of wealth, we hope that she will take us over to Ireland. And we could also wish that, after reading Sismondi's Picture of Tuscan Agriculture, and his "*Nouveaux Principes*", she would favour us with an Italian Tale, the scene of which might be laid in the territory of *Lucca l'Industriosa*, and the title be, 'The Noble and the Merchant'. In connexion with the subject of Rent, the system of *metayers* claims to be illustrated. We had intended to offer a few remarks upon the Author's principles relating to Rent, but must forbear. We will only suggest, that the cause of rent, and the measure of rent, are very different things, though often confounded;—that the situation of lands, and not merely their fertility, is often the reason of their being first appropriated, and enters into their value;—that rent, when it is more than a simple tribute to the territorial lord, is, in fact, the profits of fixed capital owned by the land-holder and lent to the tenant;—enclosures, the soil itself, buildings, and all tenements being, in a sense, fixed capital produced by previous labour. Accordingly, we speak of the rent of a house, as well as of the rent of a field; and again, land is considered as yielding rent, although the cultivator be at the same time the owner, and therefore pays no rent. The distinction between what our Author calls 'real rent' and actual rent, we think inaccurate. *All* rent is paid for capital laid out by the land-owner either in the purchase or in the improvement of the estate, and consists of the profits of capital. As regards, therefore, the distribution of wealth, we should class rent, (or the profits of fixed property,) interest of money, and the profits of working capital in trade or husbandry, as subdivisions under one general head, Profits; Wages describing the other class. At the same time, the threefold division of land-owner, farmer, and labourer, is of course proper in itself, because it is real and not merely technical.

But it is more than time that we should draw this article to a close; and waving all further discussion, we shall simply lay before our readers, as they may reasonably expect, a specimen or two of the happy style of illustration by which Miss Martineau has succeeded in making her principles talk and act, and in exhibiting abstract truths in the tangible shape of living experiments. The following conversation takes place between the Laird of Garveloch and his steward.

"Then for what, Callum, would you have her be grateful and ready to obey? I never did her any service that I am aware of, (though I hope to do some yet,) and I know of no title to her obedience that either you or I can urge. Can you tell me of any?"

‘Callum stared, while he asked, if one party was not landlord, and the other tenant.

‘“You are full of our Scotch prejudices, I see, Callum, as I was once. Only go into England, and you will see that landlord and tenant are not master and slave, as we in the Highlands have ever been apt to think. In my opinion, their connexion stands thus,—and I tell it you, that you may take care not to exact an obedience which I am far from wishing to claim from my tenants:—the owner and occupier of a farm, or other estate, both wish to make gain, and for this purpose unite their resources. He who possesses land, wishes to profit by it without the trouble of cultivating it himself; he who would occupy has money, but no land to lay it out upon, so he pays money for the use of the land, and more money for the labour which is to till it (unless he supplies the labour himself). His tillage should restore him his money with gain. Now why should the notion of obedience enter into a contract like this?”

‘“I only know,” replied Callum, “that in my young days, if the laird held up a finger, any one of his people who had offended him would have been thrown into the sea.”

‘“Such tyranny, Callum, had nothing to do with their connexion as landlord and tenant, but only with their relation as chieftain and follower. You have been at Glasgow, I think?”

‘“Yes; a cousin of mine is a master in the shawl-manufacture there.”

‘“Well; he has labourers in his employment there, and they are not his slaves, are they?”

‘“Not they; for they sometimes throw up their work when he wants them most.”

‘“And does he hold his warehouse by lease, or purchase?”

‘“He rents it of Bailie Billie, as they call him, who is so fierce on the other side in politics.”

‘“If your cousin does not obey his landlord in political matters, (for I know how he has spoken at public meetings,) why should you expect my tenants to obey me, or rather you—for I never ask their obedience? The Glasgow operative, and the Glasgow capitalist, make a contract for their mutual advantage; and if they want further help, they call in another capitalist to afford them the use of a warehouse which he lets for his own advantage. Such a mutual compact I wish to establish with my people here. Each man of them is usually a capitalist and labourer in one, and in order to make their resources productive, I, a landholder, step in as a third party to the production required; and if we each fulfil our contract, we are all on equal terms. I wish you would make my people understand this; and I require of you, Callum, to act upon it yourself.”

‘The steward made no reply, but stood thinking how much better notions of dignity the old laird had, and how much power he possessed over the lives and properties of his tenants.

‘“Did this croft pay any rent before it was let out of cultivation?” enquired the laird.

‘“No, your honour; it only just answered to the tenant to till it,

and left nothing over for rent ; but we had our advantage in it too ; for then yon barley field paid a little rent ; but since this has been let down, that field has never done more than pay the tillage. But we shall have rent from it again when the lease is renewed, if Ella makes what I expect she will make of this croft."

"Is there any kelp prepared hereabouts, Callum?"

"Not any ; and indeed there is no situation so fit for it as this that Ronald is to have. There is nothing doing in Garveloch that pays us anything, except at the farm."

"Well then, Ella can, of course, pay nothing at first but for the use of the cottage, and the benefit of the fences, &c. Is there any other capital laid out here?"

"Let us see. She has a boat of her own, and the boys will bring their utensils with them. I believe, sir, the house and fence will be all."

"Very well: then calculate exactly what they are worth, and what more must be laid out to put them in good condition, and tell me: the interest of that much capital is all that Ella must pay, till we see what the bay and the little field will produce." No. V. pp. 14—17.

Our next extract must be a scene from 'Life in the Wilds'—the return of the messenger despatched to Cape Town from the ruined settlement.

'One fine evening, about the beginning of February,—that is, near the end of summer at the Cape,—a very extraordinary sight was seen by our settlers. The boys who were climbing trees for fruit perceived it first, and made such haste down from their perches, and shouted the news so loudly in their way home, that in a few minutes every one was out at the door, and all formed in a body to go and meet the new arrival. This arrival was no other than a loaded waggon, drawn by eight oxen ; a scanty team at the Cape, where they sometimes harness twelve or sixteen.

'There was a momentary anxiety about what this waggon might be, and to whom it might belong ; for it did now and then happen that a new band of settlers, or a travelling party from Cape Town, passed through the village, and requested such hospitality as it would, in the present case, have been inconvenient or impossible to grant. The young eyes of the party, however, presently discovered that the driver of the team was their friend Richard the labourer, their messenger to Cape Town, of whom they spoke every day, but whom they little expected to see back again so soon. It was Richard assuredly. They could tell the crack of his whip from that of any other driver. The captain waved his cap above his head and cheered ; every man and boy in the settlement cheered ; the mothers held up their babies in the air, and the little ones struggled and crowed for joy. The oxen quickened their pace at the noise, and Richard stood up in front of the waggon, and shaded his eyes with his cap from the setting sun, that he might see who was who in the little crowd, and whether his old mother had come out to meet him. He saw her presently, leaning on the captain's arm, and then he returned the cheer with might and

main. A load of anxiety was removed from his mind at that moment. He had left his companions in a destitute state, without shelter, or arms, or provision beyond the present day. He had not received any tidings of them : it was impossible he should ; and a hundred times during his journey home, he had pictured to himself the settlement as he might find it. Sometimes he fancied it deserted by all who had strength to betake themselves to the distant villages : sometimes he imagined it wasted by famine, and desolated by wild beasts or more savage men. At such times, he thought how little probable it was that one so infirm as his mother should survive the least of the hardships that all were liable to ; and though he confided in the captain's parting promise to take care of her, he scarcely expected to meet her again. Now, he had seen her with his own eyes ; and he saw also, that the general appearance of the throng before him was healthful and gladsome, and his heart overflowed with joy.

"God bless you, God bless you all !" he cried, as he pushed his way through the crowd which had outstripped his mother and the captain.

"Let him go ; do not stop him," exclaimed several who saw his eagerness to be at his mother's side : and they turned away and patted the oxen, and admired the waggon, till the embrace was received, and the blessing given, and Richard at liberty to greet each friend in turn.

"Tell me first," said he in a low voice to Mr. Stone, "are all safe ? Have all lived through such a time as you must have had of it ?"

"All but one. We have lost George Prest. We could ill spare him ; but it was God's will."

Richard looked for George's father, who appeared to be making acquaintance with the oxen, but had only turned away to hide the tears which he could not check. Richard wrung his hand in silence, and was not disposed for some time to go on with his tale or his questions.

The first thing he wanted to know was, where and how his friends were living.

"You shall see presently," said the captain. And as they turned round the foot of the hill, he did see a scene which astonished him. Part of the slope before him, rich with summer verdure, was inclosed with a rude fence, within which two full-grown and three young antelopes were grazing. In another paddock were the grey mare and her foal. Across the sparkling stream at the bottom of the slope lay the trunk of a tree which served as a foot-bridge. On the other side, at some little distance, was the wood, in its richest beauty. Golden oranges shone among the dark green leaves, and vines were trained from one stem to another. On the outskirts of the wood were the dwellings, overshadowed by the oaks and chestnuts which formed their corner posts. Plastered with clay, and rudely thatched, they might have been taken for the huts of savages, but for their superior size, and for certain appearances round them which are not usual among uncivilized people. A handmill, made of stones, was placed under cover beside one of the dwellings ; a sort of work-bench was set up under one of the trees, where lay the implements of various employments

which had been going on when the arrival of the waggon had called every one from his work. The materials for straw-platting were scattered in the porch, and fishing-nets lay on the bank of the stream to dry. The whole was canopied over with the bluest of summer skies. Dark mountains rose behind.

"We are just in time to shew you our village before sunset," said the captain, observing how the last level rays were glittering on the stream.

"And is this our home?" said Richard, in quiet astonishment. "Is this the bare, ruined place I left five months ago? Who has helped you? Your own hands can never have done all this."

"Nature,—or He who made nature,—has given us the means," replied the captain: "and our own hands have done the rest. Well-directed labour is all we have had to depend on."

"Wonderful!" cried Richard. "The fields are tilled ——"

"By simple, individual labour. There can be little combination in tillage on a small scale, where different kinds of work must succeed each other, instead of being carried on at the same time."

"These houses and so many utensils ——"

"Are the produce of a division of labour as extensive as our resources would allow."

"There must have been wise direction as well as industrious toil."

"Yes," said Mr. Stone, smiling, "we have been as fortunate in our unproductive as in our productive labourers." No. I. pp. 99—103.

We must make room for a short extract from 'Demerara': it will require no comment.

"I have always wondered," said Mary, "why there was no sugar grown in Africa, or in any part of South America but the little angle we inhabit. So it might be anywhere within that line."

"Anywhere (as far as climate is concerned) within thirty degrees of the equator. There are duties which prohibit the English from purchasing sugar from China, New Holland, the Indian Archipelago, Arabia, Mexico, and all South America, but our little corner here; and from Africa none is to be had either. The slave trade has been like a plague in Africa."

"Well, but you have passed over Hindostan."

"The trade is not absolutely prohibited there; but it is restricted and limited by high duties."

"What remains then?"

"Only our corner of the world, and a tiny territory it is, to be protected at the expense of such vast tracts—only the West India Islands, and a slip of the continent."

"But surely it is a hardship on the inhabitants of these other countries, to be prevented supplying the British with sugars."

"It is a hardship to all parties in turn:—to the British, that the price is artificially raised, and the quantity limited; to the inhabitants of these vast tracts, they are kept out of the market; to the West India planters; but most of all, to the slaves."

"To the planters? Why, I thought it was for their sakes that the monopoly was ordered."

“ So it is ; but they suffer far more than they gain by it. The cultivation of sugar is at present a forced cultivation, attended with expense and hazard, and only to be maintained by a monopoly price, both high and permanent.

“ Look at Mitchelson’s plantation, and see whether its aspect is that of a thriving property ! A miserable hoe, used by men and women with the whip at their backs, the only instrument used in turning up the soil, while there are such things in the world as drill ploughs and cattle ! A soil exhausted more and more every year ! A population decreasing every year, in a land and climate most favourable to increase ! Are these signs of prosperity ? Yet all these are the consequence of a monopoly which tempts to the production of sugar at all hazards, and at every cost.”

“ I see how all these evils would disappear, brother, if the trade were free ; but could the proprietors stand the shock ? Could they go through the transition ? ”

“ O yes ; if they chose to set about it properly, living on their own estates, and making use of modern improvements in the management of the land. If the soil were improved to the extent it might be, the West Indies might compete with any country in the world. The planter would estimate his property by the condition of his land, and not by the number of his slaves. He would command a certain average return from the effective labour he would then employ, instead of the capricious and fluctuating profits he now derives from a species of labour which it is as impolitic as guilty to employ ; and, as the demand for sugar would continually increase, after the effects of free competition had once been felt, there would be no fear of a decline of trade. A soil and climate like this are sufficient warrants that the West Indies may trade in sugar to the end of the world, if a fair chance is given by an open trade.”

“ Then if economy became necessary, there would be no slaves ; for it is pretty clear that slave labour is dear.”

“ Slavery can only exist where men are scarce in proportion to land ; and as the population would by this time have increased, and be increasing, slavery would have died out. At present, land is abundant, fertile, and cheap in Demerara, and labour decreases every year ; so that slaves are valuable, and their prospect of emancipation but distant. But in my estate, as I have told you, the land is by far less fertile, labour more abundant, and slavery wearing out. My exertions will be directed towards improving my land, and increasing the supply of labour ; by which I shall gain the double advantage of procuring labour cheap, and hastening the work of emancipation. I hope no new monopoly will be proposed, which should tempt me to change my plan, and aid and abet slavery.” No. IV. pp. 96—99.

Assuredly, when political economy comes to be better understood, there will be no such thing under a civilized Government, as slavery. We cordially thank the Author for her illustration of this truth.

- Art. V. 1. *Gleanings in Natural History*; with local Recollections. By Edward Jesse, Esq. Deputy Surveyor of His Majesty's Parks. To which are added, Maxims and Hints for an Angler. Small 8vo. pp. xii. 314. Price 10s. 6d. London, 1832.
2. *Researches in Natural History*. By John Murray, F.S.A. F.L.S. F.H.S. F.G.S. &c. Second Edition, 12mo. pp. 146. 6s. London, 1830.
3. *The Minstrelsy of the Woods*; or Sketches and Songs connected with the Natural History of some of the most interesting British and Foreign Birds. By the Author of "The Wild Garland," &c. 12mo. pp. 228. London, 1832.
4. *An Outline of the smaller British Birds*, intended for the Use of Ladies and Young Persons. By Robert A. Slaney, Esq. M.P. 12mo. pp. 144. London, 1832.

NOW is the season when flowers seem to have taken wings, and all the colours of the parterre are seen glistening in the sunshine and in motion over the yet unmown meadows and the sedgy waters;—when butterflies as blue as blue-bells, or primrose-coloured, or flaunting in still gayer dyes, are to be seen in pairs frolicking among the tall, feathered grasses; and dragonflies, green, and light blue, and dark blue, and red, and flesh-coloured are seen hawking in little parties, imitating the voracity of birds of prey;—when caterpillars of all sorts and sizes put on their velvet garb of many colours, and make young entomologists wonder what beautiful kind of fly the gay worm will turn to; and when we begin to find the leaves of our shrubs rolled up and glued together for insect nests, or sewn into tents,—when the upholsterer bee, and the carpenter ant, and the paper-maker wasp, and the aeronaut spider are all pursuing their respective crafts with diligence. By the way, Mr. Murray has devoted two chapters of his 'Researches' to the subject of the ascent of the spider; a phenomenon which, he thinks, will ultimately be found connected with the meteorology of the atmosphere. The manner in which some spiders carry on their operations, favours the idea of such a connexion. The spider would seem to be, in fact, a sort of insect barometer.

'If the weather is likely to become rainy, windy, or the like, the spider fixes the terminating threads by which the entire web is suspended, unusually short, and in this state awaits the impending change. On the other hand, if these threads are discovered to be long, we may conclude that it will be in that ratio serene, and continue so for about a week or more. If spiders be completely inactive, rain will likely follow; but if, during the prevalence of rain, their wonted activity is resumed, it may be considered as of short duration, and to be soon followed by fair and constant weather. It has been also observed, that

spiders regularly make some alterations in their webs every twenty-four hours ; and we feel persuaded that this is the case : if these changes are observed between 6 and 7 o'clock, P.M., they indicate a clear and pleasant night. It is really interesting to observe, in a fine summer's day, the threads that fan and flutter in the breeze from the trees and hedges ; and they are often stretched across the road from hedge-row to hedge-row, particularly in a morning or evening.' *Murray*, p. 32.

The gossamer-spider, or, as our Author proposes to denominate it, *arana aëronautica*, is a distinct and peculiar species, and its ascent and movement in the air are essential to its existence. Other species of this extensive family will endure close confinement, and not merely prison allowance, but total deprivation of food for months, and even years, and yet survive. Some prefer to carry on the labours of the loom in deserted halls and galleries, in warm nooks and dark corners ; and other species construct for themselves subterranean cells and sub-aqueous abodes. But this free tenant of the air, we are assured, is so impatient of confinement, that it will die, when imprisoned, sometimes within twenty hours, or, at most, in a few days. The principle by which its ascent is effected, is a controverted point. The Author of the "Natural History of Insects" in the Family Library, remarks, that though the insect itself is heavier than air, the thread which it spins is lighter ; and that this is its balloon. The Author of the ingenious little volume entitled "Art in Nature," repeats this statement, but adds by way of explanation, that the thread 'buoys up the insect itself, as the tail of a kite does the 'body.' This is, however, a very different principle from that of the balloon. Mr. Murray states, that 'the thread is *not* specifically lighter than the air, but, on the contrary, so much heavier, 'that it immediately falls to the ground, unless *electrified*, when it 'floats, or is borne up by some other buoyant principle.' There are two distinct phenomena connected with this 'little aëronaut,' which appear to be independent of each other. One is the principle by which it ascends ; the other, its power of propelling its threads into the air. Both have been doubted. Swammerdam and De Geer ridiculed the idea of the flight of spiders ; and the Author of "Insect Architecture" follows Mr. Blackwall in expressing his firm belief, that the spider 'cannot throw out a single 'inch of thread without the aid of a current of air.' Mr. Murray's observations on this subject, first appeared in Loudon's Magazine of Natural History ; and they are referred to by Mr. Rennie in the "Insect Architecture", but controverted. In his present volume, Mr. Murray takes the opportunity of defending his opinions in a rejoinder. We find him citing the authority of Aristotle in support of the opinion, that 'spiders cast their 'threads, not from within, as an excrement, as Democritus would 'have it, but from without, as a hystrix doth its quills.' It is

pleasant to think that these were mooted points in the scientific circles of Greece in the days of the Stagyrte. 'There can, we think,' adds Mr. Murray, 'be no doubt naturally (rationally?) entertained, that spiders *can* project their threads in motionless air, peculiarly circumstanced.

'A ray of solar light, for instance, will do it; and the insect will, in this case, sometimes dart out a thread many yards long, perfectly vertical; and, with the velocity of an arrow, and an ascent equally rapid, is lost in a twinkling to the eye of the observer. Mr. White has the following remark: "Last summer, one alighted on my book as I was reading in the parlour, and running to the top of the page, and shooting out a web, took its departure from thence. But what I most wondered at was, that it went off with considerable velocity, in a place where no air was stirring, and I am sure I did not assist it with my breath; so that these little crawlers seem to have, while mounting, some locomotive power, without the use of wings, and move faster than the air, in the air itself." This phenomenon, it has been our fortune frequently to observe. The phenomenon recorded by Mr. Blackwall on the 1st October, 1826, accompanied by "a profusion of shining lines," was observed when there was "no wind stirring;" and accordingly Mr. Rennie noticed, that a spider "can produce a line when there was scarcely a breath of air."

'The ascent of this apterous insect into the air, is a problem which very few have attempted to solve, and, from the difficulty attendant upon it, many have denied its possibility altogether. It seems to have puzzled Mr. White a good deal: however, the following supposition is hazarded:—"I should imagine," says he, "that those filmy threads, when first shot, might be entangled in the rising dew, and so draw up spiders and all by a brisk evaporation, into the regions where clouds are formed; and if the spiders have a power of coiling and thickening their webs in the air, as Dr. Lister says they have, then, when they become heavier than the air, they must fall." Gay Lussac considers the ascent of clouds, in the regions of air, entirely ascribable to the impulse of ascending currents, arising from the difference of temperature between the surface of the earth and the atmosphere at great elevations. Mr. Blackwall assumes the same impulsion, as accessory to the flight of the spider; but the fact proves that clouds are replenished with electricity, and the sunbeam which impinges on them may be the medium of supply: besides, the floods of heat which descend to us in the sunbeams, would more than suffice to check or counteract these assumed emanations; and in the brightest sunshine, *ceteris paribus*, the ascent of our little *aéronaut* will be most rapid.'

Murray, pp. 46—48.

In proof that the spider's thread is *not* lighter than the atmosphere, the following facts are mentioned.

'Mr. White observed a remarkable phenomenon on the 21st of September, 1741. Early in the morning, the whole country was enveloped in a coat of cobweb, wet with dew. His dogs, on a shooting

excursion, were blinded by them. A delightful day succeeded ; and at nine o'clock A.M., a shower of these webs fell, (not single threads, but formed of flakes,) some nearly an inch broad, and five or six inches long, and continued to fall during the entire day. Baskets full might have been collected from the hedges ; and, from the velocity of their fall, it was evident they were considerably heavier than the medium through which they descended.

A phenomenon similar to that mentioned by Mr. White, was witnessed on the 16th of September, 1822, at Bewdley, in Worcestershire. Between the hours of 11 A.M. and 2 P.M. the whole atmosphere seemed to be a tissue of cobwebs, which continued to fall in great numbers, and in quick succession ; the temperature was 72° F. Some of these were single, others branched filaments, occasionally from 40 to 50 feet in length ! others were woolly films, or flocculi : some fell slowly, and others more rapidly. This was first noticed in the market-place at Bewdley ; and, on repairing to the adjoining fields, we found the same phenomenon, and our clothes were most curiously invested with a network of spiders' threads. In a communication to the Rev. J. J. Freeman of Kidderminster, now a Missionary in Madagascar, we remarked this circumstance ; and the following is an extract from his letter to us, dated 18th of September, 1822 : " The fall of cobwebs was also observed here on Monday. A gentleman told me, he was obliged to wipe his face several times while walking in his garden about 12 or 1 o'clock, such quantities continued to fall on him." On the 19th of July, 1822, the yeomanry, at 1 o'clock P.M., were drawn up in the market-place at Kidderminster, to fire a *feu-de-joie*, which had the effect of bringing immense numbers of this spider from the aerial regions : we picked up a considerable quantity from the pavement, when the yeomanry had withdrawn, and several took refuge on the table where we were reading, near the window of the hotel, then partly open.' Murray, pp. 34—36.

Besides this power of shooting its threads vertically, and mounting the air, the spider has a horizontal flight which is still more mysterious. In the entertaining volume on Insect Transformations, this property is briefly noticed. ' When spiders, even of considerable size, drop from a height, we have often', says the Writer, ' seen them swing out of the perpendicular without any apparent aid from the wind. It is highly probable, that this movement is effected by some internal apparatus analogous to the swim-bladder of fishes. They cannot, however, in this manner, move far.' (p. 398.)

But we have suffered our pen to be caught in a spider's web, from which we must now disentangle ourselves. We set out, in this article, with the intention of enumerating some few of the living wonders, familiar yet comparatively unobserved and unknown, with which, at this season, the fields and woods, the lawn and the pasture are teeming. But the spider has stopped us with its silken threads ; and this one species of a single genus has detained us so long, that we must no further prosecute our intended

excursion. Our object, perhaps, will be sufficiently answered, by this one specimen of the exhaustless field for observation and research which presents itself within the compass of a summer's stroll, or the still narrower boundary of a garden. The value of such publications as those before us, greatly consists in their being adapted to excite and form a taste for these most healthful and salutary studies, in the pursuit of which, as Sir J. E. Smith has expressed it, we may 'walk with God in the garden of creation, and hold converse with His providence'. This object, Mr. Murray has had particularly in view in his present volume, which, though bearing the marks of extensive scientific attainments, is of a miscellaneous and popular character. The Author is no friend to the affectation which would reduce the science of botany, or that of entomology, to a barbarous nomenclature and a dogmatic system. The physiology of plants or of insects, he deems not less deserving of attention. He is so old-fashioned too, as to think that, with all its faults and imperfections, the Linnæan nomenclature is far better than any thing we have obtained as a substitute; and he complains of the 'sectarism' of modern science as a source of infinite inconvenience and mischief. On the other hand, the tone in which scientific truths have recently been promulgated, is a change for the better; and 'the style and feeling displayed in such works as "*Salmonia*",—"Journal of a Naturalist", and the "*British Naturalist*", remind us', it is remarked, 'of the good old times of Evelyn and Walton, Derham and Ray, and last, not least, the amiable philosopher of Selborne.' With these works, his own *Researches* deserve to class, as an instructive and valuable addition to the materials of physiological science.

Mr. Jesse's work is of a more unpretending, but equally entertaining cast. The title aptly describes its contents,—'*Gleanings in Natural History and local Recollections*'. The Author was first induced to write down his observations, he tells us, by meeting with the suggestion, in the Preface to the *Natural History of Selborne*, that 'if stationary men would pay some attention to the districts on which they reside, and would publish their thoughts on the objects that surround them, from such materials might be drawn the most complete county histories.' County histories would be a very different sort of works, however, from what they are, were they to be compiled from works of a character similar to the *History of Selborne*. As to our Author's gleanings, it must be confessed, that they bear a very slight relation to topography; nor are they all fresh gathered from the field of nature, his own remarks being freely intermingled with extracts from other writers. All pretension to science is disclaimed, nor is there any thing like arrangement in the volume. But the lover of nature will find, in the shape of anecdote and of facts that have fallen under the Author's personal observation, some details of

considerable novelty and interest. A specimen or two will shew that the volume is at least well worth reading, for the curious and entertaining matter that it comprises. Let not the reader be startled at the subject of our first extract, which relates to that persecuted reptile, the toad.

‘I remember some years ago getting up into a mulberry tree, and finding in the fork of the two main branches, a large toad almost embedded in the bark of the tree, which had grown over it so much that he was quite unable to extricate himself, and would probably in time be completely covered over with the bark. Indeed, as the tree increased in size, there seems to be no reason why the toad should not in process of time become embedded in the tree itself, as was the case with the end of an oak rail that had been inserted into an elm-tree, which stood close to a public footpath. This, being broken off and grown over, was, on the tree being felled and sawn in two, found nearly in the centre of it. The two circumstances together may explain the curious fact of toads having been found alive in the middle of trees, by shewing that the bark having once covered them, the process of growth in the tree would annually convey the toad more nearly to the centre of it, as happened with the piece of oak-rail; and by shewing that toads, and probably other amphibia, can exist on the absorption of fluids by the skin alone. This is confirmed by the following fact. A gentleman informed me, that he put a toad into a small flower-pot, and secured it so that no insect could penetrate into it, and then buried it in the ground at a sufficient depth to protect it from the influence of frost. At the end of twenty years he took it up, and found the toad increased in size, and apparently healthy. Dr. Townson, in his tracts on the respiration of the amphibia, proves, I think satisfactorily, from actual experiment, that, while those animals with whose economy we are best acquainted receive their principal supply of liquids by the mouth, the frog and salamander tribes take in theirs through the skin alone; all the aqueous fluid which they take in being absorbed by the skin, and all they reject being transpired through it. He found that a frog absorbed nearly its own weight of water in the short time of an hour and a half, and that, by being merely placed on blotting-paper well soaked with water; and it is believed that they never discharge it, except when they are disturbed or pursued, and then they only eject it to lighten their bodies, and facilitate their escape. That the moisture thus imbibed is sufficient to enable some of the amphibia to exist without any other food, there cannot I think be a reasonable doubt; and if this is admitted, the circumstance of toads being found alive in the centre of trees, is accounted for by this and the preceding facts related.’ *Jesse*, pp. 115—117.

Mr. Jesse mentions as ‘a curious fact’, that toads are so numerous in the island of Jersey, that they have furnished a nickname (*crapaud*) for its inhabitants; while, in Guernsey, ‘not a toad is to be found, though they have frequently been imported.’ Their having been imported will, perhaps, be thought not the least curious part of the fact. They were a present, we presume, from the neighbouring islanders. If our readers have not had

too much already about spiders, they will be amused with the following account.

'There is a large breed of spiders which are found very generally in the palace of Hampton-Court. They are called there 'cardinals,' having, I suppose, been first seen in Cardinal Wolsey's hall. They are full an inch in length, and many of them of the thickness of a finger. Their legs are about two inches long, and their body covered with a thick hair. They feed chiefly on moths, as appears from the wings of that insect being found in great abundance under and amongst their webs. In running across the carpet in an evening, with the shade cast from their large bodies by the light of the lamp or candle, they have been mistaken for mice, and have occasioned no little alarm to some of the more nervous inhabitants of the palace. A doubt has even been raised, whether the name of cardinal has not been given to this creature from an ancient supposition that the ghost of Wolsey haunts the place of his former glory under this shape. Be this as it may, the spider is considered as a curiosity, and Hampton-Court is the only place in which I have met with it.' *Jesse*, p. 105.

The aristocratic fondness of the spider for imperial and royal halls, has become proverbial. Solomon's spider has been transformed by modern critics into one of the lizard family; but every one will recollect the oriental distich which makes the spider the tenant of the halls of Afrasiab. These moth-devourers are a pygmy breed, however, in comparison with some of these 'tigers in entomology'. The *mygale avicularia* of South America, one of the genus *aranea*, is about two inches long, and sucks the blood of the humming-bird, which its web is said to be strong enough to snare! But we must now take leave of the insect world, and turn our attention to birds. And we begin with some curious information contained in Mr. Jesse's volume, relating to the cuckoo.

'How soon would the breed of cuckoos be extinct, if they made their nests and hatched their own young as other birds do! The very peculiar cry of the cuckoo would instantly lead every marauding urchin to their nests; and we should be deprived of that note which every one listens to with pleasure in the country, and which forms one of the varieties of pleasing sounds which enliven our springs and summers. The instinct, also, which leads a cuckoo to deposit its egg in the nest of that bird whose young, when hatched, are sufficiently small to enable the young cuckoo to master them, and whose food is most congenial with its nature, is very surprising. Thus we find the young cuckoo in the nests of the water-wagtail and the hedge-sparrow, whose young he contrives to eject from the nest as soon as they are hatched, as it would be impossible for the old birds to supply nourishment for the cuckoo as well as for their own young ones, especially as the former, as he increases in size, has a most voracious appetite. I had an opportunity of witnessing this in the case of a young cuckoo which was hatched in the nest of a water-wagtail, who had built in some ivy on a wall close to my house. It required the united efforts of both

the old birds from morning to night to satisfy his hunger, and I never saw birds more indefatigable than they were. When the young cuckoo had nearly arrived at his full size, he appeared on the little nest of the water-wagtail, "like a giant in a cock-boat." Just before he could fly, he was put into a cage, in which situation the old birds continued to feed him, till by some accident he made his escape, and remained in a high elm-tree near the house. Here the water-wagtails were observed to feed him with the same assiduity for at least a fortnight afterwards. This cuckoo was very pugnacious, and would strike with its wings and open its mouth in great anger whenever I put my hand near him.'

'It seems to have escaped the notice of those to whom we are most indebted for the agreeable information we already possess of the habits of the cuckoo, that the parent bird, in depositing her egg, will sometimes undertake the task of removing the eggs of those birds in whose nest she is pleased to place her own. I say sometimes, because I am aware that it is not always the case; and indeed, I have only one fact to bring forward in support of the assertion: it is, however, connected with another relating to the cuckoo, not a little curious. The circumstance occurred at Arbury, in Warwickshire, the seat of Francis Newdigate, Esq., and was witnessed by several persons residing in his house. The particulars were written down at the time by a lady, who bestowed much time in watching the young cuckoo, and I now give them in her own words. "In the early part of the summer of 1828, a cuckoo, having previously turned out the eggs from a water-wagtail's nest, which was built in a small hole in a garden-wall at Arbury, deposited her own egg in their place. When the egg was hatched, the young intruder was fed by the water-wagtails, till he became too bulky for his confined and narrow quarters, and in a fidgety fit he fell to the ground. In this predicament he was found by the gardener, who picked him up, and put him into a wire-cage, which was placed on the top of a wall, not far from the place of its birth. Here it was expected that the wagtails would have followed their supposititious offspring with food, to support it in its imprisonment; a mode of proceeding which would have had nothing very uncommon to recommend it to notice. But the odd part of the story is, that the bird which hatched the cuckoo never came near it; but her place was supplied by a hedge-sparrow, who performed her part diligently and punctually, by bringing food at very short intervals from morning till evening, till its uncouth foster-child grew large, and became full feathered, when it was suffered to escape, and was seen no more: gone, perhaps, to the country to which he migrates, to tell his kindred cuckoos (if he was as ungrateful as he was ugly when I saw him in the nest) what fools hedge-sparrows and water-wagtails are in England. It may possibly be suggested, that a mistake has been made with regard to the sort of bird which hatched the cuckoo, and that the same bird which fed it, namely, the hedge-sparrow*, hatched the egg. If this had been the case, there would have been nothing extraordinary in the circumstance; but the wagtail was too often seen on her nest,

* 'It could not have been the hedge-sparrow, as they are never known to build in a hole in the wall.'

both before the egg was hatched, and afterwards feeding the young bird, to leave room for any scepticism on that point; and the sparrow was seen feeding it in the cage afterwards by many members of the family daily." *Jesse*, pp. 52, 3; 204—6.

Before we lay down this amusing volume, we must notice what appears to us a palpable mistake. At p. 155, Mr. Jesse cites a sentence from a work published in 1726, by Professor Bradley, of Cambridge, in these words: 'The elm, according to the forest terms, is not a timber-tree, but is styled by the foresters a weed'. 'This', adds Mr. J., 'seems to be a confirmation of the opinion that it is not indigenous, but is an intruder.' Now the citation, if correct, and in accordance with fact, would, instead of confirming this opinion, tend to disprove it. Weeds are indigenous; and no tree not indigenous would be styled by foresters a weed. But we have little doubt that Professor Bradley is speaking of the beech, and that Mr. Jesse has quoted the passage inaccurately. The beech is not reckoned a forest-tree, but a fruit-tree; and it propagates itself from the mast with such facility, as to be styled by old woodmen a weed. The elm is propagated in this country only by slips or layers, and never springs up, we believe, from the seed. Very few elm-trees, Mr. Jesse says, are found in the royal forests. The wych-elm is indigenous; but, for the elm, we are probably indebted to the Romans, and it would be more proper to call it the Italian elm, than the English. The latter term, indeed, is technically restricted to the narrow-leaved variety. Dr. Hunter, to prove that the elm is a native of this country, remarks, that there are nearly forty places in this kingdom which have their names from it, most of which are mentioned in Domesday-book. But this would rather seem to prove, that elms were so rare as to be remarkable, since they gave name to the particular spots where they were found planted; and at all events, places are much more likely to have derived their name from a solitary tree, or groupe of trees, invested with historic interest or local sanctity, than from the common vegetation of the spot. Thus we have New Elm, in Oxfordshire, Nine Elms, near Lambeth; Elm-ham in Norfolk. The last-named place was near a Roman station; and it would, perhaps, be found, that, in every instance, the places referred to by Dr. Hunter had been occupied by the Romans.

Mr. Slaney's is a pleasing little volume, for the most part compiled from various writers, with a few original observations: it is inscribed to the Author's daughters. He expresses his hope that it may not be criticised with severity; and we respect too much the amiable feeling and intention which have dictated the work, to have any disposition to be severely critical. The volume is divided into five chapters: Winter Visitors; Summer Visitors;

Resident Birds; Owls and Hawks; Water Birds. If this is not a very scientific arrangement, it is one which well answers the purpose intended, 'to draw the attention of the young to the interesting objects around them'. Neat wood-cut *portraits* of the principal among the winged gentry, add to the pleasing character of the volume, with which we have not a fault to find, but only to regret that the original observations do not form a larger proportion of the matter.

The 'Minstrelsy of the Woods' is an odd designation of a work which opens with a description of the Eagle, and others of the order *accipitres*; but it will not be a fair ground of objection against the volume, that it contains more than it promises. The second order, *Passeres*, are treated of more at length, and occupy the greater portion of the volume, so far justifying the title. Then follow, in distinct chapters, the four other orders. Both the scientific and the popular names of the genera are given. The sketches are brief, enlivened by anecdotes, and illustrated by good cuts; but the prominent attraction consists of the songs of birds, of which a great portion of the volume is composed. We say songs of birds; and for the first time the Falcon is here made to treat us with a song.

'THE SONG OF THE FALCON.

- ' Time was, when fettered with jesses and hood,
Compelled to share in the sports of men,
In the presence of princes and warriors I stood,
And they called me the noble falcon then.
With ladies and knights I followed the chase,
And they deemed that mine was a noble race.
- ' Where the monarch lived in his royal towers,
Where the chieftain dwelt with his warlike crew,
Where the fair ladies sat in their courtly bowers,
There ever the falcon and merlin flew.
With the brave and the lovely I followed the chase,
And they said that mine was a noble race.
- ' On the slender wrist of the high-born dame,
The well-trimmed merlin rested then;
At the chieftain's call the falcon came,
And knew his voice 'mid a thousand men.
With horse and hound I followed the chase,
And they lauded the falcon's noble race.
- ' But I'm nobler now that, far and free,
Unfettered by toils and trammels like these,
I sail abroad over land and sea,
And follow the chase wherever I please.
No bell on my foot, no hood on my brow,
I am truly the noble falcon now.'

The song of the Goldfinch has been fancifully supposed to resemble the articulation of the words, '*Take me with you if you please*',—chanted in recitative, with a strong emphasis on the first and fifth syllables. This conceit is happily employed in the following stanzas.

'SONG OF THE GOLDFINCH.

- '*Take me with you if you please ;
I'm a merry little bird ;
I love the orchard's sheltering trees,
And there my cheerful note is heard.
Softly blows the summer breeze ;
Take me with you if you please.*
- '*I love the woods and meadows too,
Where other small birds gayly sing :
I sip with them the morning dew,
And with them prune my glossy wing.
Softly blows the summer breeze ;
Take me with you if you please.'*

The goldfinch ranks among English residents, and its pleasing song is heard from April to the middle of September. Mr. Slaney gives the following account of him.

'The goldfinch, sometimes called sheriff's man or seven-coloured linnet, is one of the most brilliant little birds of this world, and his costume would not disgrace a peacock's levee. If the farmer has neglected his fields, and the thistles are abundant and coming into seed, there shall we find our handsome finch busy, endeavouring to mitigate the evil. His song is as pleasing as his plumage is attractive, and his docility in confinement greater than (that of) any other bird ; so that his whole demeanour is worthy of a lady's regard. He, too, is fond of society ; and when a little mirror is placed in his cage, as is sometimes the case, "he may be seen", says Buffon, "taking his food, grain by grain, to eat it at the glass, believing, doubtless, he is eating in company." They live so long, that "the celebrated Gesner", as Buffon relates, "saw one white with age, feeble, almost unable to move, and whose nails and beak they cut every week, to enable him to eat. This patriarch was twenty-three years old." ' *Slaney*, pp. 87, 8.

The Author of '*The Minstrelsy of the Woods*,' has endeavoured to bespeak our interest in behalf of a bird which has neither song nor beauty of complexion to recommend it, and is almost universally regarded as a bird of evil omen. Sundry crimes are laid to the raven's charge, which his present advocate does not notice ; mentioning only what may be regarded as its poetical character, which is not entirely accordant with its real habits. The raven is capable of being domesticated ; is a fellow who loves a joke, mingling fun with his mischief, and sometimes

making himself useful. We have heard of one who lived in a country inn-yard, where he never failed to announce the arrival of a traveller, by distinctly articulating the call, Ostler. A volume might be filled with anecdotes of this bird. There is 'a speculation in its eye,' which might seem to account for its being, in ancient days, consecrated to the god of divination. Its longevity is, for a bird, almost antediluvian. Its retired habits, and its fondness for lonely, deserted ruins, have invested it with gloomy attributes; and it must unquestionably rank among unclean birds, and birds of prey. The mention of the Raven in the Book of Proverbs, in connexion with a fearful threatening, may also have contributed, by the deep impression which the passage has made on many a youthful heart, to confirm this unfavourable association. Yet, remarks the present Writer, 'there are many interesting recollections connected with its name, not at all of a mournful nature.'

'The raven sent forth by Noah, is familiar to us from our childhood; the first of all the voluntary prisoners in the ark of gopher-wood, which escaped from its temporary prison, and flew over the ruined world with unfettered wing. Still more familiar and endeared to our feelings, is the touching and beautiful story of the persecuted prophet; hidden from his enemies by the secret brook Cherith, and daily fed, in time of famine, by the ravens, who brought him bread and meat every morning and every evening; commissioned to sustain the man of God, by Him who heareth the young ravens when they cry. Neither can we forget the beautiful allusion to this bird in the discourses of our blessed Saviour, as related by St. Luke . . .

- ' Dark raven, when thy note I hear,
Why should it fill my heart with fear?
I'll look upon thy sable wing,
And think of Cherith's secret spring,
And of the prophet's wond'rous fare,
Who sought the hidden waters there.
- ' Thy rushing wing, dark-mantled bird,
The holy seer with gladness heard,
When famine raged on every side,
And founts and flowing streams were dried;
But still, in Cherith's quiet vale,
The crystal waters did not fail.
- ' From fields uncheered by rain or dew,
To Cherith's brook the ravens flew,
Morning and eve, on pinions fleet,
Hov'ring around the lone retreat;
By secret impulse thither led,
To bring the exile daily bread.
- ' Dark-mantled bird, I'll welcome thee:
Thou hast no omens dire for me.

Recorded on the sacred page,
That tale descends from age to age,
And still the raven's sable plumes,
As with a glorious light illumes.

' I turn with fond delight to trace
The story of thy ancient race,
And think how, in their hour of need,
God can his faithful children feed.
There may be want, there may be woe ;
But still the hidden stream will flow.
There may be deep, heart-withering care,
But Cherith's brook forbids despair.'

In some parts of the country, (Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire, for example,) the raven's nest is protected by a superstition which attributes to the prophet's bird a sacred character. The nests of five species of bird are indeed held sacred by our village urchins, where the saws and legends of the olden time are not quite forgotten or exploded by the march of intellect, viz. those of the robin, the wren, the swift, the swallow, and the raven. The reason may be gathered from the following homely couplets.

' The robins and the wrens
Are God Almighty's hens.
The swifts and the swallows
Are God Almighty's scholars.'

We have never heard the reason that protects the raven's nest conveyed in rhyme ; but we obtained the explanation from a female octogenarian, who, in questioning her grandson why he abstained from climbing a tree after a raven's nest, had expressed her fear that it was only because he was afraid of the old bird. ' No, Grandmother,' said the boy ; ' it is because them be the ' birds as fed Elijah.' ' I be very glad, child,' was the old lady's reply, ' that you can give me *the right reason*.'

We must not indulge ourselves or our readers with any further extracts ; or we should be tempted to transcribe some very pleasing stanzas on the Fern-owl (*Caprimulgus Europæus*),—sacred to the memory of the amiable Naturalist of Selborne, the first writer who accurately noted the peculiarities of this singular bird, whose note has been aptly compared to the clattering of castanets. It is a bird of passage, arriving in England about the end of May, and quitting it about the middle of August. It is of the size of a cuckoo, for which bird it has sometimes been mistaken. Mr. Slaney does not mention it.

These specimens will afford sufficient means of judging of the merit and interest of the volumes to which we have invited the attention of our readers ; and we must close this desultory, but,

we hope, not uninteresting article, with strongly urging upon all our younger readers the cultivation of an intimate acquaintance with our fellow-bipeds of the feathered race, both sojourners and visitors, of which about seventy different species rank as British birds. The rich ornithology of England may well claim to be enumerated among the natural advantages and attractions of this favoured island. Yet, among our educated classes, how large a proportion have no other idea associated with a bird, than that of its being a thing to be shot at ! The very word, *bird*, means only, with them, winged game. The lark that sings at heaven's gate, is regarded only as furnishing a dish for the epicure. Under the general and degrading name of small birds, hard-billed birds who devour grain, and soft-billed birds who destroy gnats, are indiscriminately and ignorantly confounded ; and from the mischievous habits of one or two little marauders, Mr. Slaney remarks, a general war of extermination is often carried on against the feathered race. Yet, a very slight knowledge of their structure and habits, would exempt from destruction almost all the warblers that delight us with their song. And what page of the open book of Nature is not worthy of admiring and devout study !

Art. VI. *Evening Exercises for the Closet*: for every Day in the Year. By William Jay. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. xxxvi. 1094. Price 1l. 1s. London, 1832.

THE peculiar acceptance which the venerable Author's "Morning Exercises for the Closet" have met with, the many testimonies of their usefulness he has received, and the various applications addressed to him by private individuals and Christian Ministers to send forth a companion work for the Evening,—are given as the reasons which have induced him to publish this second Series ; and they are reasons which render any extended or critical notice of these volumes quite superfluous. Mr. Jay's style is particularly adapted to short meditations of a devout character. The simplicity and occasional felicity of expression, the very mannerism, savouring of the pithiness of our older divines, the familiar mode of illustration, and the rich vein of experimental wisdom that form the prominent characteristics of his writings, are all displayed to the greatest advantage in these 'Closet Exercises.' Mr. Jay knows his forte, and never attempts any thing out of his proper line : he has consequently been able to maintain an undiminished and solid popularity. Usefulness has been his great aim ; and while, as an expositor, he is prone to spiritualize, and is more inclined to be mystical than critical, still, his drift is always practical. He never deals in abstractions. To use his own expression, he does not set before us Christianity, but

the Christian ; and religion, in his pages, is not a creed, but a life. This is the cardinal excellence of his writings, and he needs envy no higher fame.

The present volumes are introduced with a long dedicatory epistle to William Wilberforce, Esq., in which Mr. Jay takes occasion to express his sentiments upon many topics connected with the present state of the religious world. Some of his remarks afford a tempting occasion for discussion, but we do not happen to be disposed, just now, to launch into dissertation. We shall therefore proceed to lay before our readers a specimen of these Exercises ; and waving all criticism, cordially commend both the work itself, and the practice it is designed and adapted to promote, to every devout reader.

' June 30.—*"The writing of Hezekiah king of Judah, when he had been sick, and was recovered of his sickness."*—ISAIAH xxxviii. 9.

' Many persons are afraid of their trials. It would be wiser to fear their mercies. They are in more danger from their friends than from their enemies ; from their comforts than from their crosses ; from their health than from their sickness. They often desire our prayers when they come into affliction : but they need them most when they are coming out of it ; and are returning into scenes of danger and temptation again.

' Wicked and worldly men are only anxious to escape from their troubles. But it ought to be our concern to inquire whether we "come forth as gold"—whether we are brought nearer to God, or are left farther from him, by the things we suffer. Constantine the Great said, "I marvel that many of my subjects, since they became Christians, are worse than they were when they were Pagans." Young speaks of some as "worse for mending", and "washed to fouler stains". And it is lamentable to think how many, instead of being improved by their recovery from disease, are injured by it. They poured out a prayer when God's chastening hand was upon them, and confessed, and resolved, and vowed unto the Lord ; but when he relieved and released them, they turned again to folly. Many think we are severe in our reflections on death-bed changes ; and wonder that we think such conversions can never be entirely satisfactory to the subjects of them, or their surviving friends. Yet of how many ministers have we inquired, all of whom have affirmed, that they never knew such converts, when recovered, living according to their promises ; yet had they died they would have entertained a firm hope concerning many of them. And it is probable funeral sermons would have been preached for some of them—and how would others have been chronicled in the magazines ! Even Jacob forgot the vow his soul made when he was in trouble, till God said unto him, "Arise, go up to Beth-el, and dwell there : and make there an altar unto God, that appeared unto thee when thou fleddest from the face of Esau thy brother." Then, and not before, did the backslider say, "Let us arise, and go up to Beth-el ; and I will make there an altar unto God, who answered

me in the day of my distress, and was with me in the way which I went."

' Hezekiah did better upon his recovery. He wrote a song, and had it sung in the temple-service. He might indeed, for this purpose, have availed himself of one of David's songs; and we read that he appointed persons to sing the songs of his illustrious ancestor in the worship of God. But he composed one himself on this occasion, not from vanity, but from sentiments of piety. He wrote it in particular for three purposes.

' First, to show the importance of the blessing he had experienced. Read his language, and you will find how much he valued life. 'This to some may seem strange. To a good man, is it not gain to die? When a voyager is entering the desired haven, is he so glad and grateful for a wind that blows him back again to sea? The fear of death is as much a natural principle as hunger or thirst. Every good man, though always in a state to die, is not in a frame to die. He may not have the light of God's countenance, or the assurance of hope. He may be also influenced by relative considerations. This was the case with Hezekiah. He might have feared for the succession; for he had no offspring at this time: Manasseh was only twelve years old at his death, and therefore could not have been born till three years after his father's recovery. The enemy was also at the gates of the capital. He had also begun a glorious reformation, and wished to see it carried on. Even Paul, though he knew that to depart and to be with Christ was far better, yet was more than willing to abide in the flesh, for the advantage of the Philippians and others.

' Secondly, to excite his gratitude. Hence he so vividly recalls all his painful and gloomy feelings in his late danger, that he might be the more affected with the goodness of his deliverer and benefactor—read the whole chapter—Do as he did. Dwell upon every thing that can give a relish, and add an impression to the blessing you have received; and be ye thankful—and employ your tongues, your pens, your lives, in praise of the God of your mercies. Did the heathen upon their recovery hang up tablets of acknowledgements in the house of their gods? Have Papists built churches and altars to their patron-saints? And will you do nothing for the Lord your healer? Yet so it often is! The physician is cheerfully rewarded; the attendants are paid for their trouble; friends are thanked for their obliging inquiries—only one Being is overlooked—*He* who gave the physician his skill; He who rendered the means effectual; He who inspired the inquiring friends with all their tenderness.

' Thirdly, to insure a sense of his obligation in future. The Jews soon forgot the works of the Lord, and the wonders He had shown them. And we are very liable to the same evil. But we should say, with David, "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and *forget* not all his benefits"; and avail ourselves of every assistance that can enable us to recover and preserve the feelings we had at the time when the Lord appeared for us. Thus the Jews established the feast of Purim upon their deliverance from the plot of Haman. Thus Samuel raised a stone after his victory, and called it Ebenezer. Joseph named his sons

Ephraim and Manasseh, to remind him of the contrast between his former and present condition. And thus Hezekiah would compose this writing, that he might compare himself with its sentiments, months and years after; and that it might be a pledge of his dedication to God; and a witness against him if his love should ever wax cold—

‘ And how was it with him? Can I proceed? So far all is well. He is wise, humble, grateful, resolved. But, alas! how shall we say it? “After this Hezekiah rendered not according to the benefit done him; for his heart was lifted up; therefore wrath came upon him and upon all Judah.” Lord, what is man! Who is beyond the danger of falling while in this world? On what can we safely rely? He that trusteth in his own heart is a fool. And he is not much better that trusts in his own grace. It is not *our* grace, but *his* grace that is sufficient for us. Let us therefore be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Let us not insult over others when they err in doctrine or in practice; but tremble for ourselves, and pray, Lord, hold thou me up, and I shall be safe. Blessed is the man that feareth always.’

Vol. I. pp. 523—6.

NOTICES.

- Art. VII.—1. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae Compendarius*. Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary, reprinted from the folio Edition of MDCCLII. With numerous Additions, Emendations, and Improvements. By the Rev. B. W. Beatson, A.M., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Revised and corrected by William Ellis, Esq. A.M. of King's College, Aberdeen. Imperial 8vo, pp. xx. 1104, 122, 82. London, 1830.
2. *A Complete Concordance to the Old and New Testament: or a Dictionary and Alphabetical Index to the Bible*. In two Parts. To which is added, a Concordance to the Apocrypha. With a Compendium of the Bible, and a brief Account of its History and Excellence. By Alexander Cruden, M.A. With a Sketch of the Life and Character of the Author. By William Youngman. Imperial 8vo, pp. xiv. 720. London, 1831.
3. *Theology explained and defended*, in a Series of Sermons. By Timothy Dwight, S.T.D. LL.D., late President of Yale College. With a Memoir of the Life of the Author. Complete in one Volume. Imperial 8vo, pp. xxxvi. 856. Price 1*l.* 4*s.* Glasgow, 1831.

It scarcely falls within our province to notice mere reprints; but these publications have specific claims to our attention. This new edition of the folio Ainsworth in the more convenient form of large octavo, could not fail to be highly acceptable to all Latin students; but the value of the publication is exceedingly enhanced by the nume-

rous and important improvements that have been introduced into this edition, and the great pains that have been taken to secure that indispensable requisite, typographical accuracy. The numbers in the references of former editions were full of errors that had been suffered to pass, or had accumulated, in the successive reprints. The minute labour that it has cost the Reviser of this edition to verify and correct these references, must have been immense. If 'only an author knows 'an author's pains', equally true is it, that only an editor of similar works can estimate the trouble, patience, and toil that the simple revision of such a world of words must have cost. Every quotation important either for sense or for expression, has, we are assured, been carefully searched out, and the true reference inserted. But in the table of Proper Names, in which Ainsworth's original work was lamentably defective and erroneous, the improvements have been especially numerous and important. So numerous were the errors, that the present Editor says: 'We are almost inclined to believe that 'Ainsworth knew little of history or geography himself, but compiled 'this part of his work hastily from indexes and compendiaries.' For instance, Methone was described as 'lying on the road from Venice to 'Jerusalem'; Armene in Paphlagonia was made a town of Greece; Sophene, a district of Armenia, was assigned to Phœnicia; and the 'hills of Epirus', as he terms the Acroceraunian range, were treated as a part of the chain of Taurus! These are not the worst specimens that might be adduced. Besides correcting these palpable errors, many new articles have been added to both the historical and the geographical names. So far as we have examined this part of the volume, we have found it far more correct than any similar work that has fallen under our notice; and the inaccuracies that we have detected are trivial. Memphis is described as standing 'in the isle Delta'. Londinium is absurdly derived from *Ilan Dian*, e. g. *fanum Dianæ*. Antilibanus is vaguely described as 'a mountain opposite to Libanus', and the latter is said to be 'on the north the boundary of the holy 'land':—that it forms the northern boundary, must be meant. The provincial subdivisions of Macedonia ought to have been mentioned; also, those of Media. Under the word Lusitania, we have Tarracon for Tarraconensis, and Arnas for Anas; for 'the third part of ancient 'Spain composing' &c., read 'the third province of ancient Spain 'comprising the whole of Portugal and Algarve with Leon and part of 'Estremadura.' Emerita (Merida) should have been mentioned as the capital of Lusitania. The article India required to be both corrected and extended. The country of the *Insubres* included only a district of Lombardy, between the Ticinus and the Adda, Mediolanum being nearly in the centre. Messene is given, but Messenia is omitted. The Alps, putting aside the erroneous etymology, ought to have been more distinctly described; and Hannibal's 'making his way through 'these hills into Italy with vinegar', required a somewhat different comment. Alexandria was the name of seventeen or eighteen ancient cities, of which three only are mentioned. Alexandria Troas ought not to have been omitted under this word. The Egyptian city is not 'near the Nile', but on the Mediterranean. Dacia is imperfectly and inaccurately defined. Syrophœnix is given, but not Syro-Phœ-

nia; nor Syro-Media. Syrtis is very inaccurately explained. And so, perhaps, we might go on, finding fault at our ease; but we can assure the pains-taking Editor, that we have no wish to depreciate his labours. Weighed against what he has done, the little that he has left undone affords no reasonable ground for withholding our approbation and thanks, but only indicates the wretched state in which this part of the work was left by his predecessors. The whole dictionary is very greatly improved, and appears to us as correctly, as it is clearly printed, and does high credit to the stereotypographic press of Messrs. Childs of Bungay.

To the same press we are indebted for this handsome and accurately printed edition of Cruden's invaluable Concordance, to which is prefixed a brief sketch of the life and character of the eccentric Author. To those who have hitherto known him only by his great work and his portrait—the quaint, quiet, reverend effigy in the knot-shaped wig,—this biographical sketch will afford no small surprise and entertainment, not unmingled with tenderer sentiment. Poor Alexander the Corrector's story may well class under the 'Calamities of Authors'. The first edition of his Concordance was published in 1737; the second in 1761. At the time that he was engaged upon this new edition, Mr. Cruden was corrector of the press to Mr. Woodfall, in the publication of the Public Advertiser. 'Here', we are told, 'he had full occupation. At one o'clock in the morning, he finished the labours of the office; and at six, he was turning over his Bible with the most careful attention, for the correction of his Concordance. In the evening, he again returned to the printing-office, near to which he lodged, at the Flatting Mill, over against the Ship, in Ivy Lane. In this round of public and private duty, he passed his time tranquilly and happily, embracing every opportunity of performing acts of benevolence to his fellow-creatures.' His death was enviable. No illness or decay had indicated his approaching dissolution, although he was in his seventieth year, when, one morning, he was found by his maid-servant, kneeling in his closet against a chair, in the attitude of prayer, in which his spirit had passed away.

Dwight's Theology has received, in the second series of our Journal, so full a review, and stands so little in need of any reiteration of our strong recommendation, that we need only congratulate the theological student, and the religious public generally, on having the whole work offered to them in this cheap and convenient form. For our opinion of the merits of the work, we may refer our readers to Vol. XVI. of our Second Series (Aug. and Sept. 1821). It is certainly, as a body of divinity, one of the most valuable works of the kind in the language, but might be rendered still more so by the notes of a judicious editor.

Art. VIII.—1. *The Shaking of the Nations; and the Corresponding Duties of Christians.* A Sermon preached at Craven Chapel, Regent Street, Nov. 13, 1831. By J. Leifchild. With an Appendix, containing an Account of some extraordinary Instances of

- Enthusiasm and Fanaticism in different Ages of the Church. 8vo, pp. 66. Price 1s. 6d. London, 1832.
2. *The Miraculous Gifts of the Primitive Churches and Modern Pretensions to their Exercise*: a Discourse delivered at Stepney Meeting, Nov. 27, 1831. By Joseph Fletcher, D.D. pp. 62. London, 1832.
 3. *The Self-existence of Jehovah pledged for the ultimate Revelation of his Glory to all Nations*. A Sermon preached before the London Missionary Society, May 9, 1832. By John Morison, D.D. 8vo, pp. 49. London, 1832.

It is almost a rule with us, not to notice single sermons, as it is wholly impossible to notice all that might justly be commended, and to select a few, exposes us to the imputation of partiality. We cannot, however, refrain from noticing these, which, from the peculiar interest attaching to their respective subjects, not less than from their intrinsic merit as judicious discourses, invite and will amply repay the public attention. The pretensions to miraculous gifts are not new. The Rev. Thomas Boys, of Jewish Expositor celebrity, affirms, 'that 'miraculous powers have never entirely ceased in the church';—'that 'there have always been some claims of miraculous power, or some allegations of miracles performed by believers, not only before, but 'since the Reformation.' He is partly right. Prior to the Reformation, the Lives of the Saints abound with miracles; nor has the Church of Rome ever withdrawn its pretensions. And the facts collected by Mr. Leifchild in his Appendix, will shew, that 'allegations 'of miracles performed by believers' have at successive periods been put forth among Protestants. Nay, a standing claim to miraculous powers, it seems, is maintained by the Shakers of Lebanon, in New York, who appear to have received the spirit from the French Prophets of the seventeenth century, and whom Dr. Dwight describes as singing in an unknown tongue, which one of the sisterhood was inclined to believe to be 'the *Hotmatot*'. We should not be at all surprised if a regular succession—we do not say an apostolic, or even an episcopal one—might be made out, of fanatical pretenders to miraculous endowments, from Montanus down to Prince Hohenlohe and Mr. Bulteel. Every age has exhibited these specimens of extravagance. And although, as Mr. Leifchild justly remarks, it would be improper to class all enthusiasts under the same description of moral character, 'the 'tragical ends of most fanatics and visionaries are sufficient intimations of the jealousy of the Holy Spirit respecting the honour of his 'former miraculous deeds, and the glory of his divine and sovereign 'agency.' 'For himself', Mr. L. is 'free to confess, that the practice 'of deliberately and positively asserting the Divine Spirit to be the 'immediate agent in certain extravagant emotions, expressions, or actions of a religious kind, where but the possibility of mistake exists, 'wears an aspect so fearful and dangerous as to make him shudder at 'the thought of approaching it.' But this unhallowed rashness is sure to entail its own punishment; and the sin and the punishment seem connected in the words of St. Paul (2 Tim. iii. 13.), "*deceiving*

and being deceived :" of whom it is predicted, that they shall " wax worse and worse ".

Mr. Leifchild's sermon treats more especially of the right interpretation and proper use of the prophetic intimations of Scripture in reference to events yet future ; and by connecting these with the signs of the times, the Preacher deduces motives to a more diligent performance of the duties appropriate to the peculiar circumstances in which Christians are placed at the present crisis. Dr. Fletcher's discourse is an argumentative exposure of the fallacy of modern pretensions to miraculous gifts, preceded by a luminous exposition of the ends for which they were bestowed upon the first Christians. Dr. Morison's is a glowing and animating view of the vast and glorious prospect which is unfolding itself to the expectations of Christians, in connexion with the Divine pledge and decree that the whole world shall be filled with the Glory of the Lord. Although a Sermon of that cast which must gain much from an impressive delivery, making a direct appeal to the feelings, it will stand the test of perusal. We cordially recommend the three Sermons to the attention of our readers.

Art. IX. *The present State of the Established Church, an Apology for Secession from its Communion.* By a Seceding Clergyman. 8vo. pp. 65. Price 2s. London, 1832.

' DURING nearly twenty years, the Author of this pamphlet laboured in the ministry of the Gospel in the Established Church. As a young man fresh from the University, he was a conscientious Churchman, and published largely in its favour. Subsequent reflection and consideration, however, excited doubt as to the soundness of his own principles ; and so strong were his convictions of the anti-Scripturality of many parts of the constitution, doctrine, and discipline of the Established Church, that he was obliged to relinquish the offer and hope of preferment, through inability conscientiously to make the necessary subscription of his unfeigned belief and approbation of "all things contained and prescribed in and by the book of Common Prayer." As he could not make the required subscriptions without traitorous perjury, so he found it impossible to remain nominally a Churchman without base hypocrisy. The path of duty thus became plain ; and the Author only waited a favourable moment to avow his determination, when unexpected circumstances afforded the long desired opportunity.'

We have transcribed this statement as placing in the strongest light the Author's claim to a respectful hearing on the part of his brethren and the public at large ; a claim resting upon the competent information, the tried integrity, and the honourable conduct of the witness. To Dissenters, the Apology will neither be necessary, nor will it convey any novel disclosures. But those persons who affect to have forsaken the ranks of orthodox Dissent, and to have embraced with the indiscriminate zeal of a convert the all and every thing in the Establishment from conviction,—might do well to read, mark, and digest this afflicting exposure of the evils and abuses under which the truly

pious clergy are inwardly groaning. Addressing the friend to whom the Apology is inscribed, the Writer says: 'From your extensive intercourse with your clerical brethren, you must be fully aware, that very many amongst the most devoted and pious of them, begin to feel deeply that, unless some change takes place, (the *spes vana* of lingering attachment,) they cannot long continue the discharge of their ministry in the Established Church. Have we not lately seen the near relative of a most respectable dignitary resigning his preferment, and abandoning his reasonable hopes and bright prospects of future advancement for conscience sake? And can you, or can the world, be so blinded to the real state of things among us, as to conceive this to be a solitary instance of conscientious dissatisfaction with the present system? Do you not know, do we not both know, young men of family and fortune, yet at the university, who more than hesitate to seek ordination?'

These facts speak prophecy, and their import cannot be mistaken. Whatever be the evils of Dissent, real or imaginary,—let the ingenuity of inveterate bigotry exaggerate them to the utmost, and, by garbled quotations, seek to extort from the writings of Dissenters a confession of their being indeed of serious magnitude,—still, whatever be the evils attaching to the Dissenting system, they will no longer avail as an argument for blind adherence to the Church. The time for the dirty policy of recrimination is gone by. The Christian Remembrancer and the British Magazine, may go on as long as they please, pandering to the intolerance of the ignorant, by their invectives and misrepresentations respecting the sectaries. What purpose do these writers think to subserve? They cannot hope to deceive, they do not affect to conciliate, Dissenters of any class. And will the pious Churchman be deterred from examining into the abuses of his own Church, by having the caricature effigy of Independency paraded before him, crowned with a cap painted with demons, like that which the victims of an *auto da fe* were made to wear? Will the mistakes of Dissenters reconcile any men of common sense to the corruptions of the Church? Foul notion! Mr. Rose and his brother Editors would do well to leave the Dissenters alone. They will soon have work enough on their hands in defending their own entrenchments. Mr. Acaster, Mr. Hura, Mr. Ryland, Mr. Berens, Mr. Cox, Mr. Tiptaft, and the present Writer require to be met in a very different manner; and church reform must come, or woe to the Church!

ART. X. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Nearly ready, The Christian Warfare illustrated. By the Rev. Robert Vaughan, Author of the "Life and Opinions of Wycliffe", &c. In one volume 8vo. This volume will include preliminary chapters on Human Depravity, Justification, and Spiritual Influence, and a View of the Christian Warfare as connected with Believing, Repentance, Private Devotion, Public Duty, Persecution, Religious Declension, Despondency, Occupation, Retirement, Prosperity, Adversity, and the Fear of Death; Conclusion—the Claims of the Christian Warfare.

In a few days will be published, *The Devotional Letters and Sacramental Meditations of Dr. Philip Doddridge.*

A new *Weekly Miscellany* is announced, under the title of *The Weekly Cabinet of Antiquarian Literature.* To be conducted by distinguished Writers.

In the press, and speedily will appear, in one volume 8vo, *History of Charlemagne.* By G. P. R. James, Esq.

In the press, in one thin volume 8vo, a *Memoir on Suspension Bridges*, comprising the History of their Origin and Progress, and of their Application to civil and military purposes; with Descriptions of some of the most important Bridges; viz.—Menai; Berwick; New-haven; Brighton; Isle de Bourbon; Hammersmith; Bath; Marlow; Shoreham; Pont des Invalides at Paris; Pont d'Arcole; Tarnac; Geneva, &c. Also, an Account of Experiments on the Strength of Iron Wires and Iron Bars, and Rules and Tables for facilitating Computations relating to Suspension Bridges. Illustrated by lithographic plates and wood-cuts. By Charles Stewart Drewry, Associate Member of the Institution of Civil Engineers.

In a few days will be published, a new edition of *Dr. Lardner's Lectures on the Steam Engine*, containing an Account of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway and the most recent performances on it, the Locomotive Engines used upon it; an Account of the Steam Carriages in preparation for Turnpike Roads, &c. &c.

In the press, *The Life and Times of Isaac Watts, D.D.*, with notices of many of his contemporaries. By the Rev. T. Milner, A.M., Author of the "*History of the Seven Churches of Asia.*"

In the press, *The Harmony of Religious Truth and Human Reason asserted, in a Series of Essays.* By John Howard Hinton, M.A. One volume, 12mo.

In the press, *Supplement to Loudon's Hortus Britannicus* in 8vo.

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In the press, and speedily will be published, *An Essay on the Ministry of Local or Lay Preachers; with Observations designed to point out the Capabilities, Means of Improvement, and Usefulness of that class of Ministers.* By Wm. Robinson.

ART. XI. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life and Pontificate of Gregory the Seventh. By Sir Roger Griesley, Bart. F.A.S. 8vo.

Life of Frederick the Second, King of Prussia. By Lord Dover. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1l. 8s.

Lives of Eminent Missionaries. By J. Carne, Esq. Author of "Letters from the East," forming Vol. VI. of the Select Library. Fcap. 8vo. 6s.

HISTORY.

A Companion and Key to the History of England; consisting of copious Genealogical and Biographical Details and Charts of the several Dynasties of the British Sovereigns, with the illustrious Families emanating from them: accompanied with an Epitome of the British, Saxon, and English Nobility, considered as Hereditary and Hierarchical; with the various Blazonry of their Armorial Bearings. By George Fisher, Academy, Swaffham. In royal 8vo. 1l. 15s. half-bound.

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A Genealogical Atlas, composed of the Charts of the above Work, depicting the Descent, through the various Dynasties, of British Sovereigns, with the several Branchings into the Families of Foreign Royalty and British Aristocracy. 8s. 6d. half-bound.

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Stories from German Writers in German and English, interlinear, on the plan recommended by Locke; with a Grammatical Introduction and Notes. 12mo. 2s. 6d. each.

PHILOLOGY.

A Grammar of the Turkish Language, with a Preliminary Discourse on the Language and Literature of the Turkish Nations. A copious Vocabulary, Dialogues, Collections of Extracts in Prose and Verse from many rare MSS. in Public Libraries and Private Collections; with Lithographic Specimens, by Arthur Lumley Davids, Member of the Asiatic Society of Paris. 4to. 1l. 8s.

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Baxter's Saints' Rest, abridged. Edited by Isaac Crowdon. Eighth Edition. 1s.

Access to God faithfully developed by the Church of England; the Characters of her professing Members; the Qualifications, Duties, and Encouragements of her Ministers. Five Discourses preached before the University of Cambridge in the month of January, 1832. By the Rev. Thomas Dale, M.A. Minister of St. Matthew's Chapel, Denmark Hill, &c. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

TOPOGRAPHY.

Devon and Cornwall Illustrated; from Original Drawings by Thomas Allom. With Historical and Topographical Descriptions by J. Britton and E. W. Brayley. In 1 Vol. 4to. containing 145 Engravings, elegantly half-bound. 2l. 2s.

On August 1, will be published.—Part I of Westmoreland, Cumberland, Durham, and Northumberland Illustrated; from Original Drawings, by Thomas Allom; containing 17 Engravings. 4s.

A Narrative of a Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand in 1827; together with a Journal of a Residence in Tristan d'Acunha. By Augustus Earle, Draughtsman to H. M. Surveying Ship, The Beagle. 8vo. 13s.

A Three Months' Tour in Switzerland and France: illustrated with Plates, descriptive of Mountain Scenery, and interspersed with Poetry: with a Route to Chamouni, the Bernese Alps, &c. By the Rev. William Liddiard, Author of "The Legend of Einsiedlin," and other Poems. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR AUGUST, 1832.

Art. I. *An Illustration of the Epistles of St. Paul*, including an entirely New Translation. By Charles Eyre, Clk., Trinity College, Cambridge, A.B., 1807. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1832.

THE 'proposed object' of the Author of these volumes is so important and commendable, that it is with deep regret we find ourselves compelled by a stern sense of duty to speak of his performance in the language of strong and unqualified condemnation. If Mr. Eyre has indeed felt, in any adequate degree, 'the awful responsibility of his undertaking', and the 'perilous position' in which he has placed himself, we can but deplore that such feelings should not have restrained him from the extreme of critical rashness;—that his honesty of purpose should have so singularly miscarried in the act, and that, as a translator and commentator, he should have outraged every sound principle of criticism, and even the more obvious rules of literary fidelity. His paraphrase has all the effect of a studied falsification of the meaning of the original, whenever it speaks a language which the Translator has predetermined that it shall not speak. We would not impute this to an insidious design,—to any conscious unfairness, but must ascribe it, rather, to the complete pre-occupation of the Author's mind by a false hypothesis, to which he has been led by anti-scriptural opinions. What those opinions are, there can be no mistake in inferring from the whole spirit of the production, although Mr. Eyre has not deemed it prudent to avow them explicitly. 'If', he says, 'the peculiarities of the Author's *religious thinking* be inquired after, he is a member and friend of the Church of England: he hopes for her durability, but not, if, unlike all other national institutions, she

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'be immutable.' This looks like mere evasion. What has the mutability or immutability of the national Establishment to do with the matter,—that is to say, with the actual sentiments of this professed churchman? Feeling, apparently, that this explanation will not be deemed very satisfactory, Mr. Eyre adds:

'If pressed further on the articles of his creed, he will say nothing. Too much mischief has already been done to the world by dogmatizing. Were he to embody a single article in terms, he would be immediately, either with the supporters or opponents of the Church, embarked in what he declines, polemics.' p. ix.

This is very strange, that an individual may not honestly avow his belief, without being chargeable with dogmatizing,—cannot be a confessor without becoming a polemic. But if the Author be a member and 'a clerk' of the Church of England, as he takes care to announce, has he not pledged his assent to thirty-nine articles; and does he now scruple to embody in terms a single article? What flagrant inconsistency! Yet, notwithstanding this morbid apprehension of polemics, he has not scrupled to put forth two volumes which indirectly controvert almost every article of the Christian faith, and in which, strange to say, the Commentator is engaged in perpetual controversy with his text. Mr. Eyre affects to translate St. Paul: he is, in fact, constantly aiming to correct him. Never was translator so completely merged in the commentator. "My good apostle," we hear him whispering at every paragraph, "you do not mean what you say. Permit me to correct your expressions. You should have said so and so. I do not indeed wonder that your brother Peter should have remarked that many things in your letters are hard to be understood; for really you have all along been completely misunderstood by the whole Christian Church, owing to your very obscure, inaccurate, and unguarded way of writing. Happily, I have hit upon a method of smelting your 'rough ore'; and I flatter myself that 'the rationality, the common sense, 'the nobleness of spirit, the manly wisdom, the clear intelligibility of the religion of Christ', and 'the strict conformity of your teaching with right reason, its universal application to human nature and practical life, and its never failing conformity with sound judgement, will, *by my Work*, be made manifest to every unprejudiced mind.'"

Archbishop Whately has remarked, that 'there is no one of the sacred writers whose expressions have been so tortured, whose authority has been so much set at nought, by Unitarians, as St. Paul; which is a plain proof that they find him a formidable opponent, and which should lead those who prize the purity of the Gospel to value his writings the more.' 'Still may St. Paul be said to stand, in his works, as he did in person while on earth, in the front of the battle; to bear the chief brunt of

'assailants from the enemies' side, and to be treacherously stabbed 'by false friends on his own;—degraded and vilified by one class 'of heretics, perverted and misinterpreted by another, and too 'often most unduly neglected by those who are regarded as orthodox.'* Of the truth and force of these remarks, the present volumes furnish additional illustration, at once melancholy and satisfactory; melancholy, because it is affecting to witness so much ingenuity bootlessly applied under the influence of heretical delusion; and satisfactory, from the fresh proof that the result affords, that either the evangelical doctrines are the true, as they are the obvious sense of the apostolic writings, or they are the most enigmatical and unintelligible of human compositions.

To justify our account of the present 'Illustration of St. Paul,' it will not be necessary to go beyond the first page. 'The third and fourth verses of the first chapter of Romans, are thus laboriously mystified.

'Jesus Christ, in conformity with these writings, as inheritor of the sure mercies of David, derived his carnal existence from a natural birth in the lineage of David, being son of David according to natural extraction, or according to a legal tie connecting him to David, his earthly progenitor. In conformity also with these writings as the predicted begotten of God, as the holy one, who should not see corruption, he was effectively, that is clearly marked or designated as son of God by a resurrection from death, that is he derived his spiritual existence from a resurrection from death; his existence as son of God, as the holy one who should not see corruption. It is not said that he was a son in form or substance, or according to that mode of connection, which exists between sons of the flesh and their fathers, but that he was a son according to a tie or bond, according to a spirit of holiness residing within him, which connected him in unity of spirit, as the holy one, to his holy father in heaven; and that he was shewn to be so by an open investiture with immortality, by the fulfilment in him of the promise of the eternal inheritance.'

Is this translation? Is it paraphrase? We do not ask, whether it is the *proper* sense of the passage; but is it a sense which any translator, having no other object than to render the simple meaning of his text, could possibly have ascribed to the apostle? Can any rational explanation be given of St. Paul's object in introducing these verses, on the hypothesis that he meant only to convey the idea, that Jesus Christ was descended from David, and that he was now by his resurrection immortal? We say nothing of the total suppression, in the Author's trans-

* Whately's "Essays on the Difficulties in the Writings of St. Paul," pp. 71, 46. We cannot refrain from expressing the wish that Mr. Eyre had perused, and imbibed the spirit of these admirable Essays. See Eclectic Review, Third Series, Vol. I. p. 120.

lation, of the clause, "Our Lord",—although it indicates a very culpable want of exactness, to say the least. The total misrepresentation of the entire passage is as glaring as it is offensive, and prepares us, at the outset, for the way in which every passage is treated that affirms the deity of the Saviour. We may remark, by the way, that in the Received Version, the departure from the order of the words in the original, is far from judicious, and weakens the force of the passage. The apostle's words might be thus freely rendered: Concerning His Son,—the descendant of David, indeed, in His human nature, the mighty (or mightily declared) Son of God (or Messiah) in His holy, spiritual nature, as demonstrated by His resurrection from the dead,—Jesus Christ, Our Lord, from whom, &c. The parallel passage, Rom. ix. 5, Mr. Eyre thus *paraphrases*:

'Of them according to the opinions I then entertained were exclusively the fathers, and from them the Christ; a God over all blessed for ever and ever, from them I mean according to the flesh.'

In these few lines, we have first, a daring interpolation without the shadow of a reason for it,—'according to the opinions I then 'entertained': as if it was a matter of opinion whether the patriarchs were of the Hebrew stock, and whether the Messiah was of that race; and as if moreover the Writer had formerly held such an opinion, but now renounced it. Next, here is a needless and violent transposition of the words τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, in utter defiance of the syntax, for the mere purpose of getting rid of their antithetical force. And thirdly, there is the gross impropriety of connecting the indefinite article, not simply with Θεός, (which, taken by itself, might be understood in an inferior sense,) but with words that predicate universal supremacy as well as deity: —ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός ἐυλογητός εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. In four different ways, the Socinians have attempted to evade the evidence of this passage: 1. by cancelling Θεός, in defiance of all the MSS. and versions: 2. by interpreting the word as synonymous with Κύριος, which would still leave it impossible to understand the passage as ascribing less than the attributes of Deity to the Lord: 3. by conjecturally changing ὁ ὢν into ὃν ὁ,—the expedient proposed by Schlittingius, but which even the Editors of the Improved Version deemed too hazardous; although Mr. Belsham has adopted it in his Translation, as preferable to the fourth equally desperate expedient: 4. by altering the punctuation, so as to make the verse conclude with a doxology to the Father*,—a mode so objectionable, that even Socinus, Crellius, Schliting, and Belsham have rejected it.

* The insufficiency, as well as inadmissibility, of this violent change, was pointed out in our review of Mr. Belsham's work, Eclectic Review, Vol. XIX. p. 502.

Translator: they rendered literally, understood. But now that a flood of light has been thrown on the text by the learned labours of translators during two centuries, can there be any reason for returning to the literal mode on this account? The untaken away from the meaning of the text, the existence of controversy, which is the result of the system of half-translation, affords the only reason for giving the Rule of Faith a new force by divesting it of that obscurity of which it is the source for every variety of opinion.

This can be effected only by an authorized version, which will be equally reasonable to insist on, as the use of authorized commentaries, authorized translations.

An authorized Version, must be the very last to admit of any other.

But can any Translation be, which will claim, on behalf of our

Church, is to renew, in another

form, the Vulgate, in exalting the Vulgate

as a substitute for the inspired

authority with the authority of the theologian: the

authorized text; and that

authority, which most

multiply the multiplication of

Bible and the

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sonal salvation, the internal principle is the great consideration.—It is by the internal principle, the spirit of fidelity, the spirit, that spoke through the wounds of Jesus, that we obtain the gift of this peace with God, and are enabled confidently to exult in the hope of his glory, or of the open manifestation of his acceptance. I call it a gift, because with us, as it was with Abraham, it is not a return for an act done, but a free gift, on the presumption that like Abraham we have sincerely determined to obey God whatever the trial, to which he may be pleased to call us.

ROM. V. 7—10. 'I say therefore, that God's love to us as a ground of hope acquires additional force, if we refer to the season and conjuncture, to our state and condition, at the particular time, when Christ died for us, Christ, in whom as his living word God revealed himself to man, Christ, in whose love for us we recognize the perfect image of that love which our father bears towards us; Christ then in reference to the season of his death has especially bound us in love to his father. A man possibly will die for one who is just to him, though he will do so with reluctance, and for one who is good to him, for a friend, for a benefactor perhaps he shrinks not from death; but God evinced his love to us inasmuch as Christ, (who is the perfect image of his father, who is in effect identified with God in his good will to man by a unity of will and affection,) died for us, while we were yet sinners, yet as it were his enemies.

'Being therefore righteous in the sight of God by the death of Christ; being by baptism, or that faithfulness of spirit which is implied in baptism, accepted in Christ, accepted as members of his crucified body, his death, being accepted as ours, who have in baptism faithfully pledged ourselves to be one in all things with Christ; death the penalty of sin being thus paid or rather with reference to us remitted, and ourselves now, notwithstanding our past delinquencies, reinstated in God's favor; and all this resulting from an unexampled and unmerited instance of God's interposing love, we hail such interposition as a proof, as an irrefragable assurance to us of ultimate salvation; an assurance, that, as we are faithfully pledged to be one with Christ in his death, it will be even more accordant with the now demonstrated goodness of God, that we shall likewise be one with Christ in his life.

'God's design of mercy, accomplished by the unmerited interposition of his love through Christ, has taken effect upon us. Christ's death has aroused us. We are ready like him to die daily for God. And therefore, feeling assured that his spirit is within us, we know that we are righteous in the sight of God, and we doubt not, that the divine love, which has been operating for us so beneficially during the period of our disgrace, will under the existing circumstance of our happy reinstatement, complete its work, saving us from the wrath to come. For if when we were alienated from our father, we have been brought home and reconciled by the convincing appeal Christ made in his own blood to our feelings and understandings, if we have been excited to zeal and emulation by that noble instance of self-devotion: if led on by his death we confidently entered on the road to heaven—

led on still more powerfully by his resurrection, we gaze with triumph up into that heaven whither he is gone before us, and hail the unquestionable confirmation of our brightest hopes in his open and eternal glorification.'

2 COR. XII. 1—6. 'About fourteen years ago I knew a man in Christ; whether in the body or out of the body I know not. God knows! I commence with the singular phraseology adopted by some of the empyrics I am about to caricature: some of them blasphemously pretending that their souls have been separated from their bodies and rapt to heaven, others that they have been favoured with beatific visions both in body and soul. I knew such a one carried up into the third heaven, (the vain fancies of an idle philosophy respecting a number of heavens!) and I knew such a man, whether in the body or out of the body I know not, God knows! I repeat this well known and mystical form of expression, because it immediately places before you the apostolic pretenders who use it; I knew him to be caught up to paradise, and he heard unutterable words, (cabalistic or talismanic words) which it is unlawful for a man to speak; I am using the verbose tautology of those pompous pretenders.

'Here I have a vision, and common rumour has manufactured it to my hands, that only wants to be verified, to do as much for me, as any of those wonderful tales do for my opponents, with which they abuse your ears, and disturb your imaginations.

'Here fighting Satan in his ministers with their own weapons, here personating one of themselves, I will boast, I will parade the same false clothing that they do of mysterious influence and cabalistic power, provided for me by common rumor, here I have ground indeed for magnificent boasting.

'But I disclaim every thing of the kind, I want not the inventions of vain philosophy or superstition to recommend me. I will not boast of myself, except, as I have before said, of those bodily privations, calamities and mental anxieties or sufferings, to which from the imbecility of my nature, and the humbleness of my personal pretensions and condition, I am liable.

'For if I choose to boast seriously, that is, if I venture upon such boasting as my will shall second; not that, of which I have given you a dramatic specimen; it shall not be the vain unfounded pretensions of a fool. For I will utter nothing but truth. My speech shall be simple, void of extravagance, I will cautiously guard against any one estimating me above that which he himself sees, or what I myself tell him.'

2 COR. XIII. 14. 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that is, your identification with Christ the seed as heir of the promise of life, and the love of God, that is, the consequence of such identification, and the participation of the holy spirit, that is, of that holy spirit which was in Christ, without which there can be no identification with him, or title to its blessed consequence; this grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and love of God, and participation of the holy spirit, be in your community, not partially, but universally, that is, among you all. Amen.'

HEB. I. 3. 'That son was a glorious effulgence; and a character or imprint of God; of that which constitutes God: he bore the imprint or character of God, as far as man is concerned to know God. He was bright and glorious, and not more bright and glorious than perfect and exact as a filial representative of God to man, in his attributes of love and power: and bearing as it were all the fruits of the promises—producing all the blessings which those promises unfold by his powerful word—like his father, who said, "let there be light, and there was light,"—saying to the faithful, "be pure, and they are pure:"—and effecting this purification of us all from our sins, to be a people peculiar to himself as our eternal King—effecting this new creation of all the faithful of every nation, without the priestly intervention of rites and ceremonies,—doing all by himself, he sat down on the right hand of the Majesty among the highest, becoming that eternal King who was to save his people, in whom only the glory and universal dominion, depicted throughout the prophecies in colours of apparent exaggeration, are, or shall be fully realized.'

HEB. XII. 1. 'Having therefore such a cloud of witnesses, which, as the smoke of a sacrifice, ascends from the altar of faithfulness, pervading us with a sweet smelling odour, having such a cloud of faithful witnesses to assure us of the perfect sanctification of faithfulness without the ceremonial encumbrances of the law; let us put from us every thing that is a weight upon the free activity of a faithful spirit, even the sin offering which is so habituated to those who have lived under the law, which suits so comfortably the customary feelings of a Jew, which folds itself so readily around a wounded but not regenerated conscience, which, consequently is an impediment to the vigorous activity of that spirit of faithfulness, which would break from the trammels of a mere carnal shadow of purification; let us, I say, cast away these ceremonials, and persevere with pertinacity and spirit in the race which we have to run.'

Ohe jam satis. These specimens will be regarded as more than sufficient to justify stronger language of reprobation than we have deemed it becoming our office to employ. This is '*making Scripture*' with a witness,—of all exercises of ingenuity the most perilous. The passages which the above extracts affect to illustrate, cannot be considered as among the obscure or difficult portions of the Apostolic writings; and they shew that, as Archbishop Whately remarks, 'the chief objection to St. Paul's Epistles is not from the things *hard* to be understood which they contain, but from the things *easy* to be understood;' that the doctrines so *plainly* taught by him constitute the real stumbling-block. The critic is perplexed, the translator blunders, the theologian refines and calls in the aid of casuistry, because the obvious and natural sense is precisely that which it is assumed the Apostle cannot mean, and because, if that be the sense, it is felt, that either St. Paul must be wrong, or they;—either he was not inspired, nay more, was a bad reasoner and a bungling moralist, or they have need to be themselves taught the

initiatory rudiments of the oracles of God. Mortifying alternative! Hard condition; that a Corinthian must become a fool in his own opinion, before he can become really wise!

We are unwilling to close the present article, without offering a few remarks relative to the *desideratum* which these volumes were intended to supply; namely, a translation of St. Paul's Epistles that should unite the fidelity of a version to the exegetical character of a paraphrase, and present the opinions, arguments, and doctrines of the Apostle, in a form intelligible to 'plain, but thinking men.' That such a work is wanted, will not, perhaps, be obvious to all our readers; and even among those who are ready to admit that it would be highly valuable, there prevails a strong feeling of the hopeless impracticability of the task. We shall endeavour to point out the purposes which such a translation would be adapted to subserve, and then to inquire into the nature of the difficulties which oppose its successful execution.

It will be expedient to premise, that we now waive the question, what improvements it might be desirable to introduce in the phraseology of the Authorized Version, or how far a new Translation might be expedient for public and authorized use in our churches and chapels. Although we cannot but think that reasons might be urged in favour of a new public Translation, quite as strong and pressing as those which prevailed with James I., still, we doubt, whether a better version would be likely to be produced by any set of royal commissioners that the two universities could at the present day furnish, or whether the time is yet come, when such a Version as is truly desirable, would be generally acceptable. King James's Translators entered into other men's labours. Tyndale, Coverdale, Mathewe, Whitchurch, and Archbishop Parker's Translators had paved the way; and as the Preface to the Authorized Version sets forth, its Authors 'never thought that' they 'should need to make a new translation, nor yet to make of 'a bad one a good one, but to make a good one better, or out of 'many good ones one principal good one, not justly to be excepted 'against: that hath been,' they say, 'our endeavour, that our 'mark.' One of the royal directions was, that the ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called The Bishop's Bible, should be followed with as little alteration as the original would permit. Any one who compares that Bible with the Authorized Version will see, that, more especially in the New Testament, King James's Translators have faithfully observed the royal injunction. Nor are the alterations they have introduced uniformly improvements. In many instances, perspicuity has been sacrificed to exactness, Saxon words have been rejected for Latin ones, and the construction of the Greek has been unnecessarily abandoned for a servile imitation of the Vulgate. Coverdale's Translation, with all its defects, is often very superior alike in purity of style, per-

spicuity, and elegance. But the merit of the old Translators has been unjustly eclipsed and ungratefully forgotten, while the most unbounded panegyric has been lavished upon the mere Editors of the Authorized Version.

Fettered, however, as were King James's Translators, it is impossible to judge how far they might have been disposed to carry their emendations, or how well they might have succeeded in an independent and original translation. To nothing but the royal restrictions can it be ascribed, that the division of chapters and of verses was left unaltered, notwithstanding the gross impropriety of many of the breaks, by which the meaning is often obscured, the conclusion forcibly separated from the premises, and the closing sentence of a chain of remarks made to begin a new chapter with which it has no immediate connexion.* The inconvenience of making any change, as affecting all Scripture references, might weigh with those who framed the rules for the translators; and this would still operate as a powerful objection against numerous alterations in the arrangement. Still, some few obvious improvements might have been introduced without any inconvenience. The compilers or editors of a Public Version are, however, beset with difficulties, which must impart to their task the character of a perpetual compromise between private judgement and general expediency.

On this account, any essential improvements must, we apprehend, be first introduced in versions pretending to no authority, and aspiring only to be contributions, of a preparatory kind, to the ultimate *desideratum*, an improved Public Version. In two ways they may contribute to this object: first, by bringing out into fuller illustration the sense of the original, and secondly, by furnishing varied renderings from which a future selection may be advantageously made. In order to combine these two purposes, it is obvious that the translation must be much more free and exegetical than a closely literal version, yet, without running into the license and diffuseness of paraphrase. In this lies the great difficulty, how to preserve the due medium. Exactness is the highest merit of that verbal rendering which has hitherto been assumed to be essential to fidelity. But admitting that such literal exactness is to be preferred to perspicuity or elegance, in an authorized Public Version, there can be no reason for affecting it in a private Version, which aims at illustrating, rather than superseding the Received Translation, by developing more fully the

* See 1 Cor. xi. 1. 2 Cor. vii. 1. Eph. v. 1. Col. iv. 1. The 1st chapter of 2 Cor. ought to have ended with ver. 22; ver. 1 of ch. ii. being unintelligible apart from the two last verses of the preceding chapter.

sense, and expressing the spirit of the sacred writings. A paraphrase, though it may succeed in conveying the import, always fails of giving the spirit of the original. And thus, between the exact and critical renderer of phrases on the one hand, and the diffuse paraphrast on the other, the genuine character of the original is often lost sight of altogether. Sometimes, the exactest translators have been the most verbose commentators, as if conscious how inadequate is their scholastic mode of rendering to express the meaning and force of the sacred text. Now what seems to us to be wanted, is, such a transfusion into the English language of the contents of the New Testament, as should unite the conciseness and essential fidelity of translation with the freedom and intelligibility of paraphrase, so as to render annotation to a great degree superfluous.

An authorized version and a free translation of the Scriptures, besides mutually aiding and illustrating each other, may be made to subserve different purposes. The former is adapted to facilitate their being expounded and consulted, for which purpose the division into chapters and verses is chiefly useful. The latter is better designed to promote their being profitably read in continuous portions; and for this purpose, a division into sections and paragraphs is far preferable. There is much truth in some remarks we have lately met with, as to one injurious effect arising from the division of the text into verses. 'These,' it is said, 'break the continuity and even surface of the Scriptures into an infinite number of sections, all like electric points, glistening with the fires of controversy; while they bring these apparently distinct and independent propositions into a state of unnatural prominence. In consequence of these arrangements, all the varieties of sects with which Christendom abounds, are enabled to bring *chapter and verse* for their conflicting and sometimes contradictory statements.* That by this means the right understanding of the scope of Scripture has been greatly impeded, we have no doubt. The Bible has been used as a collection of mottoes, rather than of connected compositions; and the modern style of preaching from a detached sentence, with little regard to the primary meaning of the inspired writer, or to the scope of the entire passage, has tended to familiarize the letter of Scripture to the ear, without greatly promoting sound Scriptural knowledge or a proper use of the Word of God. The memory may be enriched, and the feelings powerfully impressed, by this mode of treating the Scriptures; but the understanding is not informed, and one important end at least is not gained, which ought to be the aim of every Christian instructor, namely, making the

* Youngman's Life of Cruden.

Word of God itself the teacher, the direct source and medium of instruction, rather than the mere ultimate reference or basis of proof.

One of the greatest impediments in the way of a right understanding of the Scriptures, is the habit, formed from youth, of acquiescing in an obscure phraseology, with which we gradually learn to connect the doctrines it is employed to enforce, but which in itself conveys only very indistinct ideas. And this very indistinctness that veils the light of Scripture, has its charm upon the imagination; so that a feeling of dissatisfaction is awakened, when the mode of expression is changed, and the full and distinct import let in upon the mind. If Christians were not more apt to cherish a fondness for the phraseology of the Bible, as a technical vocabulary, than to entertain with affection its genuine doctrines, there could not prevail so wide a difference of religious opinions among those who professedly defer to the same rule of faith and practice. The writings of the Apostles are popular, not scientific or philosophical, either in their construction or their language: they were addressed to the general body of believers in the familiar phraseology of common life. Now this their original character must be that which is best adapted to the purpose for which they were given to the Church; but it is one which cannot be said to attach to an ecclesiastical and technical version, like the Vulgate and those which have been modelled upon it. This was felt by our early translators, whose object was to lay plainly before the 'lay people,' the Scripture in their mother tongue, and to produce a translation, not that might please the schoolman or divine, but that might be understood by the common people. It was Tyndale's great offence, that he removed the 'juggling terms,' and substituted plain English phrases for the old ecclesiastical words. Of the benefit which is to be derived from a variety of translations, these admirable men were fully aware. 'Now where-
'as the most famous interpreters of all,' says Coverdale, 'give
'sundry judgements on the text, so far as it is done by the spirit
'of knowledge in the Holy Ghost, methinks no man should be
'offended thereat, for they refer their doings in meekness to the
'spirit of truth in the congregation of God: and sure I am,
'that there cometh more knowledge and understanding of the
'Scripture by these sundry translations, than by all the glosses
'of our sophistical doctors. For that one interpreteth some-
'thing obscurely in one place, the same translateth another, or
'else he himself, more manifestly by a more plain vocable of the
'same meaning in another place.' The idea of producing a standard, unchangeable version, an English vulgate of equal authority with the inspired original, did not enter into the views of the excellent Bishop and his colleagues; and they seem to have thought that the genuine sense was more likely to be elicited and

ascertained by various renderings, than by any single translation. Perspicuity, rather than literal exactness, was what they studied ; and they did not regard the controverted meaning of a passage or phrase as a valid reason for leaving it untranslated, or unintelligible by the common reader. Coverdale, for instance, was not satisfied with servilely rendering Rom. xi. 6.—‘ work is no more ‘ work,’ but gives the true sense : ‘ Otherwise deserving were no ‘ more deserving.’ This is but a specimen of the superior freedom and perspicuity of his translation ; and it may explain the nature of some of the equivocal improvements introduced by (or rather imposed upon) King James’s Translators*.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that, in modern times, no attempt has been made, so far as we recollect, to produce a version of the Scriptures upon the principles that guided the early English Translators,—that of rendering the sense of Scripture in the current vernacular language, with all possible plainness, for the use of the common people. We have had various versions of the Scriptures in whole or in part, but they have been uniformly of a critical, not of a popular character ; and have required, not less than the Authorized Version, often more than that, the aid of comment and paraphrase to render the meaning perspicuous.

* ‘ Tyndale’s Version is excellent vernacular English, a good literal translation, and in many places preferable in its renderings to the version now in use. For “charity,” he always gives love ; for “church,” congregation. “It is astonishing,” says Dr. Geddes, “how little obsolete the language is, even at this day ; and in point of perspicuity and noble simplicity, propriety of idiom and purity of style, no English version has yet surpassed it.” The entire Scriptures in English were the joint labour of Tyndale and Bishop Coverdale. This edition is commonly called Coverdale’s Bible.’ . . . ‘The Geneva Bible, . . . the next new version which is of much critical value, . . . is considerably *more literal* than the former translation ; a very free use is made of Italic supplements ; and on the whole, the improvement is not so great as might have been expected.’ . . . ‘The Bishop’s Bible, as well as the Geneva Bible, corrected the preceding chiefly in the way of *more literal rendering*. . . Viewed as a whole, I consider it decidedly inferior to the Geneva, though occasionally its renderings are preferable.’ . . . ‘King James’s Translation . . . is *still more literal* than the English Versions which preceded it. From a well-meant but injurious desire to render the Hebrew and Greek into literal English, the Translators have adopted many modes of expression which are not agreeable to English idiom. . . The Translators were embarrassed by the rules of their royal master ; . . . they have made too great use of Italic supplements, many of which are entirely useless, and frequently mislead the reader ; they were, perhaps, slightly influenced by their theological principles ; and in some instances, have acted as controversialists, rather than as philologists.’—Orme’s “*Bibliotheca Biblica*,” pp. 35—38.

Scholastic exactness, theological precision, and an impartial ambiguity when the sense is controvertible, are the chief excellencies upon which the Authors of these translations have prided themselves; and a diction has generally been studied, that keeps at a respectful distance from the graces of good composition. We confess that we do not see what advantage is gained by all this. Having a settled Greek text and an exact standard version, we should have imagined that no danger, and much benefit, might attend a mode of translation that should approach nearer to colloquial plainness, for the sake of making the sense of Scripture better understood by the unlearned 'lay people.'

The only writer who has ventured upon any thing of the kind, is the Author of "The Process of Historical Proof." In illustrating the historical inferences to be gathered from the apostolic epistles, some extracts from them are introduced in a version professedly paraphrastic, and not proposed as a model of translation, but adopted for a specific purpose, which is thus explained. 'Passages which, by a reiterated perusal, have become too familiar to be understood in their native sense, and which are too thickly set with associated ideas to be fairly seen in their naked meaning, may very advantageously be rendered (for a moment) into the dialect of colloquial intercourse. Not as if such a translation were the true and the best rendering of the words, but merely that it conveys to the mind the substance of the thought, apart from those habitual notions of a religious kind which obscure the simply historical significance of the words.* But what, we would ask, is the simple, historical significance, but the true sense?—that which Tyndale means by 'the literal sense,' and which, he contends, is at the same time 'spiritual.' 'Thou shalt understand, therefore, that the Scripture hath but one sense, which is the literal sense. And that literal sense is the root and ground of all, and the anchor that never faileth, whereunto if thou cleave, thou canst never err, or go out of the way. And if thou leave the literal sense, thou canst not but go out of the way. Neverthelater, the Scripture useth proverbs, similitudes, riddles, or allegories, as all other speakers do; but that which the proverb, similitude, riddle, or allegory signifieth, is ever the literal sense, which thou must seek out diligently.'† Now this literal sense may be as completely obscured by the indistinct notions associated with a version to which we have become familiarized, as by being seen only through the medium of a dead language. And 'the substance of the thought,' which is the very matter of inspiration, may be scarcely recognized when

* Taylor's Historical Proof, p. 171.

† Tyndale's "Obedience of a Christian Man." (Four Senses of Scripture.)

presented in a new and simple shape. This is the source of that positive dislike which is often felt and betrayed towards any variation from the customary phraseology of the Authorized Version ; a prejudice which must, however, be surmounted, before we can attain to a competent acquaintance with the 'mind of the Spirit' in the unsophisticated word of God. There is no harm in preferring the old and familiar phraseology, and in returning to it as that which is consecrated to the memory ; but the danger consists in preferring the phrase to the idea, the acquired associations to the genuine import ; and the advantage to be derived from varied translation is, that it compels the mind to institute a comparison which cannot but promote the clearer understanding of the subject matter. We subjoin a specimen or two of the mode of translation which Mr. Taylor has adopted for his specific purpose.

1 Cor. i. 26–29. 'You perceive, my friends, to what sort of society you are called. You see that there are not (among you) many of the worldly wise, not many of the powerful, not many of the well-born ; but that God has chosen those who, in the world's esteem, are fools, to put to shame the wise ; and the feeble to confound the strong. Yes, and the ignoble and the condemned has God chosen, and things of nought, to abolish things that are : in order that no place may be left for human boasting in his presence.'

1 Cor. xiv. 'Cultivate love ; aspire, however, to intellectual endowments, but especially to the faculty of preaching. He who speaks a language (unknown to the assembly) speaks to God, not to man ; for no one attends : but in his own spirit he utters things profound. On the contrary, he who preaches, speaks that which tends to promote the edification, or encouragement, or comfort of the hearers. He who speaks a (foreign) language edifies himself ; but he who preaches, edifies the congregation. I wish you all spoke (foreign) languages ; but I had rather that you should preach. For the preacher discharges a more important function than the speaker of languages ; unless, indeed, he interprets what he utters for the benefit of the congregation. Wherefore, my friends, if I come among you speaking various languages, what will you be the better, unless I actually communicate to you some sacred discovery, or some information, or prediction, or instruction ? Thus, (to use a comparison) if inanimate instruments, the lute or the harp, make not a distinction in the sounds they produce, how shall the music be recognized ? Or if the clarion give an unmeaning blast, who will arm himself for the fight ? Apply this simile to yourselves : unless what you utter be intelligible, how shall your discourses be understood ? You may as well talk to the winds. There are—what shall we say—so many kinds of languages spoken by mankind ; and not one of them is destitute of meaning. But unless I perceive the power of the words used by a speaker, we shall each deem the other a foreigner. But you would not wish to be like foreigners one to another. Wherefore, since you desire endowments, seek such as may promote the edification of the congregation.'

Whatever objection may be felt against any part of the wording of this translation, it must be admitted, that the sense of these passages is given with as much fidelity as by the Received Version, and at the same time with as much clearness as in the most diffuse paraphrase. Thus rendered, the text stands in no need of comment to make it intelligible to the humblest capacity; a consideration which we cannot but deem of the first importance, and which has been too much lost sight of. If the whole of the New Testament could be given to the public in a similar style, call it translation or paraphrase, the meaning of the sacred text would unquestionably be divested of no small portion of the obscurity that now rests upon it.

This very obscurity, however, strange to say, forms, in the minds of many learned and pious persons, a reason against any private attempts to fix and embody in plain language, the probable sense, inasmuch as this would be, it is contended, to substitute a comment for the text. A literal, verbal translation is preferred, because it leaves the sense undetermined; and because to determine its meaning would be, on the part of the Translator, it is thought, an unauthorized assumption. This jealousy of private interpretation is unworthy of Protestants. It reminds us too strongly of the opposition which Tyndale and the early Translators had to encounter from the Romish party. Bishop Gardiner proposed that nearly a hundred *Latin* words should be left untranslated in the English Bible, or, if translated at all, be given with as little variation as possible. Among these were *ancilla*, *pascha*, *pontifex*, *ecclesia*, &c. King James's direction, that the old ecclesiastical words should be retained, that *ecclesia* should not be translated congregation, &c., was a concession to the same prejudice, though prompted by different motives. But can any better reason be given for leaving the sense of any part of the text virtually untranslated, than might have been urged in favour of leaving the Latin words in the English Version? Cases may, indeed, occur, in which the Translator may feel to have no alternative. 'I translate these words literally', says Professor Stuart, in his note upon Heb. x. 20, '*because I am not well satisfied that I understand their meaning.*'* This is a valid excuse; but it seems to us the only sufficient reason for a *literal* translation. Many persons confound a literal translation with the literal sense; whereas, in fact, the literal sense can be conveyed only by a clear, and it may be a free rendering, while a literal translation leaves the literal sense often in obscurity. The Authors of the Public Version and their predecessors continually found themselves, no doubt, in the predicament so ingenuously

* Stuart's Comment. on the Hebrews, Vol. II. p. 264.

described by the American Translator: they rendered literally, what they only imperfectly understood. But now that a flood of light has been poured upon the text by the learned labours of Biblical critics and commentators during two centuries, can there be any occasion for adhering to the literal mode on this account? Is the veil to remain for ever untaken away from the meaning of our English Bibles? The existence of controversy, which is pleaded in defence of this system of half-translation, affords the strongest reason for endeavouring to give the Rule of Faith a more unambiguous character, by divesting it of that obscurity of phraseology which affords covert for every variety of opinion.

But then it is supposed, that this can be effected only by an Authorized Version. It would be equally reasonable to insist upon the expediency of having authorized commentaries, authorized annotations, authorized sermons. An authorized Version, in which all parties should concur, must be the very last to admit of the desired improvements. But can any Translation be, properly speaking, an authority? To claim, on behalf of our Public Version, any intrinsic authority, is to renew, in another shape, the mischievous error of the Papists, in exalting the Vulgate to supreme distinction as an efficient substitute for the inspired Codex. The English Bible is no authority with the Biblical critic, no ultimate authority with the theologian: the appeal lies from every translation to the sacred text; and that translation possesses the highest degree of authority, which most faithfully reflects its genuine import. The multiplication of versions the most varied and free, while the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Testament are at hand for the verification or refutation of every rendering, as well as of every gloss and comment, not only seems fraught with no danger, but will greatly conduce to promote a more extensive and intelligent use of the original Scriptures, and to ascertain and fix all that has been hitherto obscure or doubtful in their inspired contents. We know of no more likely method to drive away heresy from our churches.

The advantage to be derived from varied translations by the Biblical student, is admitted: and hence, a polyglot forms one of the most valuable parts of an apparatus for a critical study of the Scriptures. But the benefit to be derived from various renderings in the vernacular language, by the private Christian, has not been so generally acknowledged. Yet, we cannot but think that the simple reprint of Tyndale's, Coverdale's, and Parker's Versions, would have been of more use in promoting an intelligent perusal of the Scriptures, than half our commentaries. The substantial agreement in the renderings, on the one hand, would have the effect of strengthening the reader's confidence in the fidelity of the Authorized Version; while the variations would place the meaning in a more distinct light, and counteract the

'strange power of accustomed phrases to conceal from the mind the ideas they are intended to convey.' *

And such would be the beneficial effect of new translations of a popular character. They would clash with the prejudices, offend the taste, startle the drowsy understanding of the generality, but they would as it were compel the reader to reconsider the weighty truths which have become blunted in their force by long familiarity with their sound. This striking, startling effect, paraphrase cannot have; at least, to the same degree; nor does it come with the authority of a translation that challenges for itself the character of being a faithful representation, in equivalent terms, of the simple text. Add to which, paraphrase is always liable to suspicion. It is too often had recourse to, for the purpose either of explaining away the apparent, and possibly the real meaning of the text, or of making it speak more than the Writer intended. And it tacitly imputes to the inspired page an obscurity and imperfection which do not natively belong to it, but are greatly the result of imperfect translation. Let us not be thought to speak in terms of invidious disparagement of the labours of our Translators, who are entitled to our warmest gratitude. Their merits must be estimated by the difficulty of their task,—by the state of criticism at that period,—by the imperfectly formed state of the English language, which they have contributed to fix and to enrich. Their erudition, integrity, and fidelity are above all praise. Still, it is undeniable, that many parts of the word of God, as presented in our Authorized Version, are, without a comment, unintelligible; that such passages were left in this state, not through design or choice, but from a sort of necessity; that this obscurity of meaning is an imperfection, but an imperfection that it would be manifest impiety to impute to the Scriptures themselves, which were unquestionably understood by those to whom they were first imparted; and that much of this obscurity is capable of being cleared away, if by comment, assuredly by intelligible translation. If so, without depreciating that Version or casting blame upon its Authors, we must regard it as so far deficient in the primary merit of perspicuity, and so far inadequate to its purpose as a translation. And there is some reason, we think, for jealousy, lest we should be found exalting the transcendent excellencies of a human composition, to the disadvantage of the work of Inspiration itself. We must be pardoned, if we are still more solicitous that the sublime beauties of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the reasoning of St. Paul, should be made apparent to the unlearned reader, than that justice should be done to any body of Translators. Their fame, however, is

* Saturday Evening, p. 247.

safe. Long will it be, judging from the failure of past attempts, before the Authorized Version will be superseded. 'Such is its 'complete possession of the public mind', it has been remarked, 'that no translation differing materially from it, can ever become 'acceptable to the country; '*—a somewhat bold prediction, but, for the present, a safe one.

The only English translations of the entire Bible that have appeared since the reign of King James, are, we believe, Anthony Purver's (1764), characterized by Dr. Geddes as 'a crude, 'incondite, and unshapely pile'; and Dr. Boothroyd's (1818), a monument of learning and industry, and in many parts highly valuable and satisfactory as a version, though sometimes defective on the score of taste, rather than of sound knowledge, and disfigured by typographical inaccuracies. Upon the whole, however, this is the most important addition to the means of ascertaining the import of the Old Testament Scriptures, that has been made by any individual. Dr. Boothroyd has availed himself of the profound scholarship of Geddes, without suffering himself to be misled by his eccentricity and heresy. In his Version of the New Testament, he is less successful. Dr. Doddridge's Version is the only one that can be advantageously compared with the Received Version, which it equals in fidelity, and upon which it not unfrequently improves; but, like Archbishop Newcome's, it is a revival of the Public Translation, rather than an independent work. Of the Unitarian Version, it is unnecessary for us to speak: one bad effect which it has had, is, that it has brought the very words 'improved version' into suspicion, and tended to discourage better attempts. Dr. Campbell's Translation of the Four Gospels is one of the best that has appeared in any language, and will always be valued, although it can never be popular: it has too much the air of an antique modernized; the style is frigid and tasteless; and it is disfigured by some very questionable renderings. Upon Dr. Macknight's translation of the Epistles, rash, uncouth, and often ungrammatical, no one can set any value, apart from the notes and commentary, which, learned and ingenious as they are, have tended more to perplex than to enlighten the Biblical student. There have been a few other translations of the New Testament, but they are known only to the bibliographer. Paraphrases there are in abundance; but these come under the head of commentaries.

Among all these works, and among all the translations of particular books of the Old and New Testaments that have appeared, we do not find one that has had for its distinct object, that which Wyclif, and Tyndale, and Coverdale proposed to

* Orme's *Bibliotheca Biblica*, p. 37.

themselves,—to make the word of God plain in the mother tongue to the lay people, independently of gloss, paraphrase, and comment. They have been all prepared, either to accompany a paraphrase or body of notes, or as a work designed chiefly for the professional student, and intended to exhibit a higher critical exactness, a more literal closeness, rather than a more intelligible and idiomatic version. The excellence, the popularity, the authority of the Public Version, have repressed every original effort that might seem to savour of the presumption of competition with an acknowledged standard; nor has any one dared to call in question the accuracy of the principles which governed the Translators. In fact, the greatest improvement of which, in the opinion of some persons, the Public Version is susceptible, would be the removal of the Italic supplements, with a view to render it less exegetical, more literal, and still more worthy of the panegyric of Selden, that 'the Bible is translated into English words, rather 'than into English phrase.'*

Now, waiving all dispute as to the proper principles of translation for a standard or public version, those upon which we should wish to see a judicious attempt made to *interpret* the Scriptures, would be widely different. The fundamental principle would be, that of closely adhering to the literal sense, but giving that sense in equivalent, not literal terms, in the same manner as would be adopted in translating Thucydides or Cicero. The object would be, to transfer the *results* of criticism to the text, and to make the translation interpret, instead of the comment. For this purpose, the respective offices of the text and the annotation would just be reversed. Instead of the reader's finding the literal rendering in the translation, and the meaning in the comment, we would have him find the meaning in the text, and the literal rendering, when requisite, in the notes, which would be necessary chiefly in order to shew to what extent it had been found requisite to depart from verbal exactness, or to exhibit variations of rendering. As the design would be to illustrate the received version, not to supersede it, there would be no propriety in adhering to its phraseology. In fact, as a slight deviation from the language of the English Bible disappoints and offends the ear familiarized to its cadence, a version totally dissimilar, and even studiously varied, would be less unpleasing,

* 'There is no book', says the learned Critic, 'so translated as the Bible for the purpose. If I translate a French book into English, I turn it into English phrase, not into French-English. *Il fait froid*; I say, 'tis cold, not makes cold. But the Bible is rather translated into English words than into English phrase. The Hebraisms are kept, and the phrase of that language is kept.' Cited in Horne's *Introd.*, Vol. II. p. 263.

and more useful, than one which affected to keep as close as possible to the present text. Any thing that looked like modernizing its antique character, or grafting upon it incongruous improvements, would be resented by the feelings more than an original version composed without reference to preceding translations. It was a great advantage enjoyed by the early translators, that they were at liberty to employ the vernacular and conventional language of their day, without affecting obsolete phrases, or imitating the style of predecessors who flourished two centuries before them. The style of Tyndale's translation is that of his other writings, excellent vernacular English, pure, simple, and perspicuous. The English Bible was then a modern book, in the spoken dialect of the existing generation. Can we have a better precedent for adopting the English of our own times in any new version, as the most natural and most intelligible medium of expression? The simple aim which ought to govern the style and diction, would be to make the sense plain, unambiguous, connected, self-interpretative, leaving nothing to be supplied by the annotator that a free yet faithful translation could express. Such a version, competently executed, would not fail to meet with some portion of the treatment that Tyndale's labours met with; but it would survive the storm of hostile criticism and invective, and prove one of the greatest blessings that could be conferred upon the Church. But who would be willing to engage in so thankless a service? Only those who would find their reward in their labour, and deem it an honour even to fail of success in such an enterprise.

Something of this kind was attempted by Dr. Harwood, the learned author of a valuable Introduction to the Study of the New Testament; and his signal failure has tended to bring any thing like 'liberal translation' into discredit. We find Mr. Orme objecting against the plan of his work, that the opportunity it affords for introducing the sentiments of the translator is very great*; of which Dr. Harwood extensively availed himself, so as to *Arianize* the whole New Testament. But this objection applies *à fortiori* to paraphrase, to which Dr. Harwood's verbose rendering approaches; and Mr. Eyre's production will serve to shew, that extended paraphrase is required by the exigencies of heresy. But the opportunity which the most *literal* translation affords for insinuating opinions, is so considerable, that the only security must consist in the integrity and piety of the translator. In the failure of a person of Dr. Harwood's sentiments, there is nothing to discourage: the wonder would have been, had he succeeded. His design, like that of Mr. Eyre, was excellent; and

* Biblioth. Biblica, p. 234.

renewed failures would prove only its difficulty, and the necessity of other requisites for the task, than have hitherto been brought to it. Mr. Terrot, in his Paraphrase upon the Epistle to the Romans, has afforded some good specimens of liberal rendering, not exceeding, in our opinion, the proper bounds of freedom of translation *; and we could wish that he had adhered to this plan throughout, instead of deviating *ad libitum* into paraphrase. Mr. Cox, in his "*Horæ Romanæ*" †, has given a version of the same Epistle, which has great merit, and, in its style, is much superior to the indistinct and uncouth phraseology of the public version; but the anxiety to make it as literal as possible, has evidently fettered his efforts; and he too has sought to benefit 'the young divine', rather than to accommodate his translation to the capacities of the unlearned lay-people. These works deserve, however, warmer praise and more general attention than they have obtained: they approach by different paths to what is really wanted in order to render the Scriptures as popularly intelligible as they were in their original character.

One of the best paraphrases and commentaries on any book of the New Testament, in the English language, is that by Archibald M'Lean upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, which includes a new literal translation, interspersed with connecting and explanatory supplements, less diffuse than those of Dr. Doddridge, but which might in most cases be superseded by expressive translation. Professor Stuart has given us a double translation of the same Epistle; and, what is remarkable, the one at the head of the volume, upon the diction of which he has bestowed most pains, is almost uniformly inferior in perspicuity and propriety to that which is found among the notes. It is, in fact, dry, verbal, and uncouth to an extreme, and affords a striking instance of an acute commentator and critic proving an indifferent translator. The habit of minute philological criticism would appear in fact to have a tendency to disqualify for free and elegant composition. The best musical-instrument-makers rarely excel either as composers or performers. Yet, Dr. Stuart has shewn, that, had he not adopted the literal system in all its rigidity, he could have produced a far superior version. Dr. Boothroyd's is equally bald and uncouth; and little seems gained, in point of clearness or accuracy, by deviating, in such cases, from the standard version. If we wish to secure exactness, let us go to the Greek text, and distrust all translation. If our object is to be intelligible, we must use pure English. That this beautiful Epistle is susceptible of being rendered with the utmost elegance, no one will

* See Ecl. Rev. 2d Series, vol. xxx. p. 508.

† See Ecl. Rev. 2d Series, vol. xxiii. p. 71.

doubt, who has made it his study. With what dignity and simple grandeur does it open ! Not, as almost every translator (except the Vulgate, Beza, and one of our earlier versions,) makes it, with the abrupt and rude introduction of the word *GOD*, which has always struck us as an impropriety, but thus : Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως πάλαι ὁ Θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατέσιν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις—rendered by Beza : ‘ *Multis vicibus multisque modis* olim Deus loquutus patribus in prophetis, ultimis diebus hisce loquutus est nobis in Filio, quem constituit hæredem omnium,*’ &c. Will the reader accept the following attempt to render the opening paragraph ? “ In manifold and various ways God † spake of old to our ancestors through the prophets : in these the last days, He has spoken to us through the Son whom He hath constituted Lord of all, by whom also he formed the universe : Who being the radiant glory and very representation of His essence, governing all nature by His omnipotent word, having in His own person expiated our sins, has assumed His throne at the right hand of the Supreme Majesty in the highest heavens ; being exalted as far in honour above the angels as the name with which He is invested is pre-eminent above theirs.” What need of paraphrase or exposition to illustrate this sublime exordium ?

‘ A new race of commentators ’, Mr. Douglas remarks, ‘ is required to throw light, not on the letter, but on the spirit of works, whether sacred or profane ’; and with equal truth he might have said, there is required a new race of translators. ‘ In the sacred writers ’, he adds, ‘ new and undiscovered treasures are yet awaiting the explorer. The genius of each sacred writer will be resuscitated, and the peculiar point of view will be gained, from which objects were contemplated, and according to which they received their colouring and their shading, their prominence and their distance.’ ‡ Learned criticism has well nigh exhausted its resources upon the sacred volume. To improve its results, the Church stands in need of other gifts than have hitherto been consecrated to the illustration of the Christian Scriptures.

* Or, *Multifariè et multipliciter*, &c. (edition of 1642. Camb.) *Multifariam, multisque modis*. Vulg.

† This is scarcely an equivalent rendering of ὁ Θεός. The Deity, The Almighty, would be both more literal and more reverential. Our language, unlike the Latin, might often give the proper force of the Greek article ; but custom has reconciled us to the impropriety.

‡ Douglas's Truths of Religion, p. 92.

Art. II. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, or the Central and Western Rajpoot States of India. By Lieut.-Col. James Tod, late Political Agent to the Western Rajpoot States. Vol. II. Royal 4to, pp. xxxii, 774. Maps and Plates. London, 1832.

THE first volume of this splendid and interesting publication was reviewed in the second volume of our present series. The second volume, which concludes the work, comprises *Annals of the States of Marwar, Bikaner, Jessulmer, Amber, and Haravati*, and the sequel to the *Personal Narrative*. The view of Hindoo society which the copious and minute details of the narrative afford, seems to transport us to the days of chivalry and romance; and in the pages of Col. Tod, we seem to be listening to another Froissart. No chronicler of the olden time ever entered with more zest than he has done into his tale of knightly feats, baronial feuds, the pomp of courts, the picturesque array of marshalled camps; nor could any native bard discover more enthusiasm in celebrating the virtues and glories of this Indo-Gothic race, than their present Historian, the 'bracelet-bound brother' of three Rajpoot Queens. From the period when he first put his foot in Mewar, as a subaltern of the then Resident's escort, to the date of this personal narrative (1820-1), fourteen years after, his whole thoughts, he tells us, became occupied with the history of that and the neighbouring states. His attachment to the natives was gratefully and honourably rewarded with their affectionate loyalty; and Tod Sahib will for ages be remembered as an incarnation of Vishnoo.

It is not surprising that these circumstances should have exerted a very powerful effect upon the Author's imagination, and, through that medium, upon his feelings and opinions. Dazzled by the brilliant pageant of Asiatic manners, combined with feudal institutions, and set off by the associations of romantic legend and poetic history, he has not been able (can we wonder?) to rise so far above the soldier as to estimate the state of society he describes, with the cool judgement of a philosopher and a Christian. While we cannot refrain from thus briefly adverting to the only flaw in this most entertaining work, we have much pleasure in remarking upon the amiable feeling, the virtuous and honourable conduct, and the great ability which characterized Col. Tod's administration, and are reflected in his writings.

The position of a military man stationed in the interior of a heathen country, at a distance from all Christian ordinances, surrounded with a nation to whose customs he has learned to conform, in whose welfare he has become benevolently interested, and whose idolatrous superstition has, through familiarity with the spectacle, ceased to surprise or to revolt the feelings, seeming to be but a picturesque feature of the living scene,—is a position

of such incalculable religious peril, that an entire escape from the corrupting effects of such evil communications is 'with men impossible',—a moral miracle which unassisted human nature is wholly incompetent to achieve. Even the proud intolerance of the iconoclastic Mussulman has been soothed down, under such circumstances, to a philosophic complacency in the abominations of idolatry; and the enlightened minister of the great Akbar, in the "Ayeen Akbery", appears as the apologist for the Hindoo system. 'God may be adored', he says, 'in the heart; or in the sun; or in fire; or in water; or in earth; or under the form of an idol.*' This is the doctrine of Pope's Universal Prayer. It is the creed of every sect, Christian, Mohammedan, or Pagan, of the great antichurch of Deism. But, while we deprecate and shudder at the impiety of the sentiment, we are deeply convinced that nothing but the faith and zeal of the Missionary, sustained by Divine influence, can enable the human spirit to maintain itself erect, while all around is prostrate, and to resist for any length of time the most seductive and congenial of all delusions to the mind of fallen man, that of idolatry.

A large portion of the history in the present volume is given in the words of the Rajpoot Chronicles, which, contrary to all previous supposition, form a body of highly interesting and valuable historical documents. The *Radja Taringini*, or Chronicle of the Kings of Cashmeer, was long believed to be the only work having the slightest pretensions to the character of an historical composition in any of the Indian dialects; 'the only torch which remained to throw light on the antiquities of India'. Such is the language of M. Klaproth. Yet, it was certain, that other documents must have been within the reach of Ferishta and the Mohammedan writers. The records of which Col. Tod has been enabled to avail himself, though not of very remote antiquity, ascend beyond the Mohammedan era. 'It is a singular fact,' he remarks, 'that there is no available date beyond the fourth century for any of the great Rajpoot families, all of which are brought from the north. This was the period of one of the grand irruptions of Getic races from Central Asia, who established kingdoms in the Punjaub and on the Indus.' The genealogical roll of the Rahtore rajpoots begins with Yavanaswa, prince of Parlipoor; in whose name, as interpreted by our Author, (a *Yavan* prince of the *Aswa* tribe,) we have a proof of the Scythic origin of this Rajpoot family. The authentic annals commence with the conquest of Canouj in the year of the Hindoo era 526, answering to A. D. 470, by Nayn Pal, the founder of the Rahtore dynasty which terminated in the person of the Rajah

* Gladwin's Translation, Vol. II. p. 521.

Jeichund, A. D. 1193. On the fall of the kingdom of Canouj before the arms of the Ghiznian sultan, the fugitive Rahtore prince, Sevaji, with a small number of his followers, fled to the desert of Maroowar (Marwar), and ultimately established their power in that country.

When the Rahtore chief, Nayn Pal, made himself master of Canouj*, the reigning monarch whom he defeated and slew, was Aji-pal, whose image is still worshipped by the inhabitants. If the adjunct *pal* or *pali* indicated, as Col. Tod supposes, 'the pastoral race of the invaders', it would indicate that those whom they invaded were also *palli*. But it is obviously an honorific affix, answering to *bal* in Hanni-bal, Asdru-bal, &c., and may safely be rendered 'lord', as identical with *bel* or *baal*. If these Rahtore rajpoots 'may boast of their pedigree because they 'can trace it through a period of 1360 years', still, they appear in India, not only as foreigners, but as moderns in comparison with the annals of the native races. The era of Vicram-aditya or Bickermajit, which Col. Tod constantly refers to, dates five centuries before the intrusion of these *Yavans*. The true history of that renowned sovereign is a *desideratum*. That he too was a foreign conqueror, is evident, both from the manner in which he is referred to in the Cashmirian annals, and from the tradition which ascribes to him a religious belief very different from that of his subjects.† In the affix of his name—*aditya*, we have apparently the same word that terminates the titles of several of the Parthian and Bactrian sovereigns; as Eucratides, Tyridates, Mithridates. Now it is remarkable, that a little before this time, the Parthian Mithridates is stated to have extended his dominions into India beyond the limits of Alexander's conquests, and to have made the Ganges his eastern boundary. The Arsacides, Gibbon says, 'practised the worship of the magi, but they disgraced and polluted it with a various mixture of foreign idolatry.' That Vicram-aditya held some modification of the Magian faith, is highly probable, if he was of the Zendish race. Bactra (or Balkh) was the Mekka of the primitive fire-worshippers; and in the first century of the Christian era, the Parthians, the Bactrians, the *Sacans*, the Medes, and many barbarous nations, had received the faith of Zoroaster. Will it be thought a fanciful hy-

* Canouj is represented in the Mahabharat as having succeeded to the imperial honours of Ayodhya, or Oude, the capital of the great Rama.

† 'To animate the religious zeal of the inferior classes, he set up the great image of Maha-Cali, or Time, in the city of Oojein, which he built, while he himself worshipped only the infinite and invisible God.' Maurice's Hindostan, I. 68—70. This Maha-Cali must have been the Saturn of the Sabeen worship.

pothesis that should explain the emblematic genealogy of the children of fire and the children of the sun as indicating the original faith of their ancestry? Several expressions which occur in the native annals, favour this theory. When 'the Father of Creation' regenerated the warrior race, it is said, 'the *fire-fountain (anhul-coond)* was lustrated with the waters 'of the Ganges.' (p. 440.) This may be understood to mean that either by intermarriage with the daughters of the Hindoo race, or by renouncing their original superstition for the Brahminical faith, these fire-sprung warriors were purified and brought over to the pale of Hindooism. Such is the interpretation which we find Colonel Tod putting upon these singular expressions.

'These warriors, thus regenerated to fight the battles of Brahminism, and brought within the pale of that faith, must have been either the aboriginal debased classes, raised to moral importance by the ministers of the pervading (prevailing?) religion, or foreign races who had obtained a footing among them. The contrasted physical appearance of the respective races will decide this question. The aborigines are dark, diminutive, and ill-favoured: the *Agniculas (fire-race)* are of good stature and fair, with prominent features, *like those of the Parthian kings.* The ideas which pervade their martial poetry, are such as were held by the Scythian in distant ages, and which even Brahminism has failed to eradicate; while the *tumuli* containing ashes and arms, discovered throughout India, indicate the nomadic warrior of the north as the proselyte of Mount Aboo.' p. 442.

Of the four *Agnicula* races, the Chohans, the progenitors of the Hara rajpoots, were the first who obtained extensive dominion. The original seat of their sovereignty was that part of Central India bordering upon the Nerbuddah, whence they are stated to have extended their conquests to Delhi, Lahore, Cabul, and even Nepaul. Ajipal, whom the Rahtores drove from Canouj, was probably a Chohan; as a prince of the same name, and of the Chohan dynasty, having established himself at Ajimeer, laid the foundation of that state; and at the time of the earliest Mohammedan invasion, Ajimeer had become the chief seat of Chohan power.

At this period, the close of the twelfth century, and, according to Colonel Tod, for centuries previous, Hindoosthan Proper comprised four great kingdoms; viz., 1. Delhi, under the Tuars and Chohans; 2. Canouj, under the Rahtores; 3. Mewar, under the Ghelotes; and 4. Anhulwarra, under the Chauras and Solankhies. To one or other of these states, the numerous petty princes of India paid homage and feudal service. The kingdom of Delhi 'extended over all the countries westward of the Indus, 'embracing the lands watered by its arms, from the foot of the 'Himalaya and the desert to the Aravulli chain;' being divided

from Canouj by the *Cali-nuddee* (black-stream), the *Calindi* of the Greek geographers. The reigning monarch, at the time of the invasion of Shahab-ud-deen, was the Rajah Pithowra, or Pir-thiraj, of the Chohan race, whose romantic adventure, referred to by Colonel Tod, is given more at length in the "*Ayeen Akbery*". According to the Mohammedan authority, the Ghisman monarch was invited to invade the dominions of the Chohan monarch of Delhi, by his incensed foe, Jeichund, the Maharajah of Canouj; who is moreover represented to have been 'of so tolerant a disposition, that many natives of Persia and Tatory were engaged in his service.' The Rahtore sovereign who reigned at Canouj at the time of Sultan Mahmoud's invasion, is even stated by some, Ferishta says, to have turned true believer. The Parthian or Scythian origin of this dynasty renders the statement the more credible. The kingdom of Canouj is supposed to have extended, at this time, northward to the Himalaya, eastward to Casi (Benares), westward to the Cali-nuddee, and southward to Bundelkhund and Mewar*. The latter kingdom, the proper name of which (*Medya-war*) signifies, according to Colonel Tod, 'the central region', had for its boundaries, the Aravulli chain on the north, Anhulwarra on the west, and the Dhar principality on the south: it seems to answer very nearly to Malwah. Anhulwarra extended southward to the ocean, westward to the Indus, and northward to the desert, and must therefore have comprised Gujerat. But if these four kingdoms were the only Rajpoot empires, it must not be supposed that they were the only great Indian kingdoms. In the east, the empire of Magadha, under the Andhra dynasty, appears to have vied in wealth and importance with any of the western kingdoms; and to the south of the Nerbuddah, the empire founded by Shalivahan, about A.D. 77, whose accession forms the Mahratta era, comprised an extensive region. In fact, the Brahmins divide India into *ten* great kingdoms; which included several smaller states more or less independent.

Of the early mixture of the Scythic and Hindoo races, there is abundant evidence; and the Institutes of Menu speak of the Sacas (*Sacæ*), Yavanas, Pahlavas (ancient Persians), Paradas, &c., as kindred races of the warrior caste, distinct from the Brahminical tribes. The precise situation of *Yavana-dwipa*, the land of the Yavans, it is difficult to determine; but it most probably included Bactria; and although the Bactrian Greeks may not have been the original Yavans, they were considered as belong-

* Jeichund is stated, in the Chohan annals, to have defeated twice Sidraj, King of Anhulwarra, and to have extended his dominions south of the Nerbuddah.

ing to the same Titanic race. *Saca-dwipa*, the country of the *Sacæ*, has been placed near the fountains of the Oxus, in Bokhara; but it perhaps denotes Sacastiana. Waving these geographical and etymological inquiries, the most curious and interesting subject of investigation that presents itself in connexion with these ancient annals, is the original seat and fountain, not of this race or that nation, but of the Rajpoot feudalism on the one hand, and of the Brahminical hierocracy on the other; both of them foreign from the primitive democracy of Hindoo society, which is still found existing among the Mahrattas. The interior constitution and condition of each township in the Mahratta countries, has, amid all the fluctuations of territorial boundaries and the transfers of political power, remained unchanged. And such, Colonel Wilks affirms to have been 'the primitive component parts of all the kingdoms of India.' Each village is a little republic, with the potail, or mokuddum, at its head, who is at once magistrate, collector, and head farmer; answering, in several respects, to the Syrian sheikh. This system goes back as far, at least, as the age of Menu. India is a mass of such republics; and while the village remains entire under its potail, the passive natives give themselves little concern about the breaking up and division of kingdoms. Although Brahminism has been grafted upon this primitive social constitution, it appears to be not only quite distinct from it, but to have originated in a totally different state of society; and its first seat in India, was, according to tradition, Cashmeer, where a dialect is spoken which comes nearest to the sacred language. The Brahminical faith has also been received by the martial Rajpoot tribes; but their priests are the *Charuns* and *Bhats* (Bards), who, to the direction of their superstitious devotions, add the office of chroniclers of their fame. The Celtic Druidism and the Scandinavian feudalism exhibit the same marked opposition. But we must resist the temptation to pursue these seductive analogies. In the midst of Rajpootana, there is found a race distinct from the feudal tribes who have established their ascendancy in that region, and whom Col. Tod supposes to be the *Gætæ* of European history; ascribing to them a patriarchal simplicity of polity and a tenacious attachment to liberty. They are known under the names of Jits, Juts, or Jauts, and far surpassed in numbers, three centuries ago, any other tribe or race in India. 'It is a fact,' our Author adds, 'that they now constitute a vast majority of the peasantry of 'western Rajwarra' (Rajpootana), 'and perhaps of northern India.' The present Seik Rajah is a Jit; and the bulk of the population of the Punjaub, both proselytes to Islam, and followers of Nanuk, are also of this tribe.

* At what period these Jits established themselves in the Indian desert, we are entirely ignorant; but even at the time of the Rahtore invasion

of these communities, their habits confirmed the tradition of their Scythic origin. They led chiefly a pastoral life, were guided, but not governed by the elders, and, with the exception of adoration to the universal mother (Bhavani), incarnate in the person of a youthful Jitni, they were utter aliens to the Hindu theocracy. In fact, the doctrines of the great Islamite saint, Sheikh Fureed, appear to have overturned the Pagan rites brought from the Jaxartes; and without any settled ideas on religion, the Jits of the desert jumbled all their tenets together. The period of Rahtore domination over these patriarchal communities, was intermediate between Timoor's and Baber's invasion of India. The former, who was the founder of the Chagitai dynasty, boasts of the myriads of Jit souls he "consigned to perdition," on the desert plains of India, as well as in Transoxiana: so we may conclude that successive migrations of this people from that "great store-house of nations" went to the lands east of the Indies. The extent of their possessions justifies this conclusion; for nearly the whole of the territory forming the boundaries of Bikaner was possessed by the six Jit cantons.—p. 181.

We must confess, however, that stronger evidence is requisite, than we find in these pages, to establish the identity of the Jauts of Moulton and Agra, with the Jits or Getes of Bikaner, and again, the identity of the latter with the Yuti, alias 'the Scythic 'Yadu.' This is a labyrinth into which we dare not venture without a safer clew. One fact, incidentally mentioned, strikes us as important, not only as denoting a diversity of national origin, but as throwing some light upon the probable origin of the distinction made by Mohammedan writers between *Hind* and *Sind**.

'The natives of these regions' (bordering on the Garah) 'cannot pronounce the sibilant; so that the s is converted into h. As an example, the name *Jahilmér* becomes "the hill of fools," instead of "the hill of Jasil." *Sankra*, in like manner, becomes *Hankra*.'—p. 187, note.

The Balooch tribes, who give name to Baloochistan, are supposed by Col. Tod to be of the Jit or Gete race; and he expresses his conviction, that the Afghans or Patans are descended from the *Yadu* or *Jadoo* race, the progenitors also of the Bhatti rajpoots of Jessulmeer. The word *Yadu*, converted into *Yahudi*, Jew, or confounded with it, may have given rise, he thinks, to the supposition, that the Afghans are of Jewish descent. 'Whether these Yadus are, or are not, Yuti, or Getes, remains to be 'proved.' In another place (p. 231), our Author seems disposed to make them the ancestors of the Jagatai Toorks. But these conjectures are supported by no historical or philological evidence;

* May not Sheba and Seba have been distinguished by a similar shibboleth?

and furnish only hints for further investigation. It is but justice to the Author, to remark, that he offers his work only as a collection of materials for the future historian. We must now turn to what will be deemed the most entertaining portion of the volume; the Personal Narrative.

In January 1820, circumstances rendered it expedient that the Author should visit the principalities of Boondi and Kotah, which were placed under his political superintendence. These two principalities, named from their chief towns, comprise the region properly called Haravati (corrupted into Harowtee), or the country of the Hara rajpoots. The Chumbul, which intersects this territory, forms the mutual boundary. On the 29th of January, the Author broke up his head-quarters at Oodipoor, and traversing Mewar, reached, on the 13th of February, the *Palhar* or plateau of Central India, which forms the grand natural rampart of Mewar on the east.

‘As we approached it, the level line of its crest, so distinct from the pinnacled Aravulli, at once proclaimed it to be a table-land or rock of the secondary formation. Although its elevation is not above 400 feet from its western base, the transition is remarkable; and it presents from the summit one of the most diversified scenes, whether in a moral, political, or picturesque point of view, that I ever beheld. From this spot, the mind's eye embraces at once all the grand theatres of the history of Méwar. Upon our right lies Cheetore, the palladium of Hindooism; on the west, the gigantic Aravulli, enclosing the new capital, and the shelter of her heroes; here, at our feet, or within view, all the alienated lands now under the barbarian “Toork” or Mahratta, as Jawud, Jeerun, Neemuch, Neembaira, Kheyri, Ruttengurh. What associations, what aspirations, does this scene conjure up to one who feels as a Rajpoot for this fair land! The rich flat we have passed over,—a space of nearly seventy English miles from one table range to the other,—appears as a deep basin fertilized by numerous streams, fed by huge reservoirs in the mountains, and studded with towns, which once were populous, but are for the most part now in ruins, though the germ of incipient prosperity is just appearing. From this height, I condensed all my speculative ideas on a very favourite subject,—the formation of a canal to unite the ancient and modern capitals of Méwar, by which her soil might be made to return a tenfold harvest, and famine be shut out for ever from her gates. My eye embraced the whole line of the Bairis, from its outlet at the *Oodiságur*, to its passage within a mile of Cheetore; and the benefit likely to accrue from such a work appeared incalculable. What new ideas would be opened to the Rajpoot, on seeing the trains of oxen which now creep slowly along with merchandize for the capital, exchanged for boats gliding along the canal; and his fields, for many miles on each side, irrigated by lateral cuts, instead of the cranking *Egyptian* wheel, as it is called, but which is indigenous to India!’ pp. 626, 7.

Surely the means for carrying so noble a project into execution

ought not to be wanting. The summit of the *Pat'har* or *Oopermal* (upper-land) is a fertile, wooded, and well-watered tract, intersected by deep glens of romantic beauty; and as in old Greece, every fountain is consecrated to some local deity. Near one of these sacred spots, there is a projecting ledge of rock, called Giant's Bone, from which votaries of *Sookhdeo* ('the ease-giving god') take 'the warrior's leap,' which, if they survive, is to secure to them the object of their desire. 'There are many such *Leucotheas*,' we are told, 'in this region of romance.' That at Oonkar, on the Nerbudda, and that at Mount Girnar, are the most celebrated. The whole of the *Pat'har*, to the west of the Chumbul, till within the last sixty years, belonged to Mewar; but the greater part has been seized by Sindia, the Mahratta chief, 'on mortgage for war contributions paid over and over again.' In this alpine region, the Author suffered severely from the mountain mists and the variations of the temperature. On one day, at day-break, the thermometer stood at 60°; only three days after, at 27°; it then rose to 40° and 60°, and at mid-day, stood at 75° and 90°. He descended with the Bhamuni stream to Bhynsrar, in the valley of the Chumbul, the description of which we must transcribe.

'The castle of Bhynsrar is most romantically situated upon the extreme point of a ridge, on an almost isolated rib of the *Pat'har* from which we had descended. To the east, its abrupt cliff overhangs the placid expanse of the Chumbul, its height above which is 200 feet: the level of the river in the monsoon is marked at full 30 feet above its present elevation. The Bhamuni bounds Bhynsrar on the west, and, by the rapidity of its fall, has completely scarped the rock, even to the angle of confluence, within which is placed a castle, to whose security a smaller intermediate stream not a little contributes. The river is never fordable, and its translucent, sea-green waters are now full 40 feet in depth. When, in the periodical rains, it accumulates at its source, and is fed, during its passage, by many minor streams from the Vindhya and this *oberland*, its velocity is overwhelming: it rises above the opposing bank, and laying under water the whole tract to the base of the table-land of Harouti, sweeps away in its irresistible course even the rocks. The channel cut in the rock is as clean as if performed with the chisel; and standing on the summit of the cliff, which is from 300 to 700 feet in height, one discerns in imagination the marks of union. . . . Although the stream is, of course, much below the level of its source, yet there is little doubt that the summit of this chasm (*coopermāl*) is, as its name indicates, the highest land of Malwa. I say this after making myself acquainted with the general depression of Malwa to this point. Under Bhynsrar, the current is never very gentle; but both above and below, there are rapids, if not falls, of 30 to 50 feet in descent. . . .

'Tradition has preserved the etymology of Bhynsrar, and dates its erection from the second century of the era of Vicrama, though others make it antecedent to him. Be that as it may, it adds a fact of some

importance, viz., that the *Charuns*, or Bards, were then, as now, the *privileged carriers* of Rajwarra, and that this was one of their great lines of communication. Bhynsror, instead of being the work of some mighty conqueror, owes its existence to the joint efforts of Bhynsa Sah, the merchant, and Rora, a Charun and Brinjarri, to protect their *tandás* (caravans) from the lawless mountaineers, when compelled to make a long halt during the periodical rains.' pp. 649—652.

Near the confines of Mewar and Boondi, several *cairns* of loose stones were passed, the memorials of rajpoots slain in defending their cattle against the Meena banditti who dwelt amid the ravines of the Bunas, on the western declivity of the plateau.

“ Who durst,” said my guide, as we stopped at these *tumuli*, “ have passed the *Pat'har* eighteen months ago? They would have killed you for the cakes you had about you : now you may carry gold. These green fields would have been shared, perhaps reaped altogether by them ; but now, though there is no superfluity, there is ‘ play for the teeth,’ and we can put our turban under our heads at night without the fear of missing it in the morning. *Atul Raj!* (May your sovereignty last for ever !)” This is the universal language of men who have never known peaceful days, who have been nurtured amidst the elements of discord and rapine, and who, consequently, can appreciate the change, albeit they were not mere spectators.’ p. 659.

It is a pleasing reflection, that the *raj* of Sir Company has put down the execrable system of marauding, which has desolated this fine district ; nor can we understand the precise grounds upon which the Author wished the Rajpoots to be again put in uncontrolled possession of a country they proved themselves unable alike to rule or to defend. With these bandits of the Bunas, he subsequently made acquaintance ; and we shall have occasion again to advert to them.

In pursuing his route to Kotah, the Author left the valley of the Chumbul, and ascended by a narrow pass nearly four miles in length, to the summit of another ridge*, covered with a majestic forest and almost impenetrable jungle. Among the trees are enumerated, the *imli* or tamarind-tree, the lofty *semul* or cotton-tree, the *taindoo* or ebony-tree, the *dho*, and the knarled *sakoo*, ‘ looking like a leper among its healthy brethren.’ Many ruined hamlets were passed in the forest, but all were desolate ; and the Bheels and ‘ their brethren of the forests, the wild ‘ beasts,’ are the only inhabitants of this region. By the way, our Author seems to have imbibed all the prejudices of a Rajpoot respecting the poor Bheels, ‘ the Gaels’ or Celts of India, who,

* The Author speaks of re-ascending ‘ the third *steppe* of our miniature Alp.’ He means, we presume, the third terrace or step, but the orthography would convey the idea of a bare savanna.

although now a degraded race, are wholly undeserving of this contemptuous mode of reference. Bishop Heber and Sir John Malcolm speak of them in very different terms; and the former says, that 'thieves and savages as they are,' he found that the officers he conversed with 'thought them, on the whole, a better race than their Rajpoot conquerors.'* A gradual descent led down to Kotah, on the eastern bank of the Chumbul. The appearance of this place is very imposing, and impresses the mind with a more lively notion of wealth and activity, than most cities in India. It has acquired some celebrity in the annals of British India, in connexion with the extraordinary man who so long, under the title of Regent, exercised the virtual powers of sovereignty over this Rajpoot state, and who is styled by Col. Tod the Nestor of Rajwarra. Zalim Sing was the first chief who accepted the proffered alliance of the British Government at the commencement of the Pindarry war in 1817; and he remained faithful to his engagements. His portrait, as drawn by our Author, exhibits him as a consummate politician and all-accomplished despot, who would have shed lustre on the throne of Baber and Aurungzebe.

'Every act evinced his deep skill in the knowledge of the human mind, and of the elements by which he was surrounded. He could circumvent the crafty Mahratta, calm or quell the arrogant Rajpoot, and extort the applause even of the Briton, who is little prone to allow merit in an Asiatic. He was a depository of the prejudices and the pride of his countrymen, both in religious and social life: yet, enigmatical as it must appear, he frequently violated them, though the infraction was so gradual as to be imperceptible except to the few who watched the slow progress of his plans. To such, he appeared a compound of the most contradictory elements; lavish and parsimonious, oppressive and protecting; with one hand bestowing diamond aigrettes, with the other taking the tithe of the anchorite's wallet; one day, sequestrating estates, and driving into exile the ancient chiefs of the land; the next, receiving with open arms some expatriated noble, and supporting him in dignity and affluence, till the receding tide of human affairs rendered such support no longer requisite.

'Aware of the danger of relaxing, "to have done", even when eighty-five winters had passed over his head, was never in his thoughts. He knew that a Rajpoot's throne should be the back of his steed; and when blindness overtook him, and he could no longer lead the chase on horseback, he was carried in his litter to his grand hunts, which consisted sometimes of several thousand armed men. Besides dissipating the *ennui* of his vassals, he obtained many other objects by an amusement so analogous to their character: in the unmasked joyous-

* See Heber's Journal, Vol. II. 4to, p. 71. Ecl. Rev. 2d Series, Vol. XXIX. p. 312. Col. Tod states, that the Rajpoot himself will eat, and all classes will drink water at the hands of the Bheels.

ness of the sport, he heard the unreserved opinions of his companions, and gained their affection by thus administering to the favourite pastime of the Rajpoot, whose life is otherwise monotonous. When in the forest, he would sit down, surrounded by thousands, to regale on the game of the day. Camels followed his train, laden with flour, sugar, spices, and huge cauldrons for the use of his sylvan *cuisine*; and amidst the hilarity of the moment, he would go through the varied routine of government, attend to foreign and commercial policy, the details of his farms or his army, the reports of his police; nay, in the very heat of the operations, shot flying in all directions, the ancient Regent might be discovered, like our immortal Alfred or St. Louis of the Franks, administering justice under the shade of some spreading peepul-tree; while the day so passed would be closed with religious rites, and the recital of a mythological epic: he found time for all, never appeared hurried, nor could he be taken by surprise. When he could no longer see to sign his own name, he had an autograph facsimile engraved, which was placed in the special care of a confidential officer, to apply when commanded. Even this loss of one sense was with him compensated by another; for, long after he was stone-blind, it would have been vain to attempt to impose upon him in the choice of shawls or clothes of any kind, whose fabrics and prices he could determine by the touch; and it is even asserted that he could in like manner distinguish colours.

'If, as has been truly remarked, "that man deserves well of his country, who makes a blade of grass grow where none grew before", what merit is due to him who made the choicest of nature's products flourish where grass *could not* grow; who covered the bare rock around his capital with soil, and cultivated the exotics of Arabia, Ceylon, and the western Archipelago; who translated from the Indian *Āpennines* (the mountains of Malabar) the coco-nut and palmyra; and thus refuted the assertion that these trees could not flourish remote from the influence of a marine atmosphere? In his gardens were to be found the apples and quinces of Cabul, pomegranates from the famed stock of *Kagla ca bagh* in the desert, oranges of every kind, scions of Agra and Sylhet, the *amba* of Mazagon, and the *chumpa-kéla*, or golden plantain of the Dekhan, besides the indigenous productions of Rajpootana. Some of the wells for irrigating these gardens cost in blasting the rock thirty thousand rupees each: he hinted to his friends that they could not do better than follow his example, and a hint always sufficed. He would have obtained a prize from any horticultural society for his improvement of the wild *bér* (*jujube*), which by grafting he increased to the size of a small apple. In chemical science he had gained notoriety; his *ultras*, or essential oils of roses, jessamine, *kélki*, and *keurâ*, were far superior to any that could be purchased. There was no occasion to repair to the valley of Cashmere to witness the fabrication of its shawls; for the looms and the wool of that fairy region were transferred to Kotah, and the Cashmerian weaver plied the shuttle under Zalim's own eye. But, as in the case of his lead-mines, he found that this branch of industry did not return even sixteen annas and a half for the rupee, the minimum profit at which he fixed his remuneration; so that, after satisfying his curiosity, he aban-

doned the manufacture. His forges for swords and fire-arms had a high reputation, and his matchlocks rival those of Boondi, both in excellence and elaborate workmanship.' pp. 586—589.

Col. Tod was detained six months at Kotah by the embarrassing duties of his mission; and during the last four, he had to maintain 'a continued struggle against cholera and fever.' He had experienced every vicissitude of temperature in every part of India; but never, he says, did he feel any thing to be compared with the heat of the dog-days at Kotah.

'It was shortly after we had shifted the camp from the low paddy fields to the embankment of the Kishore *sagur* (lake), immediately east of the city, that the sky became of that transparent blue which dazzles the eye to look at. Throughout the day and night, there was not a zephyr even to stir a leaf, but the repose and stillness of death. The thermometer was 104° in the tent, and the agitation of the *punka* produced only a more suffocating air, from which I have fled, with a sensation bordering on madness, to the gardens at the base of the embankment of the lake. But the shade even of the tamarind or cool plain-tain was still less supportable. The feathered tribe, with their beaks opened, their wings flapping or hanging listlessly down, and panting for breath, like ourselves, sought in vain a cool retreat. The horses stood with heads drooping before their untasted provender. Amidst this universal stagnation of life, the only sound which broke upon the horrid stillness, was the note of the cuckoo: it was the first time I had ever heard it in India; and its cheerful sound, together with the associations it awakened, produced a delightful relief from torments which could not long be endured. We invariably remarked, that the bird opened his note at the period of the greatest heat, about two o'clock in the day, and continued, during intervals, for about an hour, when he changed his quarters, and quitted us. I afterwards became more familiar with this bird; and every day in the hot weather at Oodipoor, when I resided in one of the villas in the valley, I not only heard, but frequently saw it.' pp. 663, 4.

The scene of the Author's encampment at Kotah, was at the north-eastern angle of the lake, having in front a fairy islet, adorned with a light 'Saracenic' pavilion. Gardens fringed the base of the embankment, which is bordered with lofty trees; and over the parapets of the gigantic circumvallation peep the spires and domes of temples and mosques, while some glimpses are caught of the high land beyond the Chumbul. There was also open to them, the range of Madhú Sing's magnificent gardens, many acres in extent, abounding in exotic flowers and fruit, with vast parterres of roses. 'But what,' exclaims our Author, 'were all these luxuries, conjoined with cholera morbus, and *tup-texarra* (tertian fever), and every other fever?' The delight and enjoyment which these scenes, and the courtesy and homage of the gallant Rajpoots were adapted to inspire, were dearly pur-

chased with 'a perpetuity of ill health.' Scarcely any place, Col. Tod says, can be more unhealthy than Kotah during the monsoon.

'With the rise of the Chumbul, whose waters filtrate through the fissures of the rock, the wells are filled with mineral poison and the essence of decomposed vegetation. All those in the low ground at our first encampment, were overflowed from this cause; and the surface of each was covered with an oily pellicle of metallic lustre, whose colours were prismatic, varying, with position or reflection, from shades of a pigeon's breast to every tint of blue blended with gold. It is the same at Oodipoor during the periodical rains, and with similar results,—intermittent and tertian fevers, from which not a man, European or native, escaped. They are very obstinate, and, though not often fatal, difficult to extirpate, yielding only to calomel, which perhaps generates a train of evils.' pp. 665, 6.

That terrific scourge, the spasmodic cholera, is known in India under the emphatic name of *the death (murri)*. It appears to have visited India repeatedly at distant intervals. A frightful record of its ravages in the year 1661, has been preserved in the native annals of Mewar; and Orme describes it as raging in the Deccan in 1684. 'They had likewise a visitation of it in the 'memory of individuals now living.' The following note seems to claim transcription.

'Regarding the nature of this disease, whether endemic, epidemic, or contagious, and its cure, we are as ignorant now as on the first day of our experience. There have been hundreds of conflicting opinions and hypotheses, but none satisfactory. In India, nine medical men out of ten, as well as those not professional, *deny its being contagious*. At Oodipoor, the Rana's only son, hermetically sealed in the palace against contact, was the first seized with the disorder; a pretty strong proof that it was from atmospheric communication. He was also the last man in his father's dominions likely, from predisposition, to be attacked, being one of the most athletic and prudent of his subjects. I saw him through the disorder. We were afraid to administer remedies to the last heir of Bappa Rawul; but I hinted to Amurji, who was both bard and doctor, that strong doses of musk (12 grains each) might be beneficial. These he had, and I prevented his having cold water to drink, and also checking the insensible perspiration by throwing off the bed-clothes. Nothing but his robust frame and youth made him resist this tremendous assailant.' p. 68, *note*.

'I have had many patients dying about me,' the Author adds in a subsequent note (p. 689); 'but no man ever dreamed of 'contagion.' This is not the place to discuss this question; but the experience of one who had such ample means of forming a correct and unbiassed judgement in the matter, must be allowed to have great weight. On the other hand, although this disease

is clearly transmitted by atmospheric communication, and there is no proof of its being ever communicated by contact with the diseased, it may be spread by a localized infection, and may thus assume the semblance of contagion by becoming in fact, in a sense, endemic in confined spots, where the atmospheric poison has formed a combination with some stagnant moisture or impurity. On its first appearance in our Indian armies, it was for some time fatal only to the intemperate, the ill-fed, or the ill-clothed; 'but we soon discovered,' says the Author, 'that *Murri* was no respecter of persons, and that the prince and the peasant, the European and the native, the robust and the weak, the well-fed and the abstinent were alike subject to her influence.' In the states under the 'Political Agent's' control, it assailed in two instances the palace. The Oodipoor prince, as has been mentioned, recovered, but the Boondi Rao's time was come. The expedient adopted by this Rajpoot prince to keep *Murri* out of his capital, and the old Regent's mode of expelling her from Kotah, are about on a parallel with the expedients that have been had recourse to as a security against the cholera very near home—in Ireland. Old Zalim Sing

'having assembled the Brahmins, astrologers, and those versed in incantations, a grand rite was got up, sacrifice made, and a solemn decree of *desvallo* (banishment) was pronounced against *Murri*. Accordingly, an equipage was prepared for her, decorated with funeral emblems, painted black, and drawn by a double team of black oxen; bags of grain, also black, were put into the vehicle, that the lady might not go forth without food, and driven by a man in sable vestments, followed by the yells of the populace. *Murri* was deported across the Chumbul, with the commands of the priests that she should never set foot again in Kotah. No sooner did my deceased friend' (the Boondi Rao) 'hear of her expulsion from that capital, and being placed *en chemin* for Boondi, than the wise men of this city were called on to provide means to keep her from entering therein. Accordingly, all the water of the Ganges at hand was in requisition; an earthen vessel was placed over the southern portal, from which the sacred water was continually dripping, and against which no evil could prevail. Whether my friend's supply of the holy water failed, or *Murri* disregarded such opposition, she reached his palace.' pp. 688, 9.

Such instances of the proneness of the heathen to ascribe to imaginary beings the mysterious visitations of disease or other calamity, may enable us to understand the import and force of such declarations as these in the prophetic Scriptures:—"I am Jehovah, and there is none else: I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace and create evil."—"Shall there be any evil in a city, and Jehovah hath not inflicted it?" . . . "I have smitten you with blasting and mildew . . . I have sent

among you the pestilence after the manner of Egypt: yet have ye not returned unto me, saith Jehovah." * While, however, British Christians smile at the ignorant superstition of the Indian vulgar, there is a deification of second causes, which passes with us for philosophy, less superstitious, yet not less impious than that which imbodifies them in the shape of imaginary agents.

To return to our narrative. From Kotah, in September, the Political Agent proceeded to the little court of Boondi, halting half way at the patrimonial mansion of the Regent. His reception there affords an insight into Rajpoot manners.

'Nandta is a fine specimen of a Rajpoot baronial residence. We entered through a gateway, at the top of which was the *nobut-khanch*, or saloon for the band, into an extensive court having colonnaded piazzas all round, in which the vassals were ranged. In the centre of this area was a pavilion, apart from the palace, surrounded by orangeries and odoriferous flowers, with a *jet-d'eau* in the middle, whence little canals conducted the water, and kept up a perpetual verdure. Under the arcade of this pavilion, amidst a thousand welcomes, thundering of cannon, trumpets, and all sorts of sounds, we took our seats; and scarcely had congratulations passed, and the area was cleared of our escorts, when, to the sound of the tabor and *saringi*, the sweet notes of a Punjabi *tuppa* saluted our ears. There is a plaintive simplicity in this music, which denotes originality, and even without a knowledge of the language, conveys a sentiment to the most fastidious, when warbled in the impassioned manner which some of these syrens possess. While the Mahratta delights in the dissonant *droopud*, which requires a rapidity of utterance quite surprising, the Rajpoot reposes in his *tuppa*, which, conjoined with his opium, creates a paradise. Here we sat, amidst the orange-groves of Nandta, the *jet-d'eau* throwing a mist between us and the groupe, whose dark tresses, antelope-eyes, and syren-notes, were all thrown away upon the Frank, for my teeth were beating time from the ague-fit.' p. 667.

The coup d'œil of the castellated palace of Boondi, from whichever side it is approached, 'is, perhaps, the most striking in 'India.' Throughout Rajwarra, which boasts many fine palaces, the *Boondi-ca-mahl* is allowed to rank first in point of grandeur of situation and of architecture. Col. Tod describes it as 'an 'aggregate of palaces,' intermingled with gardens, raised on gigantic terraces. Whoever has seen the palace of Boondi, he says, can easily picture to himself the hanging-gardens of Semiramis. After remaining here for a week, he proceeded through the Banda defile to the western frontier of the Hara country, where it borders upon the Jehajpooor district of Mewar,

* Isa. xlv. 7. Amos iii. 6; iv. 9, 10. Mic. vi. 9 might be referred to, but the Versions do not support the reading in the Authorized Translation.

occupied by the indigenous *Meenas* already referred to. Still suffering under incessant fever and ague, he entered the valley of Kujoori.

'We are now,' he writes in his journal, 'in what is termed the *Kirar*; for so the tract is named on both banks of the *Bunas* to the verge of the plateau; and my journey was through a little nation of robbers by birth and profession; but their *kumplas* (bows) were unstrung, and their arrows resting in the quiver. Well may our empire in the East be called one of opinion, when a solitary individual of Britain, escorted by a few of Skinner's horse, may journey through the valley of Kujoori, where, three short years ago, every crag would have concealed an ambush prepared to plunder him. At present, I could by signal have collected four thousand bowmen around me, to protect or to plunder; though the *Meenas*, finding that their rights are respected, are subsiding into regular tax-paying subjects, and call out with their betters, "*Utul Raj!*" (May your sway be everlasting!) We had a grand convocation of the *Meena Naiks*, and, in the *Rana's* name, I distributed crimson turbans and scarfs; for as, through our mediation, the *Rana* had just recovered the district of *Jehajgurh*, he charged me with its settlement. I found these *Meenas* true children of nature, who for the first time seemed to feel they were received within the pale of society, instead of being considered as outcasts. "The heart must leap kindly back to kindness," is a sentiment as powerfully felt by the semi-barbarians of the *Kirar*, as by the more civilized inhabitants of other climes.'—p. 674.

Our Author's return route to Oodipoor, subsequently led over the most fertile plains of Mewar, but which presented only a continuous mass of jungle and rank grass, interspersed with ruins. Traces of incipient prosperity were visible, but years would be required to repair the mischief of the preceding quarter of a century. At one place (*Seânoh*), the Colonel was met by the *punchaet* or elders of a town ten miles off, attended by about fifty of the most respectable inhabitants, who came to 'testify their happiness and gratitude.'

'Hear their spokesman's reply to my question, "Why did they take the trouble to come so far from home?" I give it *verbatim*: "Our town had not two hundred inhabited dwellings when you came amongst us: now, there are twelve hundred. The *Rana* is our sovereign; but you are to us next to *Purmésvar* (the Almighty). Our fields are thriving; trade is reviving; and we have not been molested even for the wedding-portion.* We are happy, and we have come to tell you so; and what is five *cos*s, or five hundred, to what you have done for us?'—p. 683.

On the 27th of October, the Author reached his old encamp-

* Tribute claimed by the *Rana* on the occasion of celebrating the marriage of his daughters.

ment on the heights of Toos, from which ground he resolved not again to stir, till he should start for the sea, to embark for the land of his sires: and he awaited only the termination of the monsoon, 'to remove the wreck of a once robust frame to a more 'genial clime.' But in the following July, an express arrived from Boondi, announcing the death of the Raja, from cholera, and conveying the earnest request that he would hasten to the court, the deceased prince having named the Author guardian of his infant heir. The appeal was irresistible; and in spite of heavy rains, a week's fatiguing march brought him once more to Boondi, where he assisted in the grand ceremony of *raj-tilac*, the inauguration of the young Rao Raja, which had been postponed till his arrival. After a long round of sacrifice, purification, and other preparatory rites, the representative of the British Government was requested to conduct the young Raja to the *gadi* or throne, placed in an elevated balcony overlooking the external court of the palace and a great part of the town.

'The officiating priest now brought the vessel containing the unction, composed of sandal-wood powder and aromatic oils, into which I dipped the middle finger of my right hand, and made the *tilac* on his forehead. I then girt him with the sword, and congratulated him in the name of my Government, declaring aloud, that all might hear, that the British Government would never cease to feel a deep interest in all that concerned the welfare of Boondi and the young prince's family. Shouts of approbation burst from the immense crowds who thronged the palace, all in their gayest attire, while every valley re-echoed the sound of the cannon from the citadel of Tarragurh. I then put on the jewels, consisting of the *sirpesh*, or aigrette, which I bound round his turban, a necklace of pearls, and bracelets, with twenty-one *shields* (the tray of a Rajpoot) of shawls, brocades, and fine clothes. An elephant and two handsome horses, richly caparisoned, the one having silver, the other silver-gilt ornaments, with embroidered velvet saddle-cloths, were then led into the centre of the court under the balcony, a *khelat* befitting the dignity both of the giver and the receiver. Having gone through this form, in which I was prompted by my old friend the Maharaja Bickramajeet, and paid my individual congratulations as the friend of his father and his personal guardian, I withdrew to make room for the chiefs, heads of clans, to perform the like round of ceremonies: for, in making the *tilac*, they at the same time acknowledge his accession and their own homage and fealty. I was joined by Gopál Sing, the prince's brother, who artlessly told me that he had no protector but myself; and the chiefs, as they returned from the ceremony, came and congratulated me on the part I had taken in a rite which so nearly touched them all; individually presenting their *muzzurs* to me as the representative of the paramount power. I then made my salutation to the prince and the assembly of the Haras, and returned. The Rao Raja afterwards proceeded with his cavalcade to all the shrines in this city and Sitor, to make his offerings.'

pp. 605, 6.

P

The Author remained at Boondi till the middle of August, and then departed for Kotah, where political occurrences detained him for three months of harassing anxiety and fatigue. He then resolved upon a tour through Upper Malwa, being desirous of visiting the falls of the Chumbul amid the dense forests of the Puchail district. In these savage wilds, he suddenly came in sight of the grand temple of Barolli, dedicated to Siva, and surrounded with subordinate edifices, which, both in their architecture and in the sculptured decorations, exhibit a purity of taste and beauty of execution far exceeding any other known specimen of Hindoo art, and justifying the conjecture, that Grecian artists must have been employed upon Indian designs.

'History informs us of the Grecian auxiliaries sent by Seleucus to the *Piur* monarch of Oojein (*Ozene*), whose descendants corresponded with Augustus; and I have before suggested the possibility of the temple of Komulmair, which is altogether dissimilar to any remains of Hindu art, being attributable to the same people.' p. 712.

We are indebted to the pencil of Colonel Tod's accomplished relative and brother in arms, the late Major Waugh, for some very interesting views of these remarkable ruins. The falls of the Chumbul present a singular and magnificent phenomenon. The river, after expanding into an ample lake, finds no other outlet than a very deep and narrow chasm, which it seems to have opened for itself in the rock, and down which it dashes in a succession of rapids, till it reaches a spot where its stream is split into four distinct channels, each terminating in a cascade. An ample basin receives their waters, which are seen boiling round the masses of black rock that peep out amid the foaming surge rising from the whirlpools beneath. On escaping from this 'huge cauldron,' the waters again divide into two branches to encircle an isolated rock, on the northern face of which they re-unite, and form another fine fall, about 60 feet in height. The total descent is supposed to be rather less than 200 feet within the distance of about a mile. The bed of the river is afterwards contracted to the width of only 15 feet, but a considerable portion of the water, probably, obtains a subterranean outlet. The whirlpools are 'huge perpendicular caverns, 30 and 40 feet in depth, between some of which there is a communication under ground;' and for many miles down the stream towards Kotah, the rock is everywhere pierced with these caverns.

From this magnificent scene, the Author proceeded through the forest, by a road which it took several days to open, to Gangabheva (the Circle of Ganga), another famous temple in this wild and now utterly deserted region; taking its name from a circular basin fed by a perennial spring, and covered with the sacred lotus. The chief temple here evinces, Colonel Tod states,

the same skill and taste as the structures of Barolli, and the embellishments are similar; but it is 'many centuries more recent' than those which surround it, in the massive simplicity of which 'we have a fine specimen of the primitive architecture of the 'Hindus.' From the annexed plates, these ruins would seem, however, to be far inferior to those at Barolli; and any opinions respecting their comparative date must be very uncertain.

Our Author subsequently visited the caves of Dhoomnâr, in Malwa, which form a 'subterranean town,' evidently surpassing in antiquity, he thinks, although not equalling in grandeur, those of Ellora, Carli, and Salsette, and highly worthy of a visit.—Our limits will not allow of entering into detail.

A phenomenon of a different description, a political curiosity, presented itself at Jhalra-patun (the city of bells),—'the only town in India possessing the germs of civil liberty in the power 'of framing their own municipal regulations;' and what is most remarkable, their 'commercial charter' was granted, not as a concession to liberty, but as an act of policy, by the most despotic ruler among the native chiefs,—the Regent of Kotah. In the short space of twenty years, a city of 6000 comfortable dwellings had been raised, with a population of at least 25,000 souls. This is now the grand commercial mart of Upper Malwa, and has swallowed up all the trade of the central towns between its own latitude and Indore. It is situated near the site of the ancient city of Chandravati (city of the moon); and the ruins of ancient temples, ghauts, &c. line for a considerable distance the banks of the rivulet Chandrabhaga, which flowed through it. The portals and ceilings of some of these temples are ornamented with sculpture of the most elaborate workmanship, recalling the minute tracery and grotesque details of some of our Gothic edifices. The oldest inscription which was met with bears date S. 748 (A.D. 692): it is very long, in that ornamented character peculiar to the Budhists and Jains throughout these regions, and is supposed by Col. Tod, to be a memorial of 'some Scythic or Tatar prince who was 'grafted into the Hindu stock.' There were also found, a vast number of funeral memorials of the Jain priesthood; (one dated S. 1066, answering to A.D. 1010;) and in the modern town, stands an antique Jain temple, recently repaired,—'one of the 'hundred and eight temples the bells of which sounded in the 'ancient city.' About two miles to the northward is the pass which forms the natural boundary of Harouti and Malwa, and 'the chief outlet between the Deccan and Northern India.'

Having halted in the valley for a few days, our Author returned by another route to Kotah, where he remained for six weeks to watch the results of the measures adopted. He then (in February) once more commenced his march for Oodipoor, taking Boondi in his way, and making a detour from thence to visit the

ruins of some Jain temples at Morakuro, near Bijolli, and a still more extraordinary groupe of temples and other buildings at Maha-nâl (the great chasm). Another destroyer than Time has bestrewed the whole tract with ruins. Those of Morakuro comprise a castle, a palace, and five temples, all of considerable magnitude and elaborate architectural details, though not to be compared with those of Barolli. 'Indeed,' remarks the Author, 'it is every where apparent, that there is nothing classical in design or execution, in the architecture of India, posterior to the eleventh century.' The modern castle of Bijolli is constructed entirely out of the ruins of the old shrines of Morakuro, and gods and demons are huddled promiscuously together. In like manner, 'thousands of divinities,' the wrecks of Chandravati, have been built up in the new town of Jhalra-patun or its immense circumvallation. Col. Tod infers from these and similar facts, that the Hindu attaches no abstract virtue to the material object or idol, but regards it merely as a type of some power or quality which he wishes to propitiate.* This conclusion is not fully borne out by the premises. It is believed by the worshippers, that the divinity abandons any figure when mutilated or defaced*; but, prior to its desecration, it is regarded as something more than a mere type,—as an actual vehicle or receptacle of the divinity; and that divinity is not a power or quality, (for who would seek to propitiate a quality?) but an imaginary being;—not an abstraction, but a personality. These gods and demons, moreover, so uncereemoniously treated by the modern inhabitants, are probably not of their own pantheon; and there is nothing surprising in one sect's treating the gods of another with the utmost indignity and contempt. It is scarcely fair to ascribe the whole work of demolition to Mohammedan iconoclasts. At the same time, when the nature of the worship is taken into account, no pious mind can feel regret at the ruin of the shrine. The melancholy charm with which the solemn ruins of Mynal were invested to the imagination of a traveller who had pored over the poetic legends of the Rajpoots, and imbibed so strong a sympathy with the warrior race,—we can readily conceive; and it would be impossible to contemplate such a scene of faded magnificence and fallen grandeur without a sentiment of pensive interest. But the hideous symbols

* 'Brahmins, I have remarked,' says Major Moor, 'disregard imperfect images.'—*Hindoo Pantheon*, p. 336. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, on asking a polygar why the people suffered an image of their god Ganesa to be neglected, was answered, that the finger of the image having been broken, the divinity had deserted it; for no mutilated image is considered as habitable by a god.—*Travels in the Mysore*, vol. II. p. 60.

of an obscene and sanguinary idolatry must tend greatly to mar the poetic illusion; and these architectural wonders, the triumphal arches of the Principle of Evil, must, in their state of dilapidation and decay, appear the monuments of the Divine justice.

On entering the castle of Beygoo, our Author met with an accident which had nearly deprived Rajwarra of its best friend. The anecdote is too characteristic to be omitted.

‘ The old castle of Beygoo has a remarkably wide moat, across which there is a wooden bridge communicating with the town. The avant-couriers of my cavalcade, with an elephant bearing the union, having crossed and passed under the arched gateway, I followed, contrary to the *Mahout's* advice, who said there certainly would not be space to admit the elephant and howda. But I heedlessly told him to drive on, and if he could not pass through, to dismount. The hollow sound of the bridge, and the deep moat on either side, alarmed the animal, and she darted forward with the celerity occasioned by fear, in spite of any effort to stop her. As I approached the gateway, I measured it with my eye, and expecting inevitable and instantaneous destruction, I planted my feet firmly against the howda, and my fore-arms against the archway, and, by an almost preternatural effort of strength, burst out the back of the howda: the elephant pursued her flight inside, and I dropped senseless on the bridge below. The affectionate sympathies and attention of those around revived me, though they almost extinguished the latent spark of life in raising me into my palkí, and carrying me to my tent. I, however, soon recovered my senses, though sadly bruised; but the escape was, in a twofold degree, miraculous; for, in avoiding decollation, had I fallen half an inch more to the side, I should have been caught on the projecting spikes of the gateway. My tent was soon filled by the Rawut-ji and his brethren, who deplored the accident, and it was with difficulty I could get them to leave the side of my pallet; but what was my astonishment when, two days after, going to fulfil my mission, I saw the noble gateway, the work of Kala-Megh, reduced to a heap of ruins, through which I was conducted to the palace on an ample terrace, in front of which I found the little court of Beygoo! The Rawut advanced and presented me the keys, which having returned in his sovereign's name, I deplored his rash destruction of the gateway, blaming *honhar* and my own want of *bood'h* (wisdom) for the accident. But it was in vain: he declared he never could have looked upon it with complacency, since it had nearly deprived of life one who had given life to them.’

pp. 754, 5.

We must resist the temptation to transcribe any part of our Author's visit to Cheetore, of which singular capital Bishop Heber's journal contains a lively though imperfect description. One remarkable building, the Bishop says, struck him as apparently a Mussulman erection; and on inquiring who built it, he was informed, that it was the work of Azeem Ushân, son of Aurungzebe, who called it ‘*Futteh Muhul*,’ Victory Hall. ‘It

'is singular,' he remarks, 'that such a trophy should have been allowed to stand when the Hindoos recovered the place.' The building referred to must be, we imagine, the same as Colonel Tod has described under the name of the *Jeti-khumba* or *Kheerut-khumb* (pillar of victory), and which he states to have been erected by Rana Khoombo on the defeat of the combined armies of Malwa and Gujerat. 'The only thing to compare with it in India, he says, is the *Kootub Minar* at Delhi; which, though much higher*, is of very inferior character. It has nine stories, rising 122 feet in height; the base is a square of 35 feet, and the ninth story a square of 17 feet and a half. It is 'one mass of 'sculpture,' containing every object known to the Hindoo mythology; and the only slab which has not been defaced, attests the occasion upon which it was erected by the Rajpoot conqueror. It is said to have cost ninety lakhs of rupees, nearly a million sterling; and this was only one of the magnificent works of Rana Khoombo.

The last entry in the Journal is dated Oodipoor, March 8, 1822. The Author was compelled to submit to the honours of a public *entrée*; and all the chivalry of the capital advanced, with the Rana at their head, to welcome his return. But where were his companions? he was asked; (one was under the sod, another had been left sick at Kotah, a third was on the coast, preparing to embark for the Cape;) but where, more especially, was Bajraj, the royal steed, the gift of the Rana? Alas! alas! the greatest grief of all was, that Bajraj was no more!

'Bajraj was worthy of such notice and of his name: he was perfection, and so general a favourite, that his death was deemed a public misfortune, for he was as well known throughout all these regions as his master. The general yell of sorrow that burst from all my sepoys and establishment on that event, was astounding, and the whole camp attended his obsequies; many were weeping, and when they began to throw the earth upon the fine beast, wrapped up in his body-clothes, his *sâes* (groom) threw himself into his grave, and was quite frantic with grief. I cut some locks off his mane in remembrance of the noblest beast I ever crossed, and in a few days I observed many huge stones near the spot, which, before I left Kotah, grew into a noble *cha-bootra*, or "altar" of hewn stone about twenty feet square and four feet high, on which was placed the effigy of Bajraj, large as life, sculptured out of one block of free-stone. I was grateful for the attention; but the old Regent had caught the infection, and evinced his sense of the worth of Bajraj by a tomb such as his master cannot expect; but in this case perhaps I divided the interest, though there was no prince of Rajwarra more proud of his stud than the blind chief of Kotah. From the days of the Pandus to Dewa-Bango of Boondi, many a war

* The *Cuttub Minar* is 242 feet in height.

has been waged for a horse ; nor can we better declare the relative estimation of the noble animal, than in the words of that stalwart Hara to the Lodi king : " There are three things you must not ask of a Rajpoot, his horse, his mistress, or his sword." p. 766.

It would have been easy to extend this article to an indefinite length, by extracts of the most varied and entertaining description ; and we had marked for this purpose a number of passages containing traditionary tales and romantic legends of the heroes and princes of the several Rajpoot dynasties, highly illustrative of the mind and manners of this original race. Of these, we can insert but a single specimen, with which we must take leave of this interesting work. The price of the volumes will put them out of the reach of a large proportion of our readers ; but they must find a place in every public library, and will form an honourable monument of the Author's political services, literary attainments, and unwearied mental energy.

' Aloo Hara, one day, returning homeward from the chase, was accosted by a Charun, who, having bestowed his blessing upon him, would accept of nothing in exchange but the turban from his head. Strange as was the desire, he preferred compliance to incurring the *viserwa*, or " vituperation of the bard ;" who placing Aloo's turban on his own head, bad him " live a thousand years," and departed. The Charun immediately bent his steps to Mundore, the capital of Maroo ; and as he was ushered into the presence of its prince, and pronounced the *hyrd* of the Rhatores, he took off his turban with his left hand, and performed his salutation with the right. The unusual act made the prince demand the cause, when in reply he was told, " that the turban of Aloo Hara should bend to none on earth." Such reverence to an obscure chief of the mountains of Méwar enraged the King of the Desert, who unceremoniously kicked the turban out of doors. Aloo, who had forgotten the strange request, was tranquilly occupied in his pastime, when his *quondam* friend again accosted him, his head bare, the insulted turban under his arm, and loudly demanding vengeance on the Rhatore, whose conduct he related. Aloo was vexed, and upbraided the Charun for having wantonly provoked this indignity towards him. " Did I not tell you to ask land, or cattle, or money ; yet nothing would please you but this rag ; and my head must answer for the insult to a vile piece of cloth : for nothing appertaining to Aloo Hara shall be insulted with impunity even by the *T'hakoor* of Marwar." Aloo forthwith convened his clan, and soon five hundred " sons of one father" were assembled within the walls of Bumaôda, ready to follow wherever he led. He explained to them the desperate nature of the enterprise, from which none could expect to return ; and he prepared the fatal *johur* for all those who determined to die with him. This first step to vengeance being over, the day of departure was fixed ; but previous to this, he was anxious to ensure the safety of his nephew, who, on failure of direct issue, was the adopted heir of Bumaôda. He accordingly locked him up in the inner keep of the castle,

within seven gates, each of which had a lock, and furnishing him with provisions, departed.

'The Prince of Mundore was aware he had entailed a feud; but so little did he regard what this mountain-chief might do, that he proclaimed "all the lands over which the Hara should march to be in *dān* (gift) to the Brahmins." But Aloo, who despised not the aid of stratagem, disguised his little troop as horse-merchants, and placing their arms and caparisons in covered carriages, and their steeds in long strings, the hostile caravan reached the capital unsuspected. The party took rest for the night; but with the dawn they saddled, and the *nakarras* of the Hara awoke the Rahtore prince from his slumber: starting up, he demanded who was the audacious mortal that dared to strike his drum at the gates of Mundore? The answer was,— "Aloo Hara of Bumaōda!"

'The mother (probably a Chohānī) of the King of Maroo now asked her son, "how he meant to fulfil his vaunt of giving to the Brahmins all the lands that the Hara passed over?" But he had the resolution to abide by his pledge, and the magnanimity not to take advantage of his antagonist's position; and to his formal challenge, conveyed by beat of *nakarra*, he proposed that single combats should take place, man for man. Aloo accepted it, and thanked him for his courtesy, remarking to his kinsmen, "At least we shall have five hundred lives to appease our revenge!"

'The lists were prepared: five hundred of the "chosen sons of Séōji" were marshalled before their prince, to try the manhood of the Haras; and now, on either side, a champion had stepped forth to commence this mortal strife, when a stripling rushed in, his horse panting for breath, and demanded to engage a gigantic Rahtore. The champions depressed their lances, and the pause of astonishment was first broken by the exclamation of the Hara chieftain, as he thus addressed the youth: "Oh! headstrong and disobedient, art thou come hither to extinguish the race of Aloo Hara?"—"Let it perish, uncle (*kákā*), if, when you are in peril, I am not with you!" replied the adopted heir of Bumaōda. The veteran Rahtore smiled at the impetuous valour of the youthful Hara, who advanced with his sword ready for the encounter. His example was followed by his gallant antagonist, and courtesy was exhausted on either side to yield the first blow; till, at length, Aloo's nephew accepted it; and it required no second, for he clove the Rahtore in twain. Another took his place—he shared the same fate; a third, a fourth, and in like manner twenty-five, fell under the young hero's sword. But he bore "a charmed life;" the queen of armies (*Vijyāsēni*), whose statue guards the entrance of Bumaōda, had herself enfranchised the youth from the seven-fold gates in which his uncle had incarcerated him, and having made him invulnerable except in one spot (the neck), sent him forth to aid his uncle, and gain fresh glory for the race of which she was the guardian. But the vulnerable point was at length touched, and Aloo saw the child of his love and his adoption stretched upon the earth. The queen-mother of the Rahtores, who witnessed the conflict, dreaded a repetition of such valour, from men in whom desire of life was extinct; and she commanded that the contest should cease, and répara-

tion be made to the lord of the Pat'har, by giving him in marriage a daughter of Mundore. Aloo's honour was redeemed; he accepted the offer, and with his bride repaired to the desolate Bumaôda. The fruit of this marriage was a daughter; but destiny had decreed that the race of Aloo Hara should perish. When she had attained the age of marriage, she was betrothed. Bumaôda was once more the scene of joy, and Aloo went to the temple, and invited the goddess to the wedding. All was merriment; and amongst the crowd of mendicants who besieged the door of hospitality was a decrepit old woman, who came to the threshold of the palace, and desired the guard to "tell Aloo Hara, she had come to the feast, and demanded to see him;" but the guard, mocking her, desired her to be gone, and "not to stand between the wind and him." She repeated her request, saying that "she had come by special invitation." But all was in vain; she was driven forth with scorn. Uttering a deep curse, she departed, and the race of Aloo Hara was extinct. It was Vijyásénsi herself, who was thus repulsed from the house of which she was protectress! pp. 643—6.

'Arungzeb had less reason to distrust the stability of his dominion than we have: yet what is now the house of Timour?' Such is the sinister warning addressed to Britain in the Preface to this volume. But Aurungzebe had every reason to distrust the stability of an empire which he had acquired by fratricide, which he held by the tenure of the sword, and which, in his declining years, he found himself too feeble to defend against the rising power of the Mahrattas*. The conquest of the Deccan was fatal to the monarch of Delhi, and the sun of the House of Timour set with the great Allumghire. Our empire in India is founded upon moral ascendancy. It is secured by the beneficent effect of our conquests, and is, in the best sense, an empire of opinion. Its permanence will depend upon the use which the British Government shall make of its supremacy. It will not be endangered by the abolition of *suttees*†; it will not be strengthened by patronising the fraud, and obscene vice, and cruelty of idolatry; and from whatever quarter danger may be apprehended, it has nothing to fear from the Rajpoots.

* See Eclectic Review, Vol. XXX. p. 299.

† We find it broadly asserted by Mr. Poynder, what we had strongly suspected, that the Bengal appeal against the abolition of suttees was got up by 'certain Anglo-Indians of that class who first wanted to drive the Christian Missionaries from India, who then endeavoured to keep the Church of England out of India, and who would now contend that the late prohibition of human sacrifices will occasion the loss of India.' We congratulate our countrymen on the important decision of the Privy Council, which has rendered abortive this last nefarious stratagem of the antichristian faction.

Art. III. *The Reformer*. By the Author of *Massenburg*. In three volumes. 12mo. London (Effingham Wilson), 1832.

WE do not happen to have seen 'Massenburg', or to know its Author; and we opened the present volumes in entire ignorance of every circumstance relating to their contents and publication. The word 'immediate' on the envelope, had not prepared us to expect a three volume novel;—a description of work which we seldom feel ourselves either disposed or called upon to notice. Then the title, 'The Reformer', suggested the repulsive idea of a political novel, full of party spleen and scandal; or else, we thought, it might be a mere catch-title, designed to puff off some common-place tale of love and nonsense. But, as we glanced at the name at the bottom of the title-page, and saw that these volumes were put forth under the professional auspices of the patriotic Publisher of the *Black Book* and other works of *the Reformers*, little doubt remained, that we were summoned to encounter, in the perusal of this tale, a lesson in the political doctrines of Jeremy Bentham. We looked for preface—there is none; a mark of good sense or of covert intention, which stimulated our curiosity; and we had not read far, before we discovered the *ruse* that has been played off either *by* or *upon* the worthy Publisher. The Author is assuredly neither radical nor liberal; and the lesson which the tale is designed to convey, we found to be enigmatically hinted in the motto.

'Amidst the wealthy city murmurs rise,
Lewd railings and reproach on those that rule,
With open scorn of government; hence credit
And public trust 'twixt man and man are broken.
The golden streams of commerce are withheld,
Which fed the wants of needy hinds and artisans,
Who therefore curse the great, and threat rebellion.'

ROWE.

The Reformer's daughter is the heroine of the tale, but the hero is an aristocrat. Had the work appeared during the late period of national excitement produced by the opposition to the Reform bill, we might have been disposed to view it as an indirect and unfair attempt to cast opprobrium upon the cause of reform, and to confound under a common name the patriot and the demagogue, the statesman and the incendiary. But now that the day is our own, we are bound to shew good nature to our late opponents; and since no insidious intention can be supposed to actuate the present writer, we must treat these volumes purely as a literary, not a political work.

Indeed, it is but justice to say, that the evident design savours of the moralist, more than of the politician. The circumstances and characters, so far as they have any allusion to real life, do

not apply to the present period; and we should have imagined, but for the date of the publication and the freshness of the diction, that the tale had been written some thirty years ago, when the infection of the *sans-culotte* democracy had spread to this country from the neighbouring shores. Earl Hopely seems meant for Citizen Earl Stanhope; and John Keith, the Reformer, might have found many a prototype among the fanatical abettors of French revolutionary principles. The time of the story is indicated by the reference to Pitt; and the whole is in keeping, there being no allusion whatever to the party leaders or politics of the present day. The good taste and good sense of the Writer are conspicuous in this respect, and ought to disarm any reader who may be disposed to quarrel with the political lesson. But, as we have already intimated, the evident aim of the Author is to convey instruction of a different kind; such as may be gained from the accurate delineation of character, the illustration, by example, of the secret springs of action, the workings of the passions, the ways of man, and woman, and the exposure of the sources of error and danger in social conduct. In its general character, it resembles much more the writings of Miss Jewsbury, than those of Miss Martineau. That it is the production of a female writer, we cannot allow ourselves to doubt. Only a woman, and an accomplished woman, could have observed, analysed, and depicted with so much delicacy and skill, the traits of female character which are brought out by the incidents of the tale, or have discovered such perfect converseance with the cabinet secrets of the human heart. We must fairly say that, in this point of view, this Tale possesses no ordinary merit, and in this consists the chief interest.

The story may be told in a few words. Lord Haverfield, by a course of extravagance, has brought himself into a state of financial embarrassment, from which there appears no other mode of extrication than by alienating the landed property of his ancestors; a case of no unfrequent occurrence thirty years ago. Before he finally determines upon this step, he resolves to visit the old neglected mansion *incog*. He passes for a Mr. Curzon, a steward of his Lordship, and in this character takes part in the following laconic dialogue.

“ There are strange rumours abroad respecting Lord Haverfield,” resumed Mr. Renchor; “ report speaks pretty positively of his prodigality.”

“ Lord Haverfield has reason to be much obliged to report.”

“ It goes so far as to say, that he is getting out at elbows.”

“ Then certainly report uses most elegant terms.”

“ Nay, it even asserts that Falkinor Court is on the point of being sold.”

“ I, perhaps, may know as much of that as even windy-mouth

report; and I beg to assure you that Falkinor Court *is not* on the point of being sold."

'On such small centres do great wheels turn. Lord Haverfield's resolution was made as he spoke; and the insignificant Mr. Renchor saved Falkinor Court, the hereditary seat of his ancestors, from the present shame of changing masters.'

The result is, that his Lordship forms the determination to ruralize at Falkinor Court, whither his mother and sister, with a young companion, the Reformer's daughter, accompany him. There, and in its neighbourhood, the scene of the first volume is laid. The plot consists in the designs of Miss Renchor, a finished coquette, upon the heart and hand of this gay young nobleman, who becomes her *inamorato*. The leading characters, besides the above mentioned, are, the Dowager Lady Haverfield and her beautiful daughter Aurelia, her modest companion, Clara Keith, an old valetudinarian uncle of Haverfield's, a fortune-hunting honourable, a fox-hunting squire, and the usual subordinates, except a clergyman—a judicious omission in a tale not meant to impart the graver lessons of religion. The interest of this part of the story of course arises from the skilful development and contrast of the characters. Clara Keith is recalled to London by a letter representing her father to be ill; and the second volume introduces us to the gloomy domicile of the old Reformer, the bitter, vehement democrat. The Haverfield family return to London at the proper season, his Lordship being more attentive to his parliamentary and official duties than to his private concerns. And now, a strange event takes place. Clara's father is committed to Newgate as the author of a seditious pamphlet. To obtain his deliverance, the timid girl starts into the heroine. She intercedes with Lord Haverfield—in vain. Public duty renders it impossible for him to interpose. She applies to the great patriot, Citizen Earl Hopely; but obtains from him nothing but vague promises, and finally loses his favour. At length, the mob take up the cause of John Keith, and set fire to Lord Haverfield's house. Clara has at the moment sought the roof of 'her father's persecutor', to do him service; and becomes instrumental in securing the personal safety of her benefactress, Lady Haverfield, and the family jewels. Her noble conduct meets with a reward which, as briefly stated, must seem in the highest degree improbable. After a struggle between his passion for Miss Renchor and his admiration of Clara, Lord Haverfield offers his hand, successively, to each, and is refused by both—coldly and proudly by the crafty heiress on account of his embarrassed circumstances,—gratefully and magnanimously by the Reformer's daughter, whose sense of duty leads her to sacrifice her own happiness, to attend her father into exile. John Keith dies, on the point of embarkation for America; and Clara becomes

Lady Haverfield, with a fortune settled upon her by the old valedudinarian. All this, we say, will sound very improbable and almost unnatural; but it is so naturally told and cleverly brought about, that the reader is forced to acquiesce in the arrangement as perfectly consonant at least with dramatic justice.

We must give insertion to an extract or two, in justification of the attention we have bestowed upon a work of this slight construction.

"I see," continued Sir Basil, "that he is going the road to ruin at a fool's gallop; and he will break his neck at some corner of the road before long, without doubt."

"Lord Haverfield's honour, talents, and principles, were never yet impeached!" exclaimed Aurelia, indignantly.

"Honour! It is good for nothing but to swear by. It may do well enough to garnish an oath: the honour of a lord has a pretty sound, and he may swear by it, and not be forsworn. Talents! yes, they may do with olives, wine, and walnuts, after dinner. Principles! perhaps he may wear them till they are threadbare, but he will feel obliged to throw them off at last."

Aurelia was now completely in a flame. She was about to follow Clara's example, and leave Sir Basil to rail at his pleasure, when light laughter and cheerful voices proclaimed the return of the party; and too proud to seem to run away, she waited till they approached.

Miss Renchor now turned the corner of the walk, and advanced towards them, like a triumphant queen. She was perfectly in her glory—elated, happy. Her eyes sparkled; her cheeks glowed; and she had smiles for all; but chiefly for her host.

Now, although Sir Basil had succeeded in violently offending both Clara and Aurelia, yet, through the contrariety of his nature, he was pleased with the one, and not displeased with the other. Having vented his spleen, his mind had subsided to its usual tone; and though aggravated by the coquetry of Lord Haverfield and Miss Renchor, he yet saw them approach without any violent intentions against them.

It had always been Miss Renchor's policy to conciliate Miss Falkinor; and in spite of the frequent repulses she had met with, she yet persevered in her plan. Advancing towards her, with one of her sweetest smiles, she commenced a train of gentle reproaches for her desertion.

"You do not know, my dear Miss Falkinor, how I lament to be near you, and yet not with you—how I grudge, to use a homely but expressive phrase, how I grudge your society to any other person, when I am near enough to enjoy it myself! How could you so desert us? The moment you retired, our spirits forsook us, and we were obliged to follow you, to come again within the sphere of your enlivening influence."

Now it so happens, that, while women swallow with avidity flattery from men, they turn with disgust from it when offered by their own sex; and the reason of this is not very remote. Inordinate praise from men is often acceptable, not because women believe that they really are so much above human nature, but because they take it for

the expression of that passion, which deifies its object: while they know that as it must be without this spring in their own sex, it can be but a gross attempt to blind their understandings, and is an insult to their intellect.

‘Miss Renchor had not enough tact to enter into the niceties of the human heart, though she judged of it well in the average. She was sensible that she herself was fond of flattery, and she therefore took the established rule on trust, that it is the safest and surest way to the heart; forgetting that that drug which, judiciously administered, and duly proportioned to the constitution of the patient, may be a salutary medicine, may be converted by a small mistake into a hopeless poison.

‘As it was, the attempt was wholly unsuccessful. Aurelia coloured with indignation, yet coolly replied, “I imagined my retreat wholly unobserved.”’

* * * * *

‘Miss Renchor, however, still resolving to be very gracious, took from her bosom the cluster of Pennsylvanian Clematis, and made so determined an advance towards Aurelia, that it was impossible longer to pretend avoidance, without avowing it.

“Suffer me to present these beautiful flowers to you, Miss Falkinor. Lord Haverfield, in defiance of my entreaties, would despoil the plant of its blooming treasure, and it can no where die so happily as in Miss Falkinor’s hand.”

‘So saying, Miss Renchor extended the flowers towards Aurelia, who, instead of receiving them, retreated; not with concealed, but with avowed aversion. She took out her handkerchief, raised it to her face, averted her head, and actually waved away with undisguised aversion.

“Excuse me—I cannot endure the perfume. It overpowers me. I shall faint if I do not retire.”

‘Aurelia dared not look at her brother whilst she was thus acting. Her object was to mortify Miss Renchor, and she did not care if a little of her meaning glanced on Lord Haverfield himself. Yet, still she did not like to meet his eye. Women who can flirt and give themselves airs very comfortably before half a hundred strangers or dear friends, have yet an instinctive aversion to the presence of a near male relation. The presence of a father, a husband, or a brother, is particularly disagreeable on such occasions; and coming unexpectedly may often lower the barometer of a woman’s vanity down to temperate.

‘Aurelia had effected her purpose; she had affected Miss Renchor, who coloured violently. Miss Falkinor had placed her in the most awkward predicament imaginable. Her plans of action, and motives of conduct, were opposed against each other. These unfortunate flowers had received an imaginary value from the manner in which they had been presented. They were all that the young plant had yet borne: Lord Haverfield had torn them from their stem, much to the chagrin of his gardener, who was standing by, and had put them into Miss Renchor’s hand, with a speech very gallant, very tender, and at the same time very unintelligible, as all practised love-makers

take care their speeches shall be. It was something about *odour*, and *perfection* and *Miss Renchor*, and *durability*, and *evanescence*; at any rate some sort of an illustration, or comparison. It was one of those things in which gentlemen may be very happily obscure to their own heart's content, without the smallest fear of committing themselves, as ladies can neither ask them the meaning of their words, nor find them in either Bailey or Johnson.

'All this Miss Falkinor knew; and she stood by in mischievous exultation, to see whether Miss Renchor would cast away Lord Haverfield's gift, or preferring it, force herself to retire, and so give her a fair pretence for future coldness.

'Poor Miss Renchor was now midway between Scylla and Charybdis.

'Lord Haverfield too, stood by, angry with his sister, yet not unwilling to see what would be the result of Miss Renchor's evident embarrassment and irresolution.

'The doubt was not of long duration. Miss Renchor's countenance cleared. She had devised an extrication from her difficulties.'

Vol. I. pp. 246—50; 252—56.

Our next extract will present to our readers the imprisoned Patriot.

'Mr. Keith bore this abridgment of liberty, this curtailment of free agency, with no feeling of personal regret, but with a strongly-excited indignation against those he called his persecutors. So far from suffering in mind, there was some complacency mingled with his irritation. Men suffer with good will when they know that others are admiring their fortitude and applauding their resolution; that many eyes are upon them, and many hearts are with them.

'There was a kindling in Mr. Keith's grey sunken eye, and a slight though perceptible elevation of the head, that showed there were spirit-stirring thoughts busy within. He was proud of the services which had attracted notice, and drawn upon himself the difficulties he was enduring. He was in that state of mind in which he would not have exchanged his prison for liberty.

'It was, perhaps, with some feeling of disappointment that he looked round upon a room not entirely destitute of comforts. Chains and a bundle of straw would have been more consonant with his feelings.

'He might then with better grace have exclaimed,—"Behold what I suffer for the cause of liberty!"

'On this strange species of exultation, which, however, is common to human nature, there was but one drawback, but the influence of this one was stealing upon his mind, and gradually lowering its tone of enthusiasm.

'It was Clara.—She was sitting in utter despondence upon a low stool in one corner of the room, her elbows on her knees, and her face resting on her hands. Tears, unheeded and unrestrained, were chasing each other down her face; and those occasional sobs that break at intervals after the first violence of bursting emotions had subsided, fel-

lowed each other slowly and more slowly. The light, mellowed by the many obstructions of walls and bars, streamed dimly over her, yet made sufficiently perceptible her disordered hair, her deranged dress, and her attitude of extreme dejection.

‘The feelings of the martyr were softening to those of the parent.

“Clara, Clara,” said Mr. Keith, somewhat reproachfully, “is this acting up to your principles? Is it thus you sink in the first hour of trial? Do you forget you are my daughter?”

“My tears, my misery,” murmured Clara, “shew that I do not. Could I grieve thus for any body but you?”

“But, my dear child, my own Clara, remember that the world is looking on us; let us act with some dignity; let us show some fortitude. Let it not be said, that, at the first touchstone of our principles, we desponded in their weakness. Think how our persecutors will triumph; how our enemies will exult over us; how our adversaries will plume themselves in our discomfiture! Remember that the world is noticing our slightest act.”

“He says, that the eyes of the world are on him, and he must be consistent.”

“And if that is the argument of our enemies, to support them in doing evil, how much more should the same remembrance stimulate our fortitude, to endure all they can inflict, when we know that we are suffering for nothing less than the good of our fellow beings, and for our national liberty!”

“But a *prison*”—said Clara, and she shuddered, and broke off at the word.

“Is better than a palace, when we dwell in it with a good conscience. Clara, would you have me exchange this cell for the presence chamber; or the applauses and affections of the oppressed poor for the smiles of the king who sits there?”

“No,” said Clara, “no. I do not know what I would have, or what I wish. But it would surely have been better to have left the world to its own way, and not to have interposed.”

‘A painful, a startling thought was awakened in Clara’s mind. She forgot her tears; and asked with an interest that Mr. Keith thought belonged to the question of her own personal comfort,—“Are there not multitudes of families, of respectability and honour, sharing and glorying in the sentiments for which we suffer?”

Mr. Keith hesitated, was confused, was angry. He was compelled to feel that there were not. “It is the poor who suffer most, and therefore feel the most,” he at length replied. “Those who have the good things of this life are content to keep them, at whatever price of submission and slavery. It is the poor who are unshackled in mind, and would therefore be free in body.”

“But,” said Clara, and Mr. Keith began to feel that freedom of inquiry which he had encouraged, now recoil upon himself, and calling his own judgement in question, “can that part of the system of a government be bad, which protects the property of the subject?”

“Do not talk about what you do not understand!” exclaimed Mr. Keith, adopting a mode of finishing an argument not unusual with

other men of sense besides himself, "I thought you had a heart capable of great things, and a mind large enough to receive them; but I see a bonnet and a bow are enough for you!"

'Mr. Keith was unjust, and Clara felt that he was so, and he soon became sensible of the same thing himself. Clara now was injured and indignant. Her tears were for the moment effectually stayed, and she showed her feelings by her silence.

'Another pace or two, and Mr. Keith remembered that he had not shown much enlargement of mind and heart, and he returned to the subject. "I spoke generally, Clara," said he, "perhaps too generally; for now, on after thought, there are many individuals passing in review before me, all zealous in the cause of national reform."

'*"Then,"* said Clara, *"if it were necessary, among these I might find a home where you could feel I was safely and securely deposited, until I could return to yourself?"*

'Mr. Keith walked on more hurriedly a few turns in silence. "To confess the truth, Clara, I cannot at this moment remember one of them to whom I could give my daughter in charge; I cannot but own, that there is something in most of these people, that makes it impossible I should ever entrust you with them."

'*"But then,"* said Clara, *"among the multitude of poor, I might surely find a temporary home?"*

'*"Surely, Clara, you forget that grossness of manners which makes them unfit companions for you. Could you approximate with these people? If you could, and it were possible—"* Mr. Keith's imagination seemed reverting to things forbidden; "were it possible for my buried ancestors to look down, and see their descendant thus commingling, and if in their heavenly natures they retain but a spark of their earthly feeling, surely that spark would kindle."

'*"But,"* said Clara, *"you, who have burst the shackles that so long separated man from his brother; you, who advocate the cause of universal equality, and hold that the human race are equal: admitting no distinctions in society, suffering no man to lord it over his brother; with you it would be a matter of duty, a just assertion of your principles, and their best support, to place your daughter on that equality with the humblest of our race, to which you would bend the highest. The plough that passes over the field makes no exceptions. The scythe mows down the highest blade with the lowest leaf, and it would be controverting your own arguments, denying your own assertions, falsifying your own principles, if now you were to refuse to set this last seal to the profession you have made. Would not the finger of scorn point at us, and the voice of derision follow us, were we now to swerve from the line of duty we have laid down for others to walk in? Believe me, my father, you owe it to yourself, and to the great cause in which you are embarked, to let the world see you are honest in your principles, and sincere in their practice."*

'Mr. Keith was chafed, almost beyond endurance. He bit his lip till the blood oozed from the wound. He stopped his walk, and leaned back against the wall of his prison, and spoke impatiently. "What will this world arrive at next?" he said; "people may well exclaim against its wickedness, and greybeards prophesy on its signs and won-

ders, when even children can harangue, and direct, and teach their parents!"

'Mr. Keith spoke with extreme bitterness, forgetting that this was one of the effects of his own system, although Clara had spoken with a warmth excited by her feelings and the subject, rather than with any assertion of that universal equality which Mr. Keith was always preaching.' Vol. II. pp. 62—76.

We make room for one more extract, on account of the admirable sentiments it contains.

'The necessity for further exertion ceased, and with it the capability.

'Never before, either in body or in mind, had Clara been so wretched, so distracted, so over-worn. Helpless as a child, without the power of exerting a limb of the body or a faculty of the mind—with visions of confusion and horror flitting before her disordered imagination—with a memory so impaired that not one clear recollection, one connected idea, passed before her mind; disordered, almost delirious, she laid upon the stiff row of large high uncomfortable chairs, which Mrs. Leeson's orthodox exactness never failed to range with mathematical precision against the dark-painted wainscot of the wall, and which the solitary empire she had lately exercised had left wholly undisturbed, as much to her present murmurs and regret as their usual derangement unfailingly produced. These chairs supplied the place of the ottoman or couch in more luxurious apartments, and on these Clara now lay in all the imbecility of childhood, tears streaming down her face unchecked, undried. It could not be said that she wept, for that implies a degree of positive action and consciousness, of which she was incapable: it was a state of utter listlessness, of utter exhaustion, incapacitated for the exertion even of a sob or a sigh, with the different attributes of the mind—reflection, memory, anticipation, fear, and expectation—all whirling round, and contributing to this state of morbid helplessness.

'It is in moments such as these, when life fails us, "when vain is the help of man, and vain confidence even in princes," that the true value of that high faith, our slighted privilege, will be found. Despair is a word of which the Christian knows not the meaning, feels not the power; his help never can fail, his hope never be confounded, his trust never laid low. If the pleasures of this life are, one by one, taken from him, it is but to raise his ambition to a nobler aim, to exalt his affections to a higher object. Heaven does but remove the obstacles which intercepted our hearts, does but remove the barrier that interposed between us, does but, in fact, break down the partition-walls between us, to let in its own bright, and glorious, and happy influences more directly on us. Yet we murmur and repine, when we ought to kiss the rod, knowing that "He chasteneth those he loveth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth."

'But the golden uses of adversity, Clara had not yet learned. With her, "tribulation" did not work "patience", but *impatience*, and bitterness of spirit, and self-abandonment; and that self-abandonment

which is in fact the spurning of the rein, the setting up of one's own will, in opposition to the will of Him who ruleth above.

'Unhappy Clara! Far less unhappy in the adverse circumstances which surrounded and oppressed her, than in that rebellious will which clung to its own bitterness, and refused to be comforted.

'This holy teaching Clara had yet to learn; and in the mean time, she suffered all that an ardent, an impatient, an enthusiastic temper can suffer, when it is crushed, and bruised, and broken.

'Nothing that Mrs. Leeson could say had power to rouse her—Mrs. Leeson, who stood over her, alternately lamenting her sufferings and exhaustion, and reproaching her for suffering and being exhausted. Either strain was alike disregarded.

'It was cruel in Clara, who had so lately shewn herself capable of great and generous exertion, if not purely disinterested, at least romantically so, thus obstinately to throw herself a weight and a burden upon a decrepit and helpless old woman. Nothing is in real life more cruel than this abandonment of self, when we know that the care must devolve on others, whose love, or whose duty may impel them to take the charge, though perhaps far more incompetent than ourselves.

'It may be urged, that previous exertion had indeed exhausted all Clara's bodily powers. It is true. Yet a kind word, or a rational look, would have relieved Leeson's mind from its greatest weight, would have encouraged and inspirited her exertions, and made her more competent to them.

'These Clara gave not, and Mrs. Leeson, more miserable and frightened than in any preceding moment of her life, ceased her reproaches, and with all the anxiety of real affection, continued to render her every possible service. She removed the shattered bonnet; and though her alarm was every moment increasing, at sight of the blood and bruises which more plainly appeared, she proceeded to wash away the marks of warfare as far as ablution could remove them, to foment her bruises, and bind up her wounds.

'All this was kindly done; yet Clara, in this respect partaking largely of the character of a heroine, continued thankless and silent. Nay, her mind was so tinctured with that selfishness of suffering, so possessed with ingratitude, that she would rather have continued the same miserable object outwardly as inwardly.'

Vol. III. pp. 119—125.

The sad wisdom gained by much converse with the world within and the world without us, speaks in these paragraphs; and it is by passages such as these that the serious purpose and true character of the Writer are betrayed. Of a similar kind is the remark we meet with in a subsequent page.

'The very obligations that should have excited and warmed her regard, nay, all that should have increased it, had diminished it. Miss Falkinor could love warmly where she was conferring favours, but not so warmly where she was receiving them. We are sorry to shew Miss Falkinor in so disadvantageous a point of view; and still more sorry to say, it is human nature.'

Our readers will perceive that we have formed no mean estimate of the talent which this work displays, and that we consider it as having a far more instructive tendency than many works of fiction which more ostensibly hold forth their moral as an apology for the tale. The Writer is certainly no novice. We might have pointed out a few improbabilities in the conduct of the story, but these we leave it to the ingenuity of the reader to discover. The dramatic spirit with which the tale is acted, rather than recited, is admirable; and the moral reflections, which are sparingly introduced, are never forced, but seem as natural as they are judicious, and always tell. With regard to our Author's political notions, they are not quite so aristocratical at the bottom, we suspect, as they may seem. At all events, we forgive them for Clara's sake.

Art. IV. *Lectures on the Inspiration of the Scriptures.* By Leonard Woods, D.D. Abbot Professor of Christian Theology, in the Theological Seminary, Andover. 12mo. pp. 152. Andover, (Massachusetts) 1829. (Holdsworth and Ball, London.)

PROFESSOR Woods is already known to our readers, as the Author of Letters addressed to Dr. N. W. Taylor, on the subject of the Divine Permission of Sin*. The present work, upon a subject of fundamental importance, more frequently evaded than fully and satisfactorily treated, will amply confirm the favourable impression of his ability those Letters will have produced, and cannot fail to procure for him the cordial thanks of the Christian public in both hemispheres.

There are two questions connected with the subject of Inspiration; a question of fact, and a question of philosophy. The former may be simply expressed in this shape: Were the Scriptures given by inspiration of God? The latter embraces a manifold inquiry respecting the mode, nature, and degree of Inspiration. The two questions are obviously distinct; and it would be well if they could be kept separate. What have plain believers to do with the philosophical question, it may be asked? Not much, if they could but think so. The fact is, however, that a much larger portion than is generally imagined, of the reasoning and disputing that have been employed on the subject of Inspiration, as well as of the intrinsic difficulty of the inquiry, is of a metaphysical nature, belonging to Intellectual Philosophy, rather than to Theology.

The question of fact must be decided by an appeal to historic

* Eclect. March; 1832. Art. II.

evidence. The inspiration of the prophets and of the apostles, is an historical fact, attested by the prophecies they spake, and by the miracles which they wrought. The sacred writers claimed for what they spake and wrote, the authority of Inspiration; and that claim was originally admitted on the ground of the credentials with which they were furnished. We do not say that the Scriptures prove their own inspiration simply by asserting it: the historical certainty of their inspiration is to be inferred, partly from the prophecies which have been fulfilled since they were written, and partly as a necessary deduction from the credibility of the record. The argument is not as if we should say, The apostles say they were inspired, therefore they were so; but the apostles proved by miraculous credentials that they were inspired, and therefore they must be believed when they affirm the inspiration and authority of what they have been led to write for the use of the Christian church. To admit the fact of the miracles they wrought, and to deny their inspiration, would be an absurd contradiction. If the history is true, their pretensions are established. The genuineness and authenticity of the writing being proved, its infallible authority results from the attested character of the author, and the attested credibility and veracity of his own declarations.

With regard to the various distinctions that have been made as to the kinds and degrees of inspiration afforded to the respective writers, it ought, as Dr. Woods remarks, to be remembered, that the sacred writers themselves no where make any such distinction. Yet, if it were necessary that we should distinguish the influence of superintendency from the influence of suggestion, inspiration of thoughts from inspiration of language, would they not have clearly taught and enabled us to make such distinctions? That they have not done so, affords a strong presumption that such distinctions are not simply unnecessary, but, at the bottom, unmeaning. That there are different kinds, or measures of Inspiration, must, however, be acknowledged. There is a sense in which it may be truly said, that every real Christian is inspired: he is "taught of God;" he is "led by the Spirit," he is a temple of the Holy Spirit. Wisdom is the result of inspiration: "If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God." "The meek will he guide in judgement." The reasonableness of prayer is built upon the belief that "every good gift" of an intellectual or moral kind "is from above, coming down from the Father of lights;" which implies a direct inspiration. Nor can we doubt that many writings by which the Church has been edified, have been dictated by a wisdom thus inspired.

Wherein, then, does this ordinary inspiration differ, it may be asked, from the extraordinary inspiration promised by our Lord to his apostles, and claimed by them? In three respects, we conceive. First, it was strictly miraculous, sensibly and evidently

supernatural, as respects both the knowledge imparted to the apostles, and the faculties with which they were endowed. Unlearned men became suddenly learned: some poor fishermen became suddenly possessed of new powers of mind, and astonished their countrymen by appearing in a new character. Under this miraculous influence, they at once attained, without the means of acquisition, that knowledge and wisdom which, in others, are the slow result of painful application. And more than this; the knowledge was new, underived from any pre-existing materials, strictly original in its character, at variance with their own preconceived notions and prejudices; and so complete, that to what they were thus at once and simultaneously qualified to teach, nothing has since been added. The Christian doctrine is found entire in the writings of the New Testament, and is unsusceptible of addition. The matter of revelation is thus palpably distinguished from all the results of human discovery. Secondly, as the inspiration was miraculous in being thus independent of means, and clearly distinguishable from the natural endowments upon which it was superinduced, so it was plenary in its degree, and constant in its operation. Inspiration visits the minds of others: it dwelt in the apostles, as a permanent attribute. Had they been only occasionally inspired, they would still have been fallible, nor could we have any certain assurance that all which they wrote was Divinely inspired. The apostolic inspiration partook not of the character of sudden excitement, like that by which the prophets seem to have been visited, when, transported beyond themselves, they spoke predictions the import of which they did not fully comprehend. The inspiration under which the apostles taught and wrote, pervaded their memory, their judgement, and every faculty of their mind,—so as to ‘bring all things’ to their remembrance’ that related to the Christian doctrine, and to impart to their judgement an infallible certainty. Thirdly, the apostolic inspiration was distinguished from ordinary inspiration by its evidence. Suppose the case, that the same degree of inspiration that dwelt in the apostles, could now be attained by prayer, or that it was suddenly conferred upon any individual, before that inspired man could claim to be listened to with the deference due to Divine authority, he must produce his credentials, and they must be of no doubtful kind. Miracles are the seal of Revelation; and they have ceased, because no new doctrine remains to be revealed. A consideration which ought to preclude the expectation of the revival of miraculous gifts in the Church, unless we are looking for a new gospel, or an authoritative addition to the Rule of Faith.

In these respects, then, the Inspiration under which the writings of the New Testament were dictated, was peculiar, plenary, and authoritative; and upon these grounds we may safely

conclude with Dr. Woods, that, agreeably to the views which the Scripture itself expresses, 'the sacred writers were so guided by 'the Divine Spirit, that, in every part of their work, they were 'rendered infallible, and wrote just what God willed they should 'write; so that the sacred volume entirely answers to the mind 'of God, and has nothing, either as to matter or form, which he 'did not see to be suited to the great object of a Divine Revelation.' Thus, the Christian Church is "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets."

Now when we proceed to inquire whether this supernatural guidance partook of the nature of Divine superintendency or of Divine suggestion, we are losing sight of the question of fact, and are inquiring into the *manner* of the Divine operation, the mode of inspiration. This inquiry is more curious than important. 'Some have supposed', Dr. Woods remarks, 'that the influence which inspired men had, related exclusively to the 'thoughts or conceptions of their own minds. But this supposition seems to me not accordant with what the inspired writers 'themselves advance on the subject. Far be it from me to attempt an explanation of *the specific mode* of the Divine agency 'in the work of inspiration. But, as the writers of the Scripture 'no where limit the Divine influence which they enjoyed, to the 'conceptions of their own minds, neither would I do it.' (p. 92.) The judicious character of the Author's statements and reasonings will be evident in these few sentences. Besides, he adds, 'the Divine influence which the Prophets and the Apostles enjoyed, must have pertained, in some way, to the manner in 'which they *communicated* Divine truth.' It could not, therefore, relate exclusively to their conceptions of truth. After combating some of the chief objections which have been urged against the opinion, that Divine Inspiration had a respect to language, Dr. W. thus sums up the evidence in favour of a verbal Inspiration.

'*First.* The apostles were the subjects of such a divine inspiration as enabled them to speak *with other tongues*. Here, as I have already remarked, *inspiration related directly to language*.

'*Secondly.* It is the opinion of most writers, that, in some instances, inspired men had not in their own minds a clear understanding of the things which they spake or wrote. One instance of this commonly referred to, is the case of Daniel, who heard and repeated what the Angel said, though he did not understand it. Dan. xii. 7—9. This has also been thought to be in some measure the case with the prophets referred to, 1 Peter i. 10—12. And is there not reason to think this may have been the case with many of the prophetic representations contained in the Psalms, and many of the symbolic rites of the Mosaic institute? Various matters are found in the Old Testament, which were not intended so much for the benefit of the writers, or their contemporaries, as for the benefit of future ages. And this might have

been a sufficient reason why they should be left without a clear understanding of the things which they wrote. In such cases, if the opinion above stated is correct, inspired men were led to make use of expressions, the meaning of which they did not fully understand. And according to this view, it would seem that the teaching of the Spirit which they enjoyed, must have related rather to the *words*, than to the *sense*.

' *Thirdly*. Those who deny that the divine influence afforded to the sacred writers had any respect to language, can find no support in the texts which most directly relate to the subject of inspiration. And it is surely in such texts, if any where, that we should suppose they would find support.

' The passage, 2 Pet. i. 21, is a remarkable one. It asserts that "holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." There is surely nothing here, which limits the divine influence to the conceptions of their minds. They were moved by the Holy Ghost to *speak* or *write*. 2 Tim. iii. 16. "All Scripture is divinely inspired." Does this text afford any proof that the divine influence granted to the inspired penmen, was confined to their inward conceptions, and had no respect whatever to the manner in which they expressed their conceptions? What is *Scripture*? Is it divine truth *conceived* in the *mind*, or divine truth *written*?

' In Heb. i. 1, it is said, that "God *spake* to the fathers by the prophets." Does this afford any proof, that the divine guidance which the prophets enjoyed, related exclusively to the conceptions of their own minds, and had no respect to the manner in which they communicated those conceptions? Must we not rather think the meaning to be, that God influenced the prophets to *utter*, or *make known* important truths? And how could they do this, except by the use of proper words?

' I have argued in favour of the inspiration of the Apostles, from their commission. They were sent by Christ to *teach the truths of religion in his stead*. It was an arduous work, and in the execution of it, they needed and enjoyed much divine assistance. But forming right conceptions of Christianity in their own minds, was not the great work assigned to the apostles. If the divine assistance reached only to this, it reached only to that which concerned them as *private men*, and which they might have possessed, though they had never been commissioned to teach others. As *apostles*, they were to preach the Gospel to all who could be brought to hear it, and to make a record of divine truth for the benefit of future ages. Now is it at all reasonable to suppose, that the divine assistance afforded them had no respect to their main business, and that, in the momentous and difficult work of *communicating* the truths of religion, either orally, or by writing, they were left to themselves, and so exposed to all the errors and inadvertencies of uninspired men?

' But our reasoning does not stop here. For that divine assistance, which we might reasonably suppose would have been granted to the apostles in the work of *teaching* divine truth, is the very thing which Christ promised them in the texts before cited. I shall refer only to Matt. x. 19, 20: "When they shall deliver you up, take no thought *how* or *what* ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in the same hour

what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you." This promise, as Knapp understands it, implies, that "divine assistance should extend not only to *what* they should say, but to the *manner* in which they should say it." It is not, however, to be understood as implying, that the apostles were not rational and voluntary agents in the discharge of their office. But it implies that, in consequence of the influence of the Spirit to be exercised over them, they should say what God would have them to say, without any liability to mistake, either as to matter or manner.

' From the above cited promise, taken in connexion with the instances of its accomplishment which are recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, it becomes evident, that *God may exert his highest influence upon his servants, so as completely to guide them in thought and in utterance, in regard to subjects which lie chiefly within the province of their natural faculties.* For in those speeches of the apostles which are left on record, we find that most of the things which they declared, were things which, for aught that appears, they might have known, and might have expressed to others, in the natural exercise of their own faculties. This principle being admitted, and kept steadily in view, will relieve us of many difficulties in regard to the doctrine of inspiration.

' The passage, 1 Cor. ii. 12, 13, already cited as proof of the inspiration of the apostles, is very far from favouring the opinion, that inspiration had no respect whatever to their language, or that it related *exclusively* to their thoughts. "Which things we speak, *not in the words* which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth." The Apostle avoided the style and the manner of teaching which prevailed among the wise men of Greece, and made use of a style which corresponded with the nature of his subject, and the end he had in view. And this, he tells us, he did, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. His language, or manner of teaching, was the thing to which the divine influence imparted to him particularly referred. Storr and Flatt give the following interpretation of this text: "Paul," they say, "asserts that the doctrines of Christianity were revealed to him by the Almighty agency of God himself; and finally, that the inspiration of the divine Spirit extended even to his *words*, and to all his *exhibitions* of revealed truths." They add, that "Paul clearly distinguishes between the doctrine itself, and the manner in which it is communicated."

' I quote the following passages from the same learned and judicious authors, as a further illustration of the views which have been exhibited in this discussion.

' "The apostles doubtless thought for themselves; that is, exercised their natural faculties, and communicated their own thoughts, both in their oral and written instructions. Still, their instructions are to be considered rather the instructions of God, than of the apostles: for the substance or matter of them was, for the most part, communicated to them, if not at the moment when they were speaking or writing, yet previously, either by Christ during his abode with them on earth, or by the Spirit of God. Moreover, this perpetual coadjutor exercised a constant superintendence over all their communications, both oral and

written ; and where any thing had escaped their memory, recalled it ; and where there was ignorance or error in their views, afforded them the necessary instruction ; thus preventing the omission of any thing which the Spirit of God would have them communicate, and guarding them effectually against imperfect or erroneous exhibitions of those truths which they had received from the Lord."—"As the apostles were to be infallible teachers, and their instructions to be received as coming from God,—to ensure *perfect accuracy in their communications*, the superintending influence of the Spirit might be necessary, even when they were communicating doctrines which had been revealed to them at a former period, or which they had learned in some other way."—"By the Spirit of God, their inseparable assistant, the apostles were preserved from *adullerating* the revelations which they received from God. The Spirit, for example, prevented them from using *expressions* suggested by the additions which their reasonings might make to the revelations they received from God. He excited in them a suspicion of all such ideas as originated from themselves, and thus led them to select other *expressions*, which, while they accorded with their own ideas and habits of expression, harmonized perfectly with the truth, and with the purposes of the divine Spirit. In this way it may be seen that, while the Spirit of God prevented any false propositions or expressions from escaping them, opportunity was afforded, even in the communication of truths immediately inspired, for each Apostle to manifest that peculiarity of thought and expression, by which he was distinguished from others."

'If, after all, it should be thought by any to be an objection to the views I have expressed, that there is no appearance of any thing superhuman, or preternatural, in the language of Scripture ; I would ask, what appearance of this there could be, on the supposition that the Divine Spirit actually superintended, or even prompted, the language employed. The language, in order to answer the end, must still be human. The modes of speech, the figures, and every thing relating to the style, must be conformed to common usage. They must be so, even if God himself should make a communication *directly*, by uttering a voice from heaven. Such a direct communication he actually made in the testimony he gave to Christ at his baptism. And he made a direct communication in another form, when he wrote the ten commandments on tables of stone. And yet, in both of these, the language was, in all respects, according to common usage. Why then should it not be so, where he makes a communication through human agency ? Why should we suppose he would depart from the common modes of speech ? And admitting that the common modes of speech are used, why should we suppose that God would set aside the natural powers of the writers, and would make thoughts and words for them, without any use of their minds, or their organs of speech ? Far be it from us to entertain so strange and senseless an imagination.'

pp. 99—104.

We have never before seen this view of the subject so forcibly put and so ably supported ; and we feel persuaded that our readers will peruse these observations with equal pleasure and profit.

Valuable and satisfactory, however, as a refutation of the error they are meant to expose, they must be considered as relating to the *mode* of the Divine agency, rather than to the simple question of fact. Nor do we feel sure that the distinction between an inspiration of conceptions and an inspiration of words, is so important as it may at first sight appear, or that it is philosophically sound. The connexion between *distinct* conceptions and words is so close, we think so much through the medium of language, and inspired thoughts would so certainly and infallibly find appropriate utterance, that it must come to much the same thing, whether we believe the words to be the matter of inspiration or simply governed by it. The supposition that error or inadvertency might attend the *communication* of the truths of religion, if the Divine influence related only to the conceptions of the speaker or writer, has no solid foundation: the case would still be impossible. When men fail to make themselves understood, or fall into verbal error, the defect is always to be traced up to a deficiency of clearness or accuracy in their conceptions at the time. The only question of real importance is, Were the Apostles *constantly* under the guidance of Inspiration in what they taught? Inadvertency of expression would imply the suspension of that guidance. That the inspiration was, if we may so speak, virtually verbal, it would be wholly unreasonable to deny.

More than this, however, is contended for by many persons, who, by verbal and plenary inspiration, would have us understand the actual dictation, *ipsissimis verbis*, to the inspired writers, of every word contained in the Old and New Testaments. Instead of holy men speaking as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, the abettors of this notion represent them as merely reciting or recording the words spoken to them by the Holy Ghost. Instead of Scripture being *θεόπνευστος*, Divinely inspired, this notion would make it a verbal communication, from first to last, independent of the mind of the writers;—not inspired, but dictated. This opinion ill accords either with Scripture or with fact. But waiving the objections which lie against this extreme representation,—a representation which, while it seems to exalt the Bible as the word of God, detracts from the qualifications of the Apostles as the depositaries of the heavenly knowledge,—we would especially draw attention to this point; that those who so peremptorily insist upon a Verbal Inspiration of this description, are, after all, contending not for the doctrine of Inspiration, but merely for *their own explanation* of the specific *mode* of the Divine agency in the work of inspiration. In other words, they are mixing up with an article of faith, a philosophical hypothesis. Dr. Woods's reasoning affords no support or countenance to the dogma referred to.

So far as the mode of the Divine agency can be ascertained from the Scriptures, it has been various and multiform. There have been "diversities of operations"; and God has spoken "in divers manners" *. The Jewish rabbies make four degrees of prophetic inspiration, of which the highest is the *gradus Moisaicus* or *ruach hakkodesh*; the lowest degree is called *bath col*†. And they held, that the same prophet did not always prophesy in the same degree. All visions were held to be 'perfect prophecy'; but with regard to many of the songs found in the writings of the prophets, they considered them as 'ordered or dictated by the sacred penmen themselves, together with the superintendency of the Holy Spirit.'‡ And this Divine inspiration, they distinguished from the higher kind which was technically called prophecy. Abarbanel moreover thus distinguishes between the inspiration of Moses and that of the Prophets: 'The prophets did not prophesy in the same manner as Moses did; for he prophesied from God immediately, from whom he received not only the prophesy, but the very words and phrases; and accordingly as he heard them, so he wrote them in the book of the law, in the very same words which he heard from God. But, as for the rest of the prophets, they beheld in their visions the things themselves which God made known to them, and both declared and expressed them in their own phraseology.'§ The accuracy of this distinction, (invented, probably, for the sake of exalting the pre-eminence of the great Legislator of Israel,) may justly be questioned; since many of the Prophets appear to have received Divine communications *totidem verbis*, as Moses did the Decalogue, and probably by the same angelic medium. And the Talmudists maintain 'true prophecy' to have been communicated by angels. But whatever may be thought of the propriety of these Rabbinical distinctions, they must be admitted to be not wholly without foundation, as regards the different mode of the Divine influence, and the varied character of the specific instrumentality employed. To this source we may trace the analogous distinction insisted upon by Christian divines, between the inspiration of superintendence and that of suggestion. According to this view of the subject, however, the phrase *theopneustos—divinitus inspirata*,—would by no means intimate the highest kind of prophetic inspiration; nor would what the Apostle predicates of the profitableness of inspired writings adequately express the supreme authority and ultimate purpose of Divine Revelation.

* 1 Cor. xii. 6. Heb. i. 1.

† See John Smith's "Select Discourses", 8vo., p. 194.

‡ Ibid. p. 254.

§ Ibid. p. 296.

Superintendence and suggestion are words expressive of different modes of Divine inspiration ; but their import is somewhat vague, and their application equivocal. Under the former phrase, nothing more may be meant than a Providential superintendence, or that common inspiration which is the fountain of all holy thoughts, and which directs all pious and upright endeavours. Many persons who in terms maintain the equal inspiration of all parts of Holy Writ, in explaining their ideas of inspiration, divest it altogether of a miraculous or prophetic character. Divine ' assistance ' is what every devout minister or writer invokes, and believes that he receives. Yet, in the following paragraphs, Dr. Woods uses language which would seem to imply, that such assistance only was required or enjoyed by some of the Old Testament writers.

' The inspiration of a writer implies, that the instruction which he communicates is true. The author of the book of Job wished to shew, how a good man may be affected by long-continued afflictions ; what mistakes he may make in judging of the divine administration ; what impatience he may indulge ; what a wrong construction others may put upon the conduct of God towards him ; what gracious methods God may take to instruct and humble him ; and how happy, in the end, is the effect of divine chastisements on the man who is upright in heart, and who enjoys divine teaching. The Holy Spirit prompted the writer to aim at these important ends, and, with a view to their accomplishment, to write a sacred poem, consisting chiefly of a dialogue between Job and his three friends, and of a solemn address to Job from the Creator and Sovereign of the world. The inspired writer was enabled to frame such a dialogue, and such an address from God, as should be agreeable to nature and truth, and convey with clearness and force, the most important knowledge respecting God and man. This is what I mean, when I say, the Book of Job was divinely inspired.

' As another example, take the Proverbs of Solomon. God saw it to be necessary to the highest improvement of men, that they should have, for constant use, a collection of *maxims*, or *wise practical sayings*, resulting from observation and experience. This was one of the modes of instruction, which God judged to be important to our welfare. He therefore moved and assisted Solomon to write a book of Proverbs, the greater part of which were probably suggested by his own experience, though some of them were doubtless in common use before. But in whatever way he became furnished with these maxims of divine truth, he selected and wrote them under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

' As to the Prophets, the nature of the subject shews, that the Spirit of God not only guided them in committing their predictions to writing, but in a supernatural way made them acquainted with those events to which their predictions related.

' In short, whether the writer was a prophet, an historian, or a teacher in any other form, the Divine Spirit assisted him to perform

his work ;—that assistance always having been adapted to the nature and circumstances of what the writer was to execute.' pp. 107, 108.

It is thus that writers of unquestioned orthodoxy, when they come to apply their notions and definitions of inspiration to the hagiographa of the Old Testament, reduce the nature of inspiration to such a degree of Divine assistance, as it is supposed the writer might need. Of what assistance, then, it might be asked, did the Author of the book of Esther stand in need? If this were all that is meant by a book's being divinely inspired, the Bible assuredly would not be the only divinely inspired book.

'When we say, the Scriptures are divinely inspired, our meaning is,' says Dr. Woods, 'that the Divine Spirit guided the writers.' *Our meaning goes very far beyond this.* We understand that the prophets and apostles were not merely prompted, and guided, and assisted, but specially commissioned, and miraculously qualified, to communicate the knowledge contained in the holy writings, and that of their commission and authority they were enabled to give such evidence as renders it impiety to doubt their claims. In what way their knowledge was suggested to their own minds, or *how* they were inspired, is nothing to us. We have only to do with the fact, and with its evidence. To speak of their requiring this sort of inspiration to record historical facts, and that sort to deliver doctrines and precepts, and a third sort to announce predictions, and a fourth sort to compose sacred hymns, appears to us solemn trifling. We admit, there are various degrees and kinds of inspiration; but we do not admit that those various kinds and degrees can belong to the same inspired individual; or that inspiration was imparted from time to time as it was needed, to make up the requisite competency for a particular work, and that we are to judge by the writing, what sort or degree of Divine assistance it required to produce it. We have no idea of bringing inspiration in this way to the test of a barometer. We conceive that the highest kind of inspiration was possessed by the apostles, and that this included every lower degree; that it was constant, not occasional, rendering them always infallible; that it was strictly supernatural; that, as such, it not only implies the truth of what they have communicated, but invests it with Divine authority. We say, the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Epistles to the Romans are divinely inspired, not because the Holy Spirit guided the evangelist and assisted the apostle, but because St. Matthew and St. Paul were endowed with plenary inspiration, and gave satisfactory evidence of their divine commission. In the same way, the inspiration of the books of Moses is attested by his Divine legation, and that of the prophetic books by the miraculous signature of the spirit of prophecy. If there is any book of the Old Testament which cannot be proved

to have been written by a person prophetically inspired, we should deem it safer to content ourselves with the ample proofs we have of its authenticity, genuineness, and 'profitableness,' and of its Divine sanction, than to involve the whole subject of inspiration in confusion and ambiguity.

The following remarks are well deserving of attention.

'We are not to assume, that the influence of inspiration upon the writers of Scripture *was confined to the revelation of new truths.*

'In many instances, it may be as suitable and important that God should influence his servants to declare old truths as new ones, provided those old truths are as valuable as new ones, and as necessary to promote the best interests of man. Is not the supposition perfectly reasonable, that God may have as real an agency in moving his prophets to write truths with which they were before acquainted, and in affording them such guidance as to secure them against all fallibility, and render their communications exactly agreeable to his will, as in enabling them to write truths never before made known? Christ promised to give his apostles a heavenly Teacher, who should enable them rightly to perform every part of their office, and, among other things, *to assist their memories.* It seems to have been a principal object of that promised assistance of the Spirit, so to guide the apostles, that they should truly recollect the things which they had before seen and heard, and should infallibly, and in the best manner, communicate them, or necessary parts of them, both orally and by writing, for the benefit of others.

'This principle, if well fixed in your minds, will be of great use in relieving you from needless difficulties respecting the inspiration of various parts of the Bible. There is much reason to think that the historical books of the Old Testament, generally, were composed either from traditions with which the writers were familiar, or from pre-existent records. But what difficulty can this circumstance occasion, in regard to their inspiration? Was it not important that the Holy Spirit should assist the memories and other faculties of the writers, in making a suitable record of that with which they were already acquainted? Was it not important that he should so influence and guide them, that they should write *just so much, and in just such a manner,* as he saw to be best adapted to answer the ends of revelation? And what reason have we to suppose that they would ever have done all this, without divine guidance? If we examine the public addresses of the apostles which are recorded in the Scriptures, we shall find they were composed, for the most part, of facts, and arguments, and conclusions, which, in all probability, had been familiar to the apostles before. Be it so. Is there any difficulty in supposing that, in all such cases, the divine Spirit afforded them such direction, that they judged, with infallible wisdom, what was proper to be said, and spoke according to the will of God? Was not the Spirit promised for this very purpose? "Take no thought *how* or *what* ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that same hour *what* ye shall speak. For it is not *you* that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." The influence of the Spirit here promised, was not to be

limited to the revelation of things before unknown. He was to guide them in giving their testimony to truths which they had before learned, and to enable them to do it without any liability to error. He was to teach them both "*how* and *what* they should speak," in reference to any portion of divine truth which the occasion might demand. The same was necessary as to all parts of Scripture. For what human wisdom would be competent to determine, as divine wisdom does, what and how men should write for the benefit of all future ages? How widely different would be the judgement of any man now living, from the wisdom which presided over the writing of the Scriptures! If left to form an opinion on the subject, independently of what we know to be the decision of divine wisdom, would not every man think that various things included in the sacred volume, ought to have been omitted? As an instance, I might mention those naked histories of human weakness, folly, and impurity, at which common decency blushes, and which infidelity has so often made the subject of profane ridicule. God, who perfectly knows the nature of man, and all his wants and dangers, and how to promote his eternal interests in the best manner, doubtless saw that important ends would be answered by those parts of Scripture which we should have thought least calculated to do good. And I am fully persuaded that we can, in no way, account satisfactorily for the writing of *such a book, by such men, or by any men*, without the supposition of a special divine interference.' pp. 21—24.

Upon the whole, we have been much pleased with this little treatise, and cordially recommend it to the perusal of our readers. At the same time, we must respectfully press the consideration of the suggestions we have offered, upon those readers best competent to follow out the inquiry. We should to be glad to see a philosophical Essay on Divine Inspiration in its widest sense, from the pen of some such writer (would there were many such!) as the Author of "*Saturday Evening*." But the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures is a subject that ought to be kept distinct from all such inquiries; and there is still wanted a work that should place the historic *evidence* of its plenary and miraculous nature in the clearest and strongest light.

Art. V. *Indian Recollections*. By J. Statham. 12mo, pp. 468. Price 7s. 6d. London, 1832.

MR. Statham must be well known by name to many of our readers, as having for many years laboured as a missionary in connexion with the Baptist Mission at Calcutta. He has published these *Indian Recollections*, in the hope of contributing to promote a warmer interest in the minds of his readers on behalf of the Missionary cause and India. The work, as the title will indicate, is desultory and miscellaneous, but will be found very amusing; and will afford to general readers much acceptable and

instructive information respecting the state of manners and customs in India. Upon some points, it will also supply a correction of mistakes and inaccuracies occurring in works of higher pretensions. The Author's appeal on behalf of the Indo British natives of our Eastern empire is especially deserving of attention. Many of this proscribed class 'are descended from, and bear the names of some of the best English families, and have received the most liberal education in England.'

'Yet, these persons, the actual descendants of some of the greatest men who have ruled our territories in the East, are prohibited from entering either the military or civil service of the Honourable Company. Talents and courage are abundantly found among them; and they bitterly feel the wrong which British pride inflicts; and I believe, that, unless a tone of conciliation be used towards them, they will become the rulers of British India. There have been instances where, notwithstanding these cruel proscriptions, the energy of their minds has triumphed over every obstacle, and they have shone forth as comets in their devious courses amidst the regular orbits of the privileged Europeans around them. Colonel Skinner, for instance, though excluded, owing to his descent from a native mother, from serving in the East India Company's regular army, raised a corps of 8000 men, and distinguished himself in an eminent manner during a late war. For his intrepid and disinterested conduct, although rejected by the Company's service, he earned for himself the rank of a Lieutenant-Colonel in the King's Service, and obtained the cross of a Commander of the Bath. I have had many of their youth beneath my care, and can fully testify, that, in all particulars, as it regards mental energy, they are able to cope with our British youth: in fact, the first boys of all the classes in the different schools in Calcutta, were invariably Indo-Britons. Hitherto, the greater number of the country-born young men have been employed as writers in the various offices of government, the warehouses of merchants, and offices of attorneys, &c.; but of late years, their rapidly increasing number has caused a great deal of anxiety among parents, how their sons should get employment.' . . . 'It is certain that, from their rapid increase, they will soon unavoidably become either a dangerous foe to the British Government, or a powerful auxiliary and sure prop to the interests of Great Britain in the East; and this will rest on the manner in which they are treated when the Honourable Company's charter shall be renewed.' pp. 39—42.

Mr. Statham expresses his conviction, that, 'at a future, yet not remote period,' the Indo-Britons will become the effective instruments of evangelizing India. The following remarks, it would be injustice to suppress, but we must refrain from comment.

'The success which has attended the efforts of our Missionaries, although not so great as many sanguine minds have expected, yet has been much greater than those persons who are intimately acquainted with the Hindoo and Mussulman inhabitants of India could have

ventured some thirty years ago to have anticipated, and, I think, fully equivalent (humanly speaking) to the means used, when we consider the handful of men who have gone forth as the champions of the cross against the hosts of the mighty in that land of caste and prejudice. When I first visited Calcutta, native female schools had not fully been established, and those for boys were very few and badly conducted. When I say native female schools were not fully established, I must not fail to mention that a society of ladies was then formed for the establishment of such schools, and I believe more than one did exist; and as I have very frequently heard the meed of praise bestowed on parties who certainly are not entitled to the smallest share as it regards the originating of female native schools, I shall avail myself of this medium for correcting those misstatements which have gone abroad; and at the same time can but express my astonishment at the want of candour in several recent publications on that point, and others connected with the exertions of Missionaries out of the pale of the Establishment; neither is this want of candour a recent fault only. The memoirs of that excellent man, Henry Martyn, whose memory will ever be dear to the friends of the cause of Missions, lamentably manifest the same total want of candour and catholicity. We are told of the Pagan temple on the premises of the Rev. D. Brown, at Serampore, in which the pious Martyn spent so many hallowed hours; but his companions in those devotional exercises within its walls are studiously kept out of sight—and who were they? Chaplains of the Honourable Company? No; but Baptist Missionaries; with them he communed in spirit and truth: nor was he ashamed to own they were amongst his dearest friends, or to call them brethren. In the journal of Bishop Heber, the mention of every thing “sectarian” is studiously avoided, except a slight notice of the Serampore Missionaries, and Mr. Leslie, of Monghyr; the latter evidently introduced to make way for a false accusation against John Chamberlain, which had been retailed to the worthy Bishop by some enemy to the cause of evangelical truth, of whom hundreds are to be found amongst the dependents on the Company’s treasury. What end this concealment of facts, or contempt of fellow labourers in the vineyard of the great Lord, is designed to answer, I cannot conceive. No person can deny, (who is conversant with India,) that the Missionaries have, by the blessing of Almighty God, done great things towards the establishment of Christianity, inasmuch as hundreds of the natives, comprising many rich and influential Brahmins amongst the Hindoos, and Monshees amongst the Mussulmans, have voluntarily renounced their religions, and embraced Christianity. These men could not have been influenced by interested motives, as their families and prospects have alike been sacrificed, and consequently the Christian religion has obtained a signal triumph; their conduct also having operated as a powerful stimulus on the minds of the people generally to follow their example; and I believe I speak correctly, when I say, that by the unremitting labours of Missionaries, more has been done towards the progress of the Gospel in India, than by the efforts of any other persons, from the first establishment of the Honourable Company to the present moment. Still, at the same time, I would not detract from the merit due to a Brown, Buchanan,

Martyn, Corrie, Thomason, and many others—men of God, who have been, and still are, an honour to the Establishment; only let others be considered as aiding in the great work, although not clothed in exactly the same garb. But to return: Mrs. Wilson has often received the credit of establishing female schools for natives: this she is not entitled to, as they were in full operation when she arrived. The state of the case is this: the idea originated with some young ladies, under the tuition of the Baptist Missionaries' wives, in the Circular Road; and what was designated the "Calcutta Female Juvenile Society, for the Education of Native Females," was instituted there. I was present at their second anniversary, which was holden in the school-room at Mrs. Lawson's, on the 14th Dec. 1821. This meeting was a very interesting one, as it was the first time the practicability of establishing female native schools could be spoken of with any degree of certainty. I seconded the first resolution, of which I have a copy: it was this—"That the Report be received, and with a view to demonstrate the practicability of native female education in India, and to encourage to more general exertion in attempting it, that it be printed under the direction of the Committee." Neither were the operations and success of this little Society unknown to the members of the Establishment, as the last resolution was moved by the much esteemed Rev. Mr. (now Archdeacon) Corrie.' pp. 49—53.

Among the miscellaneous observations occur some interesting illustrations of Scripture allusions. We select a few specimens.

'The practice which prevails of waiting at the gate till the owner of the house comes out, forcibly reminded me of Prov. viii. 34. "*Blessed is the man that heareth me, watching daily at my gates, waiting at the posts of my doors;*" and of Luke xvi. 20. "*And there was a certain beggar, named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores.*" Sometimes, as I came out at the gates, written petitions would be thrust into my palanquin; and at other times, suppliants would make the most abject prostrations, in order to gain the fulfilment of their wishes. Many of these petitions prayed for my interest to be exerted for procuring situations for the applicants; others for admission of the petitioners, or their relatives, into the school, in which the native youth were instructed in the English language; and many for pecuniary relief.' p. 113.

'I would here mention a circumstance as illustrative of 1 Kings xviii. 46. "And the hand of the Lord was on Elijah: and he girded up his loins, and ran before Ahab to the entrance of Jezreel."

'It is a well known fact, that, if the natives of India have any object of gain in view, they will spare no mark of respect towards the person by whose instrumentality they hope to obtain it.

'Thus, on the dismissal from office of the Jemadar of a Thannah (gaol), in a village a few miles distant from the place where I resided, a very respectable native waited upon me and solicited my recommendation to the magistrate of the district, as a fit person to fill the vacant situation. Knowing him to be greatly superior in many respects to the generality of the natives, I promised that, when I had an interview with the magistrate, which would be in a few days, I would

speak a word in his behalf. In the mean while, having occasion to pass through the village, I was much surprised at beholding him, the moment he recognized me, tighten his cummerbund (or gird up his loins) and proceed to run before my palanqueen. I said nothing until we had cleared the village, thinking that he would then return ; but as he still continued to run before me, I called to the bearers to stop the palanqueen, and entreated him to go back. This he positively refused to do, saying, nothing should prevent his paying this mark of respect, at the same time overwhelming me with the most extravagant compliments, and in this manner he preceded me the whole distance, about four miles, until we arrived at the gates of my compound, when, with a profound salam, he took leave and returned.

' In this manner I consider that Elijah, although he detested the crimes of Ahab, was desirous of paying him all that respect which his exalted station as king of Israel demanded ; thus affording a practical comment on the apostolic precept, "Honour the king." By this means the prophet shewed his deep humility in not assuming to himself any glory because of the mighty works which God had performed by him ; and at the same time evinced his entire dependence on the protecting hand of God, by thus accompanying the king to the very place where his greatest enemies, Jezebel and her prophets, dwelt.

' The same man afforded me an illustration of Genesis xxiv. 9. " And the servant put his hand under the thigh of Abraham his master, and sware to him concerning that matter."

' On having communicated to him at a subsequent period his appointment to the situation, and exhorted him to fill it with fidelity, so that I might not be blamed for having recommended him, he dropped on one knee, and laying hold of my knee with one hand, and placing the other at the back of the thigh, he solemnly vowed to be faithful in the discharge of his duties, and professed entire submission to myself.' pp. 116, 17.

' Those gardens on our right are kept in nice order. The mollees are just beginning to water them ; they are opening the little trenches with their feet ; these trenches intersect each other at right angles ; and when one has received enough of the refreshing fluid, the foot again closes the aperture, thus illustrating Deut. xi. 10. " For the land whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and *wateredst it with thy foot*, as a garden of herbs ; but the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven." There are two men busily employed in raising the water from yonder well, to supply the trenches.' p. 428, 9.

These are not the most entertaining extracts that might have been selected ; but they will answer the purpose of supporting our cordial recommendation of this pleasing volume.

Art. VI. *Sermons preached in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn.* By Edward Maltby, D.D. F.R.S. F.S.A. &c. now Bishop of Chichester. 8vo. pp. xii. 402. Price 10s. 6d. London, 1831.

THESE Sermons were not composed for publication. They may be considered, therefore, as a fair specimen of the instructions which the learned Preacher has been accustomed to address to the Lord High Chancellor of England and the Honourable Society who formed his auditory. In this point of view, the character of these Sermons becomes a matter of almost national interest. Something beyond curiosity, an eager anxiety may be felt to know what sort of religious instruction was imparted to those in authority over us, or to persons charged with the most responsible professional duties, at that only hour of the week at which, perhaps, a religious idea could find room to intrude itself into the antechamber of conscience. One half of beauty is propriety; and in the adaptation of his sermons to the character of his hearers, the Preacher is discharging an important condition of his duty. Of this, Dr. Maltby seems to have been fully conscious; and, in his 'Introductory Sermon' he thus contrasts the ordinary duties of a country pastor, with those which he was selected by the learned society of Lincoln's Inn to discharge.

'But in addressing such an audience as I see before me, his duties take a wider range, and assume a more elevated, though not a more serious, tone. The truths inculcated are indeed the same: the fears, to which he appeals, must be founded upon the same awful declarations of scripture: and the hopes, which he labours to infuse, must be drawn from the same pure and perennial fountain—from the inexhaustible source of Divine knowledge and truth—of knowledge, purifying practice; and truth, opening the boundless view of God's mercy through Christ, encircling the whole compass of His rational and moral creation.

'Nevertheless, although the same principles are to be maintained and the same truths enforced, they are to be maintained and enforced in a different manner—the difference being obviously founded upon the different state of mind, to which they are respectively presented; and upon the difference of conduct too, as it is affected by the greater or less knowledge of right and wrong. Thus the enlightened audience whom I am called upon to address, will not require to be told the meaning of many terms, nor the history of many events, which occur in the sacred books, but which must be explained with minuteness and care to those, whose minds have received but little culture, and whose hours of unremitted toil, with a succession of worldly cares, afford but slender opportunities of improving that little at home. The result however of professional labour upon sacred subjects may be applied with good fruit to the improvement of those, who are themselves well educated and enlightened—in various sources of knowledge as well trained, and with minds more vigorous and acute than

Preacher, who has assiduously employed himself in his own peculiar province. Topics both of morals and of faith may be illustrated, in contrast as well as coincidence, from the ample stores of heathen and of Christian sages—difficulties in the sacred text may be cleared up by the aid of candid, but sometimes elaborate, criticism—the objections of infidels or of heretics may be overcome by a reference to original documents, or by a chain of argumentation, not accessible or intelligible to ruder minds. Light may even be thrown upon those parts of Scripture in which, from their familiarity with the sacred volume at a very tender age, the wise themselves may have failed to catch the real meaning, and which the serious may have passed over without due observation.

‘In points of conduct too, where, when our faith shall have been once fixed, the great business of us all lies, inasmuch as we shall all be judged hereafter according to that we have *done*, whether it be good, or whether it be bad—in these points, there will be frequent room for the admonition of him who teaches, and for attention in him, “who hath ears to hear”.—Inheriting, as we all do, the frailty of our common forefather, the higher classes of society are not, by nature, more exempt from transgression than the lower; the wealthy no more than the indigent, the learned than the unlearned. Education indeed will have given the one a more accurate understanding of his duty; his situation exempts him from the guilt, to which poverty proves a temptation; and a just sense of the responsibility, which he incurs to society, may preserve from meaner habits and from grosser vices. Nevertheless, every one of us may, nay, *must* occasionally, stumble; every one of us needs a warning against that “sin, which does too easily beset him”. Can it be necessary for me to remind you that the pride of intellect, the love of power, a thirst after worldly honours and worldly enjoyments, an undue anxiety for heaped-up treasures, prove snares to the wise of this generation; to those, who possess knowledge and talent, and who occupy, or desire to occupy, high stations? They are snares, into which the mighty and the wealthy fall as easily, as the midnight plunderer will violate the prohibitions contained in the Decalogue against the pursuit of such objects, as pamper his appetite, gratify his lust, or satiate his vengeance.

‘Here then, in this holy sanctuary, on the day set apart for the glory of God and the benefit of man’s immortal soul, the wise may listen with advantage to the voice even “of babes and sucklings”; they may learn, with delight and profit too, to chaunt Hosannas unto Him, who came in the name of the Lord. At the recollection of His sublime virtues, His disinterested uprightness, His profound humility, His matchless purity, His ardent piety, His all-comprehensive charity, the selfish may pause amidst their worldly schemes, the proud unlearn their conceit, the audacious assailant of female innocence forego his iniquitous purpose, the scoffer for once awake from his delirium of irreligion, and the cold-hearted and insensible feel some emotion of that warmth, which at once taught and practised the “new law” of universal love.

‘Such, in this imperfect world, and in this mixture of human character, may *occasionally* be the use of a preacher, even among those,

who have the experience of years, the credit of superior knowledge, the advantage of high station. But there is *always*, I trust, in such an audience, some part, among whom the discourse of a preacher may be attended with more general, more direct, and more lasting benefit. I mean those ingenuous youths, who are trained in these venerable seats of legal learning, and who look up with just admiration to those ornaments of their profession, who are revered for their goodness, as well as distinguished by their wisdom. In the ardour,—in the *honest* ardour, to surpass their competitors in the race for worldly knowledge or for worldly fame, some there may chance to be, who lose sight of that knowledge which is far more to be coveted; the knowledge of God, who formed him for the most glorious purposes; and of the Saviour, whose all-prevailing mediation gives effect to those purposes;—usefulness and goodness here, and hereafter everlasting life. Others there are, who bury the remembrance even of present wealth and present fame, in a vain and senseless endeavour to extract pleasure from a round of tumultuous amusement, or the unrestrained indulgence of immoral propensities; who vainly seek to calm the tumult of an undisciplined mind in the dangerous vortex of a gaming-house, the disquieting mirth of midnight revelry, or in scenes of debasing voluptuousness;—scenes, which to credulous inexperience may wear a fascinating look, but of which the infatuated votary will too soon reap the bitter fruits in disease and despair; and, without timely repentance and renewed faith, in the blighting of every prospect, both in this world and in that which is to come.

‘Some there may by chance be among my younger hearers, who (from a fatal neglect of religious culture, or the unhappy example of those, with whom it has been their hard lot or perverse choice to associate) may have contracted a fatal taint of scepticism; may have permitted themselves to doubt about the substantial doctrines of our creed; or, even more fatally, have suffered their doubts to merge in a total disbelief of the utility, the efficacy, the truth, of all Revealed religion.

‘To these several degrees of moral perversity or intellectual darkness the efforts of a preacher may sometimes most properly be opposed; and, by the gracious assistance of God, his admonitions may be addressed effectually. Him, whose thoughts are too much engrossed by the hope of gain or distinction, he will remind that no earthly labour can prosper, but by the aid of that Power above, who ruleth all human events; he will remind him that, after all, the riches and the glories of this world are equally transitory; and that he, who is truly wise, will fix his main hope, and exert his chief endeavours, for such as are unperishable and eternal.

‘The votary of dissipation or mere animal enjoyment he will rouse to nobler pursuits even here; to the due cultivation of his mind; to the judicious employment of his time; to the praise and the esteem of his fellow-creatures, which, when conferred by the wise and good, are of far more value than the uncertain and fleeting gratification, which at best can be supplied from worldly pleasure. If, awakened by such suggestions, he will arouse him from his dream of sensuality, and shew an anxiety for present peace and present fame, he may be led gradu-

ally to elevate his thoughts to higher views and fairer scenes ; and at length to center them, where all the thoughts of man should chiefly, should ultimately, be centered, the favour and approbation of " Him, in whose right hand is the fulness of joy, and pleasures for evermore." pp. 7—13.

This outline of the Preacher's duty will be thought much more comprehensive than distinct ; and the phraseology is in that highly polished strain of courtesy which scarcely admits of the insinuation of repulsive doctrine. The higher classes are 'not exempt from transgression ;' they are not free from frailty ; *humanum est errare* ; they may, by possibility, *stumble* ; some ingenuous youths 'may chance to lose sight' of the knowledge which is most important ! We should have feared that language like this would have been mistaken by these learned and honourable persons for delicate, yet severe irony. Was it meant for such ? Or could it be intended to conciliate them, on the principle of becoming a Greek to the Greek ? Or was the Preacher unconscious that he was complimenting his auditory in a style so little in harmony with notorious fact, that a secret laugh must have been excited at his own expense ?

The volume contains seven and twenty sermons. The subjects are various and well selected. In the course of the Preacher's ministry, he delivered a series of nineteen discourses explanatory of the Epistle to the Romans, seven of which are here printed. No more valuable or appropriate service could have been rendered, than that which Dr. Maltby proposed to himself in this course ; and the high scholarship and extensive reading he brought to the task, might have enabled him to throw important light upon this difficult portion of the New Testament. 'The great and fundamental rule of sound interpretation' which he lays down, is, 'that, as many of the causes which induced St. Paul to write, were incidental, temporary, and local, so must a great proportion of his expressions be interpreted of those peculiar times, and not considered equally applicable to any other part of Christianity.' (p. 164.) In this fundamental rule, the learned Author appears to us to have fallen into a capital mistake. The interpretation of expressions is one thing : the application of them is another. In reference to the former, the causes which induced St. Paul to write, may be safely put out of the question, since all that an honest interpreter has to do, is to give the proper meaning and force of his text. Of the applicability of the reasonings or precepts, when interpreted, to our own circumstances, the Critic is not required, nor may he be competent to decide. In his illustration of the above rule, the learned Preacher betrays at once its dangerous tendency and its fallacy. In reference to the 'harsh epithets' employed by St. Paul to describe the condition of our fallen nature, we meet with the following remarks.

' While, with due feelings of awe and reverence, we turn our thoughts to this wonderful act of grace in the Son of God, thus taking our nature upon Him, and shedding His innocent blood upon the cross for our redemption, we must not fail to remember that the expressions, here used by St. Paul, were intended to signify the unhappy condition of Gentiles in their unconverted state; as other expressions of sorrow and reproach denoted the sinfulness of the Jews and their loss of the Divine favour, at the particular time, when the Apostle wrote. We cannot therefore be too cautious how we misinterpret the language of Holy Writ, and apply to our own cases or to the case of any fellow Christians, words and phrases, which were expressly levelled against the conduct and condition of Jews or Gentiles, before their conversion to Christianity. We and our forefathers for many generations have happily been received into the church of Christ; and therefore neither we nor they can be considered as "without strength," "ungodly," "sinners," or "enemies," in the sense, in which these expressions were applied by St. Paul to the Gentile converts of his own day.

' Thus are we provided with a seasonable caution against groundless fear, if at any time, from want of a clear conception of the Apostle's meaning, we should imagine that such expressions refer to our own spiritual condition; as also against presumptuous judgement respecting the state of any other man, to whom we might erroneously apply epithets, which are shewn to belong exclusively to the unregenerate Heathen. And thus does a clear insight into the sense of scripture enable us to draw a line of just distinction between cases, which are really dissimilar; while it proves a safeguard against the misery of despondency on the one hand, and the sin of uncharitableness on the other.

' But a further caution may be induced from a correct apprehension of the terms employed by the Apostle, and perhaps it is the most necessary caution of all. And that is a caution lest we so interpret St. Paul, as to invalidate in the smallest degree the strength of the foundation, upon which Christian purity and Christian morality rest. If we apply to the case of all Christians at all times, the language which is applied to Heathens upon their first embracing the Gospel; or if we apply even to their final and complete justification what is said of their primary justification, or admission into the kingdom of God and his Son, we shall sanction the worst heresies of the Antinomians; we shall give a further currency to the mistakes of enthusiasts in our own days, who uphold a distinction between faith and good works, which is as injurious to the salutary effect of the Gospel, as it is opposed to its plainest declarations. Now there is not any clear-sighted man whatsoever, who does not at once perceive that all interpretations which lead to such consequences, must be at variance with the real intention of the word of God; although there may be many, who, from want of close attention to the different parts of Scripture, which are placed in seeming opposition to each other, may not be able to point out in what the fallacy consists, nor how it may be best refuted.' pp. 172—174.

This theory of interpretation, our readers are aware, has the support of Locke, Taylor, and Belsham. It is one of the des-

perate shifts to which heresy has had recourse, in order to make the plain declarations of God of no effect. We may justly style it desperate, first, because it is purely hypothetical and gratuitous, displaying little ingenuity, and requiring no scholarship; and secondly, because it is palpably at variance with the numerous declarations in the apostolic writings. We need only refer to Col. i. 21; Rom. viii. 7; Gal. iii. 21, 2; Rom. iii. 7; 1 Tim. i. 15. Of the glaring opposition of such interpretations to the language of the IXth and Xth articles of the Church of England, and to the whole spirit of the Liturgy, we say nothing: our object is not to enter into any discussion. But we must be allowed to ask, if the expressions applied by St. Paul to the Gentile converts of his own day are not to be considered as applicable to the case of our fellow Christians in the same sense, was it not incumbent upon the Preacher to explain in what sense they are applicable? It is true, we are not the persons specifically addressed, who, formed part of the existing population at the time of Our Lord's crucifixion. But would Dr. Maltby maintain, that, when the Apostle says, "God commendeth his love towards us," he spoke not of the human race, but of the sinners of that day? Will he maintain, that no persons received into the Church of Christ, (that is, the Establishment,) are ungodly or hostile to the law of God? Could he imagine, that the learned auditory which he had the honour to address, stood in peculiar danger of falling into 'the misery of despondency' from a too severe estimate of their spiritual condition? Is this the side upon which his cautions were most needed? Alas! what is the wisdom of the wise, where the heavenly light is wanting? A man who should so blunder in the affairs of this life,—as a lawyer, a physician, or a classical scholar, would incur disgrace, while bad theology is a passport to a mitre.

But what is justification by faith? Dr. Maltby's account of the matter is as follows. After referring to the language of the XIth article, he adds:

'Nevertheless, some distinction must be made in applying the words of the text to the respective cases of the primitive Christians and of ourselves. Converts from Paganism and even Judaism were said to be "justified by faith"—faith denoting the acceptance of a new religion, in contrast with the old. But when these expressions are applied to such as are sprung from a long continued series of Christian ancestors, and who have never held the doctrines nor been infested with the habits of any other religion, the proposition must be understood in a different sense, or at least explained in a different manner. The doctrine applicable now, is this. We are put into a state to obtain final salvation upon the terms propounded in the Gospel. While we believe all that Christ and his Apostles have declared, we must obey all that he has commanded.' 'The meaning which we should affix to the "New Covenant" is this. If we so believe in Jesus Christ, the

eternal Son of God, as to live in conformity with the rules which He has laid down for our guidance, the Almighty is pleased, in such a case, to declare on His part, that he will bestow upon us everlasting happiness in the life which is to come.' pp. 168, 9.

This is Bishop Maltby's doctrine: is it St. Paul's? As much as it is the doctrine of the Reformers and Martyrs, of Hooker and Barrow, of Beveridge and Hall.

It is of no use to mince the matter. Dr. Maltby does not mean to set up his scheme of religion against St. Paul's, but he does not understand the New Testament, and has consequently no clear notion of Christianity. He sets out wrong, adopting the most dangerous principle of interpretation possible; viz. that all interpretations which lead to certain consequences, (that is, which are *thought* to lead to such consequences,) 'must be at variance with the real *intention* of the word of God';—as if the intention of the word of God was not to be gathered from the plain language of Scripture! No one was ever driven to adopt so preposterous a principle, who did not feel the natural and obvious import of the Scriptures to be against him? Dr. Maltby may be an expert critic; his '*αὐτὸς ἴφα*' upon a disputed 'text' would carry with it far more weight than ours; but, in the line of argument he has adopted, he has descended from his vantage-ground, and laid aside his proper character as a scholar, and, instead of honestly applying his best faculties and high attainments to the faithful interpretation of the inspired document, has set himself to prove its doctrines to be *inapplicable*, and its obvious meaning to be dangerous and pernicious. A man who acts thus, stultifies himself, while he casts the greatest dishonour imaginable upon the word of God. Bishop Maltby quotes with high satisfaction the 'shrewd observation of Grotius' upon the answer of the Eunuch to Philip: 'He did not imagine the meaning of Holy Scripture to be so clear, as now-a-days it is thought by artisans and females.' But, if every artisan and female now-a-days is not able to answer the Eunuch's question, "Of whom does the Prophet speak?" the fault must lie with their instructors. The meaning of the Prophet must be acknowledged to be clear enough now, to every Christian who has the New Testament in his hand. The comment was unworthy of Grotius, or of any Protestant divine. Strange indeed, that artisans and females should imagine the meaning of Scripture to be clearer than it is, and that the learned should be contending for its ambiguity and obscurity! In any other case, we should expect to find the reverse,—the unlearned complaining of the obscurity of a work, the learned defending the clearness of its meaning. So strange a phenomenon, we leave philosophers to explain. Should it be said, however, that the meaning of Holy Scripture is mistaken by the unlearned vulgar, who suppose it to be so clear, and

that scholars like Dr. Maltby are alone able to arrive at the true interpretation, we beg leave to remark, that the evangelical doctrines, as held by the vulgar pious, the illiterate but devout believer, on the faith of the obvious import of the inspired writings,—the doctrines which Dr. Maltby rejects and opposes,—have been firmly held and ably defended by men as learned as Grotius, Le Clerc, and himself. The clear meaning of the sacred text has been established by the soundest criticism, so that, were the Scriptures never so obscure, the immense mass of expository religious instruction which is in the hands of the common people, would supply ample means of arriving at a competent knowledge of their meaning. We detest, as well as Dr. Maltby, the ‘contemptuous dogmatism that is too often the fruit of scanty ‘information and superficial views’; but there is such a thing as a man’s being learned in the Scriptures without scholarship, profound in the doctrines of Christ without philosophy, bold and decided in his views without dogmatism; and there is such a thing, on the other hand, as what the apostle calls ‘carnal wisdom’ and learned ignorance.

Nothing can be more repugnant to our feelings, than to join in a cry of heresy against any public character, more especially when that cry has obviously been raised by political feeling. It would have been highly agreeable to us, to be able to report favourably of these Sermons as establishing the orthodoxy of the learned Whig Bishop. Far be it from us to impute to Dr. Maltby any opinions which he does not specifically maintain or avow. We must, however, frankly confess that, were his views of Christianity consonant with Revelation, the Deity of the Saviour would be reduced to an abstract question of so little practical importance, that the controversy with the Socinian would be scarcely worth keeping up.

Where the theology is false, the morality is never right; and therefore it will excite no surprise, that the learned Preacher should be found cautioning the lawyers of Lincoln’s Inn against being ‘righteous over much’, (Ser. X.) that is, ‘carrying religious feeling to an unwise extreme’,—‘undue zeal in making ‘proselytes’,—‘a demeanour bordering on sanctimonious’,—as well as against thinking too ill of their spiritual condition, and giving way to religious despondency, or denying themselves innocent amusements (Ser. XII. and III.);—instead of addressing to them such hard sayings as, ‘Be ye holy, for I am holy’. This will excite no astonishment; although the evil tendency must be obvious, of cautioning a class of persons against evils and errors which they are in no danger of falling into, from which their very prejudices would tend to preserve them, without warning them of the opposite precipice on the brink of which they are standing. When the standard of Christian morals within the

circle of professional society is considered, the want of discretion or of fidelity exhibited in this line of exhortation, must appear still more deplorable than the Preacher's theological deficiencies.

That we may not be charged with exaggerating those deficiencies, we shall close this article with an extract containing the clearest statement we have met with of the Author's religious belief.

' By religion then, I do not mean merely a system of thinking, but a habit of acting; not merely correct opinions, but a virtuous and useful life. Religion, properly understood, implies unfeigned belief in Almighty God, as revealed to us in the Bible; reverence for His perfections, with an ardent desire to imitate them; implicit reliance upon His promises, with an unceasing endeavour to deserve them. Religion also implies faith in the Son of God, with a grateful sense of all we owe to Him, in that He descended from the bosom of His Father, quitted the glories of heaven, and took upon Him our flesh, to save us from the dreadful effects of sin, even from everlasting death. It implies a disavowal of all claim from our own merit to the happiness of eternity, but a profession of dependence on the effectual atonement of the Saviour; it implies also a hearty reliance upon the proffered aid of God's Holy Spirit, to strengthen our feeble resolutions, to elevate our devout affections, to guide us to every good word and work. If these notions of religion be duly planted in our minds and deeply rooted in our hearts, they cannot fail to bring forth the goodly fruits of a pious and temperate, an industrious and charitable, life. "If these things be in you and abound," said St. Peter to those of his own time, "they make you that ye shall neither be barren, nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ." "Wherefore", he rightly concludes his exhortation, "the rather, brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election *sure*: for if ye *do* these things, ye shall never fall: for so an entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ". pp. 323-4.

This passage may, perhaps, be admitted as proof that Dr. Maltby's notions, though far enough from evangelical, are as passably orthodox as those of many of his Tory brethren.

NOTICES.

Art. VII. *An Humble Attempt to answer the important Question, "What think ye of Christ,"* or, Twelve Lectures on the Person of Christ, and his Mission into the World. By Nun Morgan Harry, 12mo. pp. 224. Banbury, 1832.

THE importance of acquiring correct views of the person of Jesus Christ cannot be doubted by any intelligent Christian. Without this knowledge, we are not only exposed to the seductions of error, but

cannot enjoy that confidence which is necessary to console and support the mind; we can neither repose entire affiance in his atonement, nor honour him as we honour the Father. The great reason that many have embraced an erroneous creed, and others have betrayed a sad want of stability in their religious character, is, their not having possessed sound scriptural knowledge relative to the Redeemer's person. In this respect, the work before us is calculated to render valuable assistance to the class of readers for whom it is intended. The Discourses which it contains are methodical, sound in doctrine, and more particularly adapted to be useful for domestic and village reading. In the Preface it is stated, that the sole reason why they are published is, that the sale might assist in the liquidation of a debt incurred by the erection of a new place of worship where there had been previously little Christian instruction. This consideration, we hope, will induce many benevolent persons to purchase this small volume. As a specimen of the Preacher's style, we cite the following passage.

'Had he not been God, he could never have made an atonement, "For none can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him." A crime committed against an infinite Being, could not have been expiated without an infinite atonement. Far be it from me to lose sight of the importance of God's appointment of Christ to the mediatorial office, as a sacrifice for sin; but I cannot for a moment conceive, that its chief merit consisted in that appointment:—there must have been an infinite suitableness in Christ as the person appointed. And here we see it; he had a body to bleed and die; and this body, united to the Divine nature, rendered all his sufferings of infinite value, and of infinite merit:—hence the Apostle says, "God purchased the church with his own blood."

'He was promised as a sacrifice in Eden,—typified as an atonement, by the sacrifices under the law,—predicted by the prophets as atoning for sin,—and he himself revealed the design of his humiliation and death: "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." The effects of his atonement have been felt by the guilty and unclean on earth; and millions of glorified spirits, around the throne in heaven, praise the efficacy of his redeeming blood. And what is the voice of these things? They establish the doctrine of the atonement—they shew the immutability of the promise—they interpret the meaning of Jewish sacrifices—they confirm the truth of prophecy—they explain the doctrine taught in the New Testament—and they manifest the infinite virtue of his blood to cleanse from every sin.' p. 163.

Art. VIII. 1. *Sacred History in the form of Letters*, addressed to the Pupils of the Edinburgh Sessional School. By the Author of the Account of that Institution, &c. Parts I. to IV. 18mo. Edinburgh, 1830—1832.

2. *Bible Letters for Children*. By Lucy Barton. With Introductory Verses by Bernard Barton. 18mo. Price 2s. London, 1831.

3. *Scripture Prints*, with Explanations in the Form of Familiar Dialogues. By Mrs. Sherwood. 12mo. London, 1831.
4. *Scripture Illustrations*: for the Young. 12mo. London, 1831.
5. *The Journeys of the Children of Israel*; and their Settlement in the promised Land. 12mo. London, 1832.
6. *The Child's Commentator on the Holy Scriptures*. By Ingram Cobbin, A.M. Vol. IV. 12mo. London, 1831.

NEVER did the press teem with so many nice little books for children. Too often we have to complain, however, of their not being sufficiently simple in their diction. In a volume of the Edinburgh "Sacred History", we happened to open upon the following sentence. 'The absolute necessity of that exterminating policy which had been prescribed to Israel by Jehovah, soon displayed itself in the disastrous consequences arising from the opposite line of conduct, which they adopted in contravention of His express commands.' To the pupils of the Sessional School, this language may be intelligible; but it is certainly a pitch too high for very young persons or the imperfectly educated in this southern part of the kingdom. In Mrs. Sherwood's Explanations of "Scripture Prints", we meet with the following strange question, and stranger answer: 'Are camels types, grand-mamma?' 'All four-footed beasts are types or emblems of kings or kingdoms, as we find in Dan. vii. 17. And no doubt when we understand these things better, each different species of animal will be discovered to be typical of some individual order or description of men.' This is childish enough; but is it instruction for children? Again, the children are told, that 'a rainbow is a type of the blessed Trinity, united in the great work of man's salvation: the rainbow is formed of light and mist, acting on each other and imbodyed in a visible form: the light of which this bow is formed, is the emblem of God the Father, &c. This is very sad, and the more so as coming from a writer of Mrs. Sherwood's deservedly high reputation. It is otherwise an attractive and interesting volume. Lucy Barton's "Bible Letters" are written in a very simple, pleasing style; and brief explanatory notes are given of the hard words. They comprise a brief Scripture history from the Creation to the building of the Second Temple. We must give a short specimen of this nice little book.

'The story of Naaman's cure should teach us a lesson of humility and patient obedience: we all stand in need of a great cure to take place in our hearts, which are very sinful, and need washing with the blood of Christ before they can become clean in the sight of God; we must think seriously in our hearts, and pray to our Heavenly Father to make known to us, as the prophet did to Naaman, what we shall do to be clean: and if we listen to the still small voice within us, we shall not, perhaps, find that we are called upon to perform any very great action which may bring us the praise of all our friends; but simply to follow the path of our duty wherever it may lead us, to do what our conscience tells us is right, whether we are seen by others or not, re-

membering that there is an eye upon us which never sleeps ; to practise daily, meekness and gentleness ; to keep a constant watch over our thoughts, words, and actions ; to govern our tempers ; to think little of ourselves ; and yield our own opinion to the wishes of others. These are duties which ought to be practised every day : we may know a tree by its fruit ; a good tree will produce good fruit, and a bad tree will produce bad fruit ; and it may be known, by your daily conduct, whether your hearts are right in the sight of God : if you are careless and inattentive, cross and always wishing to have your own way, it will be plain that, like Naaman when he was angry with the prophet, your hearts are too proud to perform these daily duties, that they have not yet been washed from the stain of sin. But on the other hand, if we see your cheerful obedience in all things, your meekness, patience, and kindness to others, we shall feel assured that, like the Syrian, you have been made clean by the power of God ; that your hearts have been humbled in his sight : and you will feel greater content and peace of mind in the daily performance of these quiet duties, than would ever be your lot were you to neglect them and follow your own inclinations. Thus Naaman would have washed in his own rivers, Abana or Pharpar ; he might have done so, but he would not have been healed, and he would not have felt that happy change which took place in him when he gave up his own will, followed the advice of Elisha, and dipped himself in the Jordan.

‘ We must not forget the little captive maid who had been the cause of this change in her master. I would have you particularly remember, that these events were brought about by a little girl, who, although a captive in a strange land, and among a people who worshipped strange gods, yet she did not forget the God of her fathers, nor the works of his faithful prophet ; and by this she was made useful to her master, spread very far the fame of Elisha, and above all, was the humble means of causing the name of her God to be made known in another land, and of bringing at least one more *convert* to the only true God. Although you may not have it in your power thus publicly to serve Him, yet you should remember, that however lowly may be your rank in life, or however small your circle of friends, yet there will be some who may be led by your example : and your companions, when they see your kindness and gentleness, will be led to inquire how you have gained this command over yourselves ; and when they find that you do not act according to your own wills, but follow the commands of Him who said, “ by this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another,” they may, perhaps, be induced to make Him the rule of their lives ; and thus, you will, like this little maiden of Israel, become useful to those around you, and be the happy means of spreading peace and good will among your companions.’

pp. 180—185.

The Religious Tract Society have put forth an admirable little work under the title of ‘ Scripture Illustrations for the Young,’ with neat wood cuts of a really illustrative kind. A short specimen will give the best notion of its contents.

'For dogs have compassed me: the assembly of the wicked have inclosed me: they pierced my hands and my feet.'—Psalm xxii. 16.

David was a prophet as well as a king. God taught him, by his Holy Spirit, to write about things which should happen very long after he was dead. In particular, he wrote about the sufferings of Jesus Christ, and the treatment he would have from his enemies, the Jews.

This Psalm begins with the very words which our blessed Lord used when on the cross. In the sixteenth verse, by dogs compassing him, it is not meant that those creatures did so; any more than by bulls compassing him, as mentioned a verse or two before, is meant that he was attacked by bulls: but only that he was treated as fiercely by wicked men, who crucified him, as if he had been beset by a number of very fierce dogs, ready to tear him in pieces.

In some parts of the east, the dogs are very numerous, but they are not treated in the kind way in which they are by us. Their masters never pat them, nor give them any thing to eat. Very often they have no master: they are very lean and hungry; they live on any filth they can get, and creep surlily to the corner of some tent to lie down. If any stranger approaches the tent of an Arab, they furiously attack him, and would tear him in pieces if he did not speedily run away. Sometimes, as at Constantinople, they keep together in packs of twenty or thirty. If any person were unable to defend himself, or had the misfortune to fall, he would be in danger of being devoured, for these dogs are very greedy after human flesh.

Now, as the Arabs are a very ancient people, the same customs prevailed when the Bible was written, and the keeping of these dogs afforded a very striking representation of the fierce men, who like dogs compassed Jesus around.

But why was all this? Jesus would never have suffered, if man had not sinned. Oh, how great was his love to the ruined creature, man, to endure such sufferings, that sinners trusting their souls in his hands might not perish for ever. May I never be among the number of those who despise such a Saviour! pp. 22, 23.

The 'Journeys of the Children of Israel,' with a map and woodcuts, is another very pleasing and useful publication, carefully and judiciously executed. Mr. Cobbin's Child's Commentator, like all his numerous labours for the rising race, is distinguished by a praiseworthy simplicity and plainness, both in the ideas and the phraseology, and has the merit of adaptation to its purpose without making higher pretensions. The Commentator talks to the young reader about the Scripture narrative, much in the style that children's books used to be written in when we were children—a great many years ago. For instance, 2 Kings ii. 11. is thus expounded.

The prophet Elijah had done much for the honour of God, and God has said, "Them that honour me I will honour." "Enoch walked with God" by keeping in his ways, "and he was not, for God took him"—not as he takes us, by death, but he took him to heaven without dying. So God honoured Elijah in the same way. But, before he was to leave this world, Elijah visited the schools of the pro-

phets at Bethel and Jericho. He would have had Elisha leave him, that he might ascend to heaven unperceived, not wishing to appear proud of the honour God was going to bestow upon him, for good men always abhor pride. Elisha, however, went with him from place to place, where he was asked by the other prophets if he knew that Elijah was going to heaven that day, and he said he knew it.

‘ After visiting Bethel and Jericho, they came to the river Jordan. Here fifty of the sons of the prophets, who had followed them six miles from Jericho, stood at a distance to see if they could behold Elijah’s ascent into glory.

‘ When Elijah and Elisha came to the water, Elijah folded up his robe and smote the stream, and the river divided, so that he and Elisha passed over on dry ground, just as the Israelites had done before.

‘ Then Elijah asked Elisha if he had any particular favour to ask before he left him, and Elisha wished for a double portion of Elijah’s spirit. What he meant was this ; Elijah, as a prophet, had a remarkable spirit of piety, and knowledge, and courage, given him by God ; and, as he might serve the cause of God even more than Elijah if he had twice his abilities, he wished to be so favoured. Israel were still very wicked, and Elisha hoped that, with this double portion of Elijah’s spirit, he might the better reprove and withstand their wickedness.

‘ Elijah said it was a hard or difficult thing that Elisha asked, and one not commonly bestowed, but if God should permit Elisha to see him ascend, it would be a proof that he was pleased with him for what he asked, and so he should have it.

‘ “ And it came to pass, as they still went on and talked, that, behold, there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, and parted them both asunder ; and Elijah went up, by a whirlwind, into heaven.” I cannot attempt to explain this, and so I have given the account exactly in the words of Scripture. Whatever this chariot was, looking like fire, it is evident that it did not burn or hurt the prophet—so that its bright appearance was only to shew that Elijah was going in a glorious way to a glorious place.

‘ Elisha saw this glorious ascent, and this encouraged him to hope for the double portion of Elijah’s spirit. And he cried, “ My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof !” by which he is supposed to have meant that Elijah’s counsels and prayers were as much defence to Israel as an army of war chariots and horsemen. When Elijah was gone he began to feel his loss, and he took his clothes and, as a sign of grief for losing so great and good a prophet, he “ rent them in two pieces.” ’ pp. 115—117.

We do not like wholly to pass over meritorious works of this humble description ; and yet, it must be obvious that we can notice but a very small proportion of those which are continually crowding upon our attention. Happily, the public knows its own wants in these matters too well to wait for the decision of the critic.

Art. IX. *The Anti-Slavery Society Reporter*, No. 99. August 1, 1832.

THIS Number contains 'recent intelligence from the West Indies', and further remarks on the Rebellion in Jamaica, with extracts from Lord Goderich's Despatch of March 1. We regret that it is not given entire. It is the most admirable state-paper that has appeared for the last fifty years, and does infinite credit to the present Government. But the Christian people of this country must not relax in their efforts. The noblest use that can be made of the elective franchise, will be to secure the return of those members who will pledge themselves to do their utmost to redeem this country from the blood-guiltiness of the West India slavery. The West Indians are aware that with them 'the game is almost up'; but selfish interests die hard. We shall return to this subject in our next.

ART. X. LONDON AND BIRMINGHAM RAILWAY BILL.

A BILL has been recently brought into Parliament for making a railway between London and Birmingham, which, though lost for the present, through interested opposition and prejudice, is sure to succeed eventually. In support of the bill, the following curious facts and calculations have been urged. The proposed line of railway is 112½ miles long, being 4 miles longer than the direct coach road, and only 7 miles longer than the shortest line that could be drawn from London to Birmingham. The greatest inclination from a level is 16 feet in a mile, or 1 in 330. There will be ten tunnels required; the longest 1¼ mile, the shortest 350 yards. The estimated expense of completing the work is £2,500,000; of which about £250,000 would be required for the purchase of land, and more than two millions would be paid in labour. By means of this railway, the mail letters will pass in less than half the present time. The rate of travelling will be 20 miles an hour, and much cheaper. The whole distance from London to Liverpool will be accomplished in ten hours. Farmers living 40 miles from London could send milk and cream to the capital by this railway, and butter, &c. might be sent from a greater distance. At present, the most distant place from which dairy produce is sent up by coach and waggon, is Banbury; while the supply is not equal to the demand. Many thousand dozens of pounds of Dutch fresh butter are sold weekly in London; and the average quantity annually imported from the Netherlands alone into London, during the last three years, has been 90,416 cwt., of cheese 81,773 cwt., and 4,820,278 eggs. The average number of passengers between London and Birmingham per week is at present 1116; between London and Manchester, 972. The number of passengers on the Manchester and Liverpool railway is nearly four times what it was before the railway was opened; and it is assumed that the average number of passengers between London and Birmingham would, after the completion of this railway, be at least doubled; while the expenses of traffic would be reduced more than a third.

ART. XI. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In the press, *Elements of Materia Medica*. By A. T. Thomson, M.D., Professor of Materia Medica in the University of London, &c. &c.

In the press, *Memoir of the Court and Character of Charles the First*. By Lucy Aikin. In 2 vols. 8vo.

In the press, *Outlines of the First Principles of Horticulture*. By John Lindley, Esq. A small volume, 18mo.

Nearly ready for Publication, an *Argument à priori* for the Being and Attributes of God. By William Gillespie.

In the press, a *Comparative View of the Industrial Situation of Great Britain, from 1775 to the Present Time, with an Examination of the Causes of her Distress*. By Alexander Mundell, Esq.

In the press, a Poem, entitled "*The Natural Son*," in the metre of "*Don Juan*," and embellished with two copper-plates by Simmonds. To be published in Cantos, each adorned with one or two plates. Canto II. will be published in October.

The second volume of Hare and Thirlwall's translation of Niebuhr's *Rome* is now ready.

In the press, *Memoirs of Captain Heywood, Midshipman on board the Bounty at the time of the Mutiny*.

In the press, *Mirabeau's Letters, Anecdotes, and Maxims, during his Residence in England*.

In the press, *Attributes of the Deity: Essential Duties of his Creatures; being the Religion, Morality, and Poetry of the Old Testament*. Selected and arranged, under proper Heads, for the Use of Schools and Young Persons. By Sarah Austin.

In the press, *Letters for the Press, on the Feelings, Passions, Manners, and Pursuits of Men*. By the late Francis Roscommon, Esq.

In the press, *Elements of Greek Grammar*. By the Rev. S. Connor, 8vo.

ART. XII. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

HISTORY.

History of Charlemagne. By G. P. R. James, Esq. In 1 vol. 8vo., 16s.

memorate the Dead. With a suitable selection of appropriate Texts of Scripture. By G. Mogridge. 12mo. In silk.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Reflections and Admonitory Hints of the Principal of a Seminary, on retiring from the Duties of his Station. By John Fawcett. Fcap. 8vo., 2s. 6d.

POETRY.

Angel Visits: and other Poems. By James Riddall Woods. Sm. 8vo. In silk.

The Churchyard Lyrist: consisting of Five hundred original Inscriptions to com-

THEOLOGY.

The Christian's Hope of Mercy. A funeral Discourse on the Death of the Rev. George Burder. By Joseph Fletcher, D.D. To which is prefixed *The Address at the Interment*. By Robert Winter, D.D. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

The Devotional Letters and Sacramental Meditations of the Rev. Philip Doddridge, D.D. With his *Lectures on Preaching and the Ministerial Office*. Sm. 8vo. 8s.

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1832.

Art. I.—*Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty*, including the Constitutional and Ecclesiastical History of England, from the Decease of Elizabeth to the Abdication of James II. By Robert Vaughan. In two Volumes. 8vo. pp. 1074. Price 1l. 4s. London, 1831.

MR. VAUGHAN is a bold, though certainly not a presumptuous man. He must have had a singular confidence in his own energy and industry, to enter, as he did, on the arduous investigations connected with the life of Wycliff; and his success justified his confidence. A yet more difficult task lay before him in the examination of the great constitutional principles involved in the accession, the government, the rejection, the restoration, and the final expulsion of the Stuarts; and this, too, he has accomplished with even greater ability. The work has, compared with its predecessor, the disadvantage of a less original subject; but this is redeemed by its superior execution, by its more skillful compaction, and by its greater elasticity of style. Amid conflicting authorities and bewildering contradictions or evasions, Mr. V. has exercised a sound discrimination; and while explicitly avowing his general views and his especial predilections, he has been perfectly successful in his endeavours to maintain an exemplary impartiality in his statements and decisions. His calmness and moderation are admirably contrasted with the unprincipled extravagance, the thorough-going recklessness, which distinguishes the writers of a certain school not yet extinct, whose characteristic it is to pursue the end without regard to the means; to see nothing in the plainest evidence, but that which may be perverted or denied, to overlook the broad stream of history in favour of its mere accessories, and to merge the most salient truths and the loftiest principles in the vilest partialities of faction. The sneer,

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the sarcasm, the one-sided statement, the perplexing reference, the qualified concession, the bold-faced lie,—all these we could well illustrate by samples of the latest crop. From these, and from all semblance of disingenuousness, Mr. Vaughan is wholly free: the spirit of his book is excellent, and he has abstained even from that just and licensed asperity which the mean and malignant temper manifested by some who have travelled over the same ground might well have provoked. He has described with so much correctness the scope and object of his work, that we feel amply justified in adopting his statement as a fair exhibition of its claims to public approbation. He has been adverting to the Revolution of 1688, as the result of a severe and protracted contest, maintained, under doubtful and depressing circumstances, by the firm advocates of public right, against the partizans of uncontrolled and irresponsible authority; and after demanding for the ‘Puritans’ their due share of consideration, as the ‘main strength’ of that glorious conflict in its earlier stages, he proceeds as follows.

‘Should it be inferred from these observations, that the ensuing narrative will be found to consist of indiscriminate censure on the one hand, and mere eulogy on the other, the perusal of a few chapters will probably be sufficient to correct this misapprehension. That division of the moral or religious virtues which is implied in this too frequent method of setting forth the history of England during the seventeenth century, does not belong to the present state of existence. According to one of our popular writers,—and in this, he is merely the echo of a host,—the Puritans were a compound of “barbarism, intolerance, and madness”, and animated by a restless malignity against every thing great, and good, and beautiful. They did infinite mischief, and always from a pure love of doing it: a little good they also did; but it was ever with an intention to do evil. Their weakness was marvellous, and the fittest object in the world for ridicule, had it not been allied to wickedness still more remarkable, and deserving far other means of correction. Such, in substance, is the character of the English Puritans, as given in the volumes recently published under the title of “Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles the First”. To the class of readers who can derive pleasure from fictions of this description, when substituted in the place of history, the present work will be in no way acceptable. At the same time, it will not surprise the writer to learn, that there are ultras on the other side, to whom the opinions sometimes expressed in these sheets will not be quite satisfactory. He has not cared to become a caterer for the morbid passions of any party. His object has been to induce a just estimate of the sentiments of devout men in former times, and to promote that enlightened attachment to the principles of freedom by which those men were generally animated. That view of religion is defective and false, which does not make the love and the veneration of man a natural consequence of devotedness to his Maker.’

Mr. D'Israeli's work above referred to, has been, in part, noticed by us; but we have felt small inclination to continue our criticism of a publication distinguished more by inordinate vanity and inveterate prejudice, than by any of the higher qualities of composition. At the outset of his literary labours, that gentleman was fortunate enough to hit upon a vein in the great mine of literature, which had been neglected by his fellow workmen. To all who had made themselves generally acquainted with the writers of France and Italy, there was little novelty in his researches, and nothing especially impressive in his way of giving their results; but with the great mass of readers the case was different. They were delighted with a process that gave them, at no cost whatever of thought or discrimination, a superficial knowledge of names and things, high in the estimation of the learned, and demanding a far more vigorous handling for their adequate illustration. In this sense, Mr. D'Israeli's earlier *Ana* have been and still are deservedly popular; but he is miserably mistaken if he flatters himself, as it should seem he does, that they are, or can ever be, materials for history: they are books of the boudoir, not of the study; the companions of a listless hour, not the guides of opinion and investigation. In a mood of higher ambition, and without the slightest misgiving concerning his qualifications for the task, he ventured on the elucidation of that precise portion of English history which demands for its fair discussion a large allotment of those very qualities in which he is most deficient. It has been hitherto expected from the historian, that he should exhibit in his writings, intellectual vigour, resolute impartiality, and enough, at least, of self-knowledge to put him on his guard against his own infirmities. How much of these indispensable gifts Mr. D'Israeli may possess, admits of an easy calculation, if we are to adopt his own estimate of his philosophic and literary character. He describes himself with delightful *naïveté*, as 'a simple philosopher, a calm speculator on human affairs',—an ultimate referee, as it should seem, in matters relating to policy and morals. Alluding to himself as 'the passionless student of ancient history, 'who judges the man, regardless of the party', he assumes to himself the sole impulse of 'the jealousy of truth', while he imputes to those who may doubt his infallibility, the mere irritation of party. All this may gratify the infirmity of Mr. D'Israeli, but it will hardly procure for him anything beyond the guarantee of the *Quarterly Review*. Of that impartial arbiter he may boast the unqualified eulogy: it vouches, in all the dignity of its unswerving rectitude, for the impartiality of Mr. D'Israeli. All this is miserable work; but such is human nature: simple vanity chaunts its own praises, and knavery, to forward its own purposes, thrusts simplicity into office.

Were we to regard the importance of the subject or the nature

of Mr. Vaughan's illustrations, we should engage extensively in the discussions connected with what may be justly considered as the turning-point of English constitutional history; the crisis to which dispositions and events had been tending through a long series of years; the term from which England was to start anew and with renovated vigour, in the career of freedom, intellect, science, and social improvement. It is not, however, convenient, at the present moment, to enter upon protracted dissertation, and we must content ourselves with a brief notice and a warm recommendation.

The reign of Elizabeth was a stirring and stimulating season. There was in the character of that monarch, notwithstanding its Tudor *brusquerie* and feminine jealousy of power, an energy and a consciousness of intellectual vigour, which led not merely to administrative measures, but to modes of popular appeal, calculated to rouse the national spirit, and to bring in question the claims of arbitrary rule. During the period of her government, this temper in the people was of little comparative consequence, for the lieges loved and revered their high-minded queen, and she repaid their attachment by a parental feeling, which kept her anxieties constantly awake for their welfare. She was, moreover, in her habits of thought, emotion, and expression, a thorough Englishwoman, of strong mind and determined act; a fit ruler for the reflective and resolute nation which Providence had placed under her sceptre. Disastrous visitations and infirmities of temper clouded the evening of her life; and she could not but feel that she had survived much of that popularity which had cheered its dawn and its meridian. Still, however much of weakness and of error may have obscured the brightness of her reign, enough of its higher qualities are conspicuous to make evident, how disadvantageous it was for the feeble-minded pedant who succeeded her, to come into immediate comparison with her master-spirit.

It has become of late a kind of fashion, with some from affectation, with others in the perverseness of partizanship, to praise our first James to the very skies. That he was, in some sort, learned, is undeniable: as the pupil of Buchanan, he could not fail to profit by the instructions and stern discipline of that profound scholar. But of original faculty he seems to have possessed but a slender portion. With much mental activity, he had little intellectual vigour. He was a profuse talker, but a sorry reasoner: his manners were coarse, and his pleasures gross. That he was cruel, might be shewn by numerous instances; but we shall satisfy ourselves with the production of a single case, as given by Mr. Vaughan in illustration of the firmness of Sir Edward Coke. That eminent lawyer had opposed as illegal, the exaction of a 'benevolence'.

' This circumstance, and some others, had rendered the chief justice less acceptable at the council-board than formerly, when the case of Peacham, a puritan minister in Somersetshire, involved him in fresh collision with his colleagues. A sermon was found in the study of this clergyman, never preached, and, as it appeared upon his trial, never intended to be preached, but in which were some heavy censures on the extravagance, and general character, of the court and the government. James entered warmly into this business as a case of treason; but as it was impossible to construe the discovery of this paper into a compassing or imagining of the king's death, it was resolved that no pains should be spared to ascertain the advisers or accomplices of its author. At the command of the sovereign, the old man—more than sixty years of age—was examined "before torture, in torture, between torture, and after torture". But nothing was elicited by this illegal and inhuman process. The resentment of James was increased by this mortifying result, and he now insisted that the mere composition of such a paper involved the guilt of high treason. Coke not only maintained that the guilt of the offender should be limited to defamation, but objected to the separate and verbal applications which were now made to the judges on this point, as contrary to the customs of the realm. Peacham was, nevertheless, condemned as a traitor. But his prosecutors appear to have shrunk from the odium of inflicting the sentence obtained, and the unhappy man, after lingering a few months in prison, expired.'

James's *forte*, as his imbecile vanity induced him most firmly to believe, lay in nothing so conspicuously as in ecclesiastical concerns; and accordingly, in nothing did he make a more absurd and disgusting exhibition, than in his continual intermeddlings with theological controversies and matters of church discipline. In the statement and elucidation of these points, Mr. Vaughan is especially skilful, as might have been expected from a man of ability, thoroughly versed in the subject before him; and herein lies much of the peculiar value of his work. The strange ignorance, in these particulars, of the great mass of our historians, and the prejudices which, almost without exception, have beset them concerning religious things, render them altogether unworthy of trust, in all that relates to the affairs of the Church. Always preserving the separation of politics from clerical business, the present Writer yet shews distinctly their connexion and mutual influence. The 18th, 19th, and 20th chapters of his first volume are singularly interesting. The first of these sections contains an able exposition of Lord Bacon's views respecting the Puritans and their doctrine, which is closed with the following just and moderate inference.

' If the reader will bear in mind the cautious and courteous temper of Lord Bacon, and his high hope of favour with the new sovereign, when these sentiments were made public, it will perhaps appear as probable, that, in what was thus expressed, the writer has advanced

but little in favour of the weaker party, compared with what he could have honestly recorded, and would have recorded, under other circumstances. It would have been well for the peace of the king, and of the established church, had the counsels thus modestly proffered been fully acted upon. They are to be attributed, evidently, to a fixed persuasion of their practical worth; and without such a conviction, it is probable, that however just they might have appeared, they never would have seen the light.

Charles came to the crown under many and severe disadvantages. He had been educated by his father in all the prejudices of the *jus divinum*; and it is probable that to his early initiation into the mysteries of king-craft, may be assigned much of the evasive policy which proved, in the end, even more injurious to his cause, than were the high-handed enforcements of his regal claims. In addition to these disqualifying prejudices, he had the misfortune or the imprudence to select Buckingham as his political adviser, and, in ecclesiastical business, to place implicit reliance on Laud. The former of these favourites has, we believe, had few direct defenders; but the memory of the latter has been fiercely vindicated. It might waken surprise, to meet with this forward advocacy of an odious cause, were it not that experience furnishes but too frequent and familiar illustration of the lengths to which men will go under the perverting influence of party feeling. We shall not agitate the question anew, nor recapitulate the glaring facts on which the proof of Laud's delinquency is founded. But it is of high importance, in the attempt to form a correct estimate of the character of Charles, that we keep in view that strange and consistent perverseness which almost invariably directed Charles to the wrong men and to the worst measures. His choice of Strafford as his minister, was a declaration of war against the party which had been deserted by that able but unprincipled statesman, and which in return, held him in deadly hatred. The selection of Laud as his counsellor in church affairs, was a virtual manifesto against religious liberty. The error of this policy lies in this, that it is extreme; it wears an aspect of firmness in its bold rejection of compromise and *mexxo-termini*, but its perilous nature is evident, in that it admits of no return. If, as is the greater probability, it leads, in the result, to concession on the part of him who adopts it, he gives way under circumstances more than dangerous; he stands accused of weakness or perfidy; and the foundation of mutual trust is taken away. In the case before us, this fatal policy rendered vain every effort to conciliate, every approach on the part of Charles to a more gracious deportment. The people had lost confidence in their king; the party in opposition had learned to regard him as a mere temporising partizan, resolute to effect, sooner or later, by lawful or unlawful means, an injurious purpose; and this feeling

engendered a stern conviction that the struggle was for life or death.

‘In the army, there was a large body who, from various causes, had an incurable distrust of the king; there were others with whom he was an object of deep resentment, on account of the protracted miseries of the war. In some, there was a hopelessness of ever bringing the monarch to those terms which were considered necessary to their own safety; and in others, the events of the last few years had induced that severe republican temper which there needs no religious creed to produce, and which knows no difference between a culprit king and a culprit mendicant. All these causes concurred to bind various classes together in one sentiment;—and that sentiment was, that nothing less than an entire removal of the present sovereign could afford the least prospect of a settlement to the nation. It was this party, so united and yet so variously composed, that prevailed in the council of officers, when the king was declared to be the grand author of all the late troubles, and when his trial was openly demanded;—which prevailed when the members of the Lower House were expelled as by the point of the sword, so that not more than fifty remained to constitute what is called the rump parliament; it was this party which compelled this remnant of a parliament to vote for criminal proceedings against the sovereign; which called into existence the high court of justice; which there arraigned the unhappy monarch, condemned him to death, and halted not until the appalling sentence was carried into full execution.’

The ‘Commonwealth’ is the subject of much interesting discussion, and its history is, in some respects, set in a new, and, we are persuaded, a just light. The despotic proceedings of the Presbyterians are forcibly exposed, and the entire section exhibits to great advantage, Mr. Vaughan’s talent for compression and sound reasoning. Respecting that important period and the succeeding Protectorate, his views are marked by a most trustworthy moderation, while the language in which they are conveyed exhibits the decision of a mind clear in the perception of truth and fearless in its expression. His estimate of Cromwell’s character is admirably discriminated, and nothing but its inconvenient length prevents us from extracting it entire. We give a single paragraph.

‘It is a fact, that until a few months before the late king’s death, Cromwell was an advocate of monarchy, and even hazarded his own life to save that of his sovereign;—it is a fact that the fragment of a parliament which his violence dissolved in 1653, was on the eve of adopting measures which, whether they saw it or not, must have brought back Charles Stuart, and with him the return of oppression to a large portion of the people, along with the penalties of death and confiscation to the leaders of the army, and to many besides;—it is a fact, also, that in all his subsequent experiments with regard to parliaments, the Protector consulted the general feeling of the nation, and

laboured to restore the antient constitution quite as far as was consistent with his personal safety ;—and it is not less certain, that the constitution which his last efforts were employed to establish, accorded more nearly with the claims of all the parties included in the British dominions, than any thing that had preceded it, or than any thing which followed, until the revolution of 1688. Cromwell insisted with all parties on the general equity of his plans ; and hoped that self-interest would aid the greater number in discerning it ; but all continued blind, and all, save one, were to be made captives in their blindness.

The fault of Mr. Vaughan's work is a very uncommon one :—the two volumes should have been four. Notwithstanding the judgement and great ability which he has exercised in the selection and compression of his matter, it is impossible not to regret that what he has done so well within limits unduly restricted, does not appear with the advantages of complete development. We have felt this more particularly in the closing section of his memorials. The reign of Charles II. is a spirited sketch ; and that of his infatuated brother is given with equal force ; but we could have wished that Mr. V. had allowed himself space to work out in full the great constitutional problems which stand prominently forward in connexion with those times. We have, however, no right to quarrel with a writer for omitting that which he has not proposed to himself as the object of his labour. After all, it is not that these matters are neglected : they are on the contrary, with slight exception, set down, briefly, indeed, but distinctly, and in a way, perhaps, more acceptable to readers in general, than would have been the result of a different course ; though inquirers who, like ourselves, have no objection to labour through an intricate investigation, may prefer making the most of a clever man when he has fairly committed himself in a laborious quest.

After the intimations of our opinion which we have already given, it can hardly be necessary to repeat our strong recommendation of these 'Memorials'. Mr. Vaughan has produced a standard work, and one which cannot fail to find, if not a noisy and transient popularity, yet, a lasting acceptance with the moderate and well-judging of all parties. He has already, as the biographer of Wycliff, won plaudits from writers of somewhat different views from his own, who have not scrupled to avail themselves of his trustworthy guidance ; the highest praise that he could have wished to secure. It is very much the fashion to pronounce an author's second production inferior in value or interest to his first. Whatever may be thought of the comparative value of Mr. Vaughan's present performance, it certainly possesses superior literary merit, and displays his abilities as an historian to still greater advantage.

Art. II.—1. *A Grammar of the Thai, or Siamese Language.* By Capt. James Low, of the H. E. I. C. Military Service. 4to. pp. 88. Calcutta. Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, 1828.

2. *Journal of a Nine Months' Residence in Siam.* By Jacob Tomlin, Missionary. 18mo. pp. 150. Price 2s. London, 1831.

SIAM, a country as truly barbarous as any in central Africa, occupies an interesting position as a link between our Indian possessions, upon which it now borders, and the Chinese empire. Although the Siamese are a very distinct race from the Chinese of the maritime provinces, there is every reason to believe that they are closely related, in their origin, to some of the Chinese tribes. However this may be, in Siam, the traveller or the missionary finds himself at once in direct contact with China; settlers and traders from the Celestial empire forming a large proportion of the inhabitants of the Indo-Chinese coasts. At Bangkok, the capital, Mr. Tomlin says, the Chinese 'are the most prominent and efficient part of the population; and, as in all other places where they are found in the East, form the life and spirit of the whole.

'Their number here', he adds, 'is so overwhelming as to be sufficient to stamp their own name and character upon the whole, so that a stranger might naturally enough suppose himself in a Chinese, rather than a Siamese city. Indeed, when compared with the scanty remnant of Siamese, the vast multitude of them is almost incredible to any but an eye-witness*. There are also numerous settlements of Chinese in the interior and along the coast, which a missionary may readily communicate with from this station. The junks passing to and from China, Cochin China, and Hainam, every year, afford good opportunities of sending the Scriptures and tracts to various parts of the empire and those several places. An average number of 150 of these vessels are thus annually employed. Others also are constantly moving to and fro amongst the various islands of the Archipelago, affording similar facilities of communication with numerous scattered bodies of emigrant Chinese.'

* According to a census made by the Siamese Government in 1828, out of 401,300 inhabitants of Bangkok, the Chinese (paying the poll-tax) amounted to 310,000, besides 50,000 descendants of Chinese; the Siamese were only 8,000; the remaining 33,000 comprising Cochin-Chinese, Laos, Peguans, Cambojans, Burmans, Malays, and 1800 Christians. But the Siamese priests do not appear to have been included in this estimate; and they are supposed to be not fewer than 11,000. (Miss. Reg. March 1830.) The king's personal guards are chiefly Tatars; and no Siamese can wear arms without special permission.

In this point of view, Siam assumes an importance to which it might not be otherwise entitled; and a missionary station there, may be considered as an advanced post within the frontier that has hitherto separated China from European civilization. On this account, the London Missionary Society had determined to commence a regular mission to Siam; and two individuals were actually appointed to proceed there; but the necessity of re-inforcing the stations occupied by the Society in Bengal, has hitherto occasioned a suspension of the plan. In the mean time, the foundations of a Siamese Mission have already been laid. In the year 1828, a visit was paid to Bangkok by the Rev. Mr. Gutzlaff, of the Netherlands Society, and the Rev. Mr. Tomlin, attached to the London Society's mission at Singapore. They resided there for nearly nine months, (from Aug. 23, 1828, to May 14,) when the health of Mr. Tomlin compelled him to return to Singapore. The journal before us gives an interesting detail of their labours and adventures during that period. Mr. Gutzlaff subsequently returned to Malacca, where he married Miss Newell, the superintendent of the Female Schools there, with whom, in Feb. 1830, he again left Singapore for Siam. We lament to learn from the Missionary accounts, that the death of Mrs. Gutzlaff, which took place at Bangkok in the following year, has deprived him of an affectionate partner and a most efficient auxiliary. Mrs. G. had prepared for the press, a Dictionary in the Anamese, and was prosecuting some important works in the Chinese, when she was removed from the scene of opening usefulness. Since her decease, Mr. Gutzlaff has, we understand, carried into effect his long meditated project of visiting the coasts of China. His correct knowledge of the Chinese has enabled him, wherever he touched, to hold intercourse with the natives, without exciting any suspicion of his being a European; and in the capacity of a pilot, he met with no difficulty in distributing a large quantity of Chinese tracts,—seed-corn cast upon the waters, that shall not be lost.

Mr. Gutzlaff left behind at Bangkok, a Tio-Chew China-man, who boldly preached the Gospel to his countrymen there. Many of the Siamese nobles also had heard the Gospel; a Pegu Mandarin had applied for instruction; and a native of Siam, a brother of the king's chief priest and counsellor, had removed to Singapore, by Mr. Gutzlaff's advice, to acquire, under the direction of the Missionaries, the English language, a knowledge of the art of printing, and other means of benefiting his countrymen*.

In the mean time, Mr. Tomlin has been prosecuting at Singa-

* Report of the Lond. Miss. Soc. 1832, p. 29.

pore the study of the Siamese. An English and Siamese Dictionary has been prepared, which will at least be useful to future Missionaries. The whole New Testament has been translated into Siamese; and the first six chapters of St. John's Gospel have been printed as a specimen, and lent to natives of that nation; also, 1000 copies of the 'First Siamese Scripture tract.'* The Missionaries were fortunate in meeting at Bangkok with two remarkably clever and intelligent teachers of the language; one, a Chinese who had resided most of his life in Siam, and who, besides having a good knowledge of the Siamese, spoke almost all the native dialects of China, was well acquainted with the languages of Laos and Anam, and had accompanied four embassies to Peking, in the capacity of interpreter. The other was a Burman who had resided in Siam from boyhood, and spoke the language like a native. Capt. Low's Siamese Grammar, Mr. Tomlin had not seen when he commenced his studies. The Jesuit Missionaries are said to have the Romish prayer-book in Siamese, written in Roman characters; and the Portuguese Bishop has a MS. translation of the Four Gospels, which, after a forty years' residence at Bangkok, he had not made public†. Before Mr. Gutzlaff left that city, however, he transmitted to Singapore, a number of books and MSS. of value, which, it may be hoped, will prove of important assistance to Mr. Tomlin in perfecting his knowledge of the written language. Mr. Gutzlaff's forte would seem to be, a singular facility in mastering the difficulties of the vernacular dialects, so as to be able to speak them with the correctness of a native. The Rev. Robert Burn, Chaplain at Singapore, speaks of him as possessing the most remarkable ability for the acquirement of languages that he had ever met with, while, 'for zeal, humility, and love, he is surpassed by few'; and his medical skill had proved an excellent passport to him in every part of the Indo-Chinese regions that he had visited.

While these admirable Missionaries have been thus occupied in opening and clearing new channels for the waters of life, the new political relations between the British Government and the Siamese court, have led to the cultivation of this hitherto unknown language on the part of individuals whose professional situation has brought them in contact with the natives. Capt. Low, an officer in the Company's service at Prince of Wales's Island, offers his Grammar as the result of many years' experience and some labour. The MS. was presented to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta as long ago as 1822; and it remained in

* Report of the Lond. Miss. Soc. 1832, p. 32.

† Miss. Reg. June, 1829, p. 277.

their library, till the Hon. Mr. Fullerton, Governor of the British settlements in the Straits of Malacca, recommended that it should be printed. 'The Society very obligingly restored it, and it has since been revised and corrected.' Hereafter, we may be able to collate his work with the cognate labours of the Missionaries: at present, we shall avail ourselves of it chiefly for the purpose of laying before our readers the information it supplies, with regard to the Siamese language and the people by whom it is spoken.

The Siamese or T^hai language is radically the same that is spoken over the whole extent of the Indo-Chinese peninsula from the Burrampooter to the Straits of Malacca. 'From the present striking affinity observable betwixt the languages of the Lau, the Siamese, and the Cambojans, we may reasonably infer', says Capt. Low, 'that all these people had a common origin.' There is also every reason to believe that the Assamese (not the aborigines) arose from the same stock as the Siamese, since there is a close analogy, much stronger than mere accident can warrant (account for), betwixt their respective tongues.' (p. 8.) That the ancient Assamese (the Ahameeya) is generically the same language, is the opinion also of an accomplished linguist who was for some time resident in Assam, and who, in a private letter, follows up the expression of this opinion with the following remarks: 'I have no doubt that Lord Cornwallis was not so wide of the mark as has been supposed, when he continually, by misapprehension, used to confound the term Siam with Assam, in his despatches to the officer commanding an expedition into the latter country, (Capt. Walsh,) in the year 1792. The term Siam is Burmese. They write it, and pronounce it as Sham. The proper name of the language, I think of Chinese origin, is Ty. The country is called Mung-ty.' Capt. Low states, that the Siamese do not acknowledge the title of Siam as applicable to themselves or their country. They call themselves T^hai, and their language is P^hasa T^hai (the same word, evidently, as B^hassa, language). 'A very evident affinity may be traced', he adds, 'between the T^hai and the Chinese Mandarin or colloquial language.'

'Many *synonyma* might be here produced, together with a number of the radical monosyllables which are formed on the same principles. But the strongest analogical proof of the alliance which seems to have existed at some remote period betwixt the two, or rather, perhaps, of their having been offsets from a common root, must rest on the system of intonation which they equally employ, and on their mutual (common) rejection of all inflection in their parts of speech. Dr. Marshman has indeed considered all those languages which adopt the system of *tones*, as closely linked to the Chinese colloquial medium, if not purely derived from it. At the same time, the *consonantal* system of

the Siamese is, in some instances, dissimilar from that of the Chinese.' p. 12.

Both the Chinese and the Siamese reject the g, j, g'h, j'h, d'h and b'h of the Sanscrit alphabet; but the Siamese system of sounds has either retained or adopted, b, d, and r, which are not found in the Mandarin colloquial medium, while it rejects the ts, sh, tch, tch'h, fh, and hh of the Chinese. The Siamese alphabetical system is modelled from the Pali, and the higher style of Siamese writing borrows largely from that language *. But the Pali letter is said to have been first brought into Camboja from Ceylon, within a period comparatively modern; and in passing into the T'hai idiom, the Pali words 'are sometimes a little dis-jointed, or subjected to elision, in order to render them more 'consistent with the monosyllabic structure of the former.' Were the words derived from the Pali and other foreign sources to be excluded, we should still find in the Siamese, a colloquial medium possessed of a much more copious list of monosyllables, than the Chinese Mandarin language is supplied with, owing to its being furnished with more final consonants and vowel combinations. Dr. Leyden represents it as being, nevertheless, more purely monosyllabic than either the Burmese, the Rak-heng, or the Peguan.

From these and other circumstances, we may safely infer, that the Siamese or T'hai race are of the same stock as the Chinese tribes; that they are, in fact, a Chinese nation, who have gradually spread themselves from the province of Yun-Shan over Laos, Cambodia, and the great valley of the Meinam. It must be remembered, that of the greater part of China we know little; and that the physiological differences between the Siamese and the Chinese, which, extending to their articulation, have modified their respective systems of colloquial speech, are, in all probability, not greater than would be found to exist between the inhabitants of different provinces of China. The Siamese Calendar differs little from that of the Chinese. Mr. Finlayson, indeed, thinks it very doubtful, whether they could construct one without the assistance of a Chinese calendar, which they regularly procure from Peking. Their era, answering to A.D. 638, also appears to be derived from China, and corresponds very nearly to the accession of the first emperor of the Tang dynasty †.

But the link between Siamese barbarism and Western civilization is the sacred language, the Pali, which is, to the Indo-Chinese nations, what the Arabic is to the sable tribes of Western

* 'Every Siamese pretender to learning is at liberty to make as free a use as he pleases of the Pali, their classic language.' Low, p. 11.

† See Eclectic Review, vol. xxv. p. 487.

and Central Africa, and what Latin once was to barbarous Europe. To a Missionary in Siam, therefore, a thorough knowledge of Pali is indispensable; as it presents the medium by which he will be best enabled to introduce and naturalize Christian ideas, and to raise the national standard of thought and intelligence by enlarging and invigorating the colloquial vehicle. 'Notwithstanding the disadvantage which the T'hai, in common with other monosyllabic languages, labours under, in respect to want of great variety in the combination of its component parts, still,' remarks Captain Low, 'it is capable of adapting itself, with some elegance, and with much precision, to most of the purposes for which speech is required; while it is fitted, by *drawing on the Bali (Pali), to enter on the regions of science.*'

The Siamese language has, like all barbarous and unsettled idioms, its provincial dialects, or, as Dr. Leyden calls them, 'auricular variations.' The natives themselves acknowledge only two dialects; the *p'hasa T'hai yai*, and the *p'hasa T'hai mu-ung nak*; besides which, they distinguish the *nangsu T'hai* or written language; and the *p'hasa k'ham t'han*, (or *p'hasa k'ham phraya*), i. e. court style. Captain Low asserts, however, that there is little reason to consider these as distinct dialects. The two colloquial varieties (the *yai* and *mu-ung nak*) differ chiefly in the broader pronunciation of the former; and the orthography of both the written dialects is nearly alike. The pronunciation is chiefly varied by the application of the tones. 'It is in the intensity and modulation of intonations and accents, that a difference is chiefly to be perceived.' Captain Towers describes the language of Laos as a second dialect of the Siamese; and Kœmpfer seems to have been persuaded that such is the case. 'Yet, from my own experience,' says Captain Low, 'I can assert that they are so nearly alike, as to make it easy for a person who understands the Siamese tongue, to travel safely (in so far as language is concerned) through North Laos.' This strong similarity is the more remarkable, since the Lau or Laos tongue has a peculiar alphabet, resembling less the T'hai (which is derived from the Pali) than the Mon or Peguan. It is by no means improbable, however, that the Siamese had an imperfect alphabetical system, similar to that of Laos, before they adopted that which is now in exclusive use. As we approach the distant frontier countries, our Author remarks, 'the T'hai language will necessarily merge and melt into the languages spoken by their various inhabitants.' Such appears to be the case with the dialect called the Kham-ty, which is said to be spoken in its purity at Mogown, situated to the N. E. of Munnipoor, on the Khyendwen (or Kiayn-duem), in about lat. 25°. This dialect, we learn from the competent authority already alluded to, 'abounds in Burmese words, the language of the conquerors, but is essen-

'tially, practically, and idiomatically different.' In the collocation of words, the two idioms are quite the reverse of each other *; the Siamese approximating more closely to the English idiom,—except in placing the adjective after the substantive it qualifies, as in Persian and in French. The character used for the Kham-ty dialect is quite different from that of Bangkok. The Assamese alphabet is evidently modelled from the Sanscrit, while the language itself, as has already been mentioned, appears to be closely related to the T'hai. It is obvious, how much this variety of alphabetic character must tend to multiply the apparent number of languages, and to embarrass philological investigations.

No fewer than about sixty different dialects are said to be spread over the immense tract between Assam, Tibet, and the Khyendwen; but these, when they come to be analyzed, will probably be reduced to some four or five essentially distinct idioms. The whole of the languages spoken by the nations lying between Bengal and China, are arranged by Dr. Leyden under two classes, the Polysyllabic and the Monosyllabic. At the head of the former class is the Malay, to which all the others of the same class are probably related, but which have been severally modified either by early intercourse with the Hindoo nations, or, in later times, with the Mohammedan Arabs. The primitive tongue, of which they are dialects, has been styled by philologists the Polynesian, as being diffused over the whole of the Indian archipelago and Polynesia. The dialects of Dr. Leyden's second class are seven in number; viz. 'the Rak-heng, the Burman, the Mon, the T'hai, the Khomen, the Lau, and the Anam.' These seven may, perhaps, be reduced to three languages. The Burmese and the Arracanese nations are closely related, and so, we apprehend, are their dialects. The Lau or Laos, we have seen, differs only as a dialect from the Siamese; and such will prove to be the case, there can be little doubt, with both the Khomen and the Anamese. The latter dialect is said to be called by the Siamese and Malays, the Juan or Shwan: it is possibly that of Yun-Shan. The Anamese are said to employ several sounds which the Chinese are incapable of pronouncing; in particular, the b, d, and r; and these are the very consonants which distinguish the Siamese vocal alphabet from the Chinese. With regard to the Khomen or Khāmen, the language of those whom we call Cambodjans, Captain Low has the following remarks.

* For instance, a Burmese intending to convey the import of the words, 'I will now go and eat my rice,' would, according to the idiom of his language, say, I now boiled rice eat go will. (*Gnā ya-k'hoo t'ha-mén chā thwá mé.*) The Kham-ty idiom would be: I now will go eat rice.

‘The Siamese draw no discriminating line betwixt the K’hāmen and the Cambojans. They assert that the language of these K’hāmen is quite different from the T’hai. I incline to think, from an examination of a few specimens of the first procured by me, that the assertion may not be admitted without considerable limitations. The K’hāmen are a distinct people from the Lau, but belong to the same great family as the latter. But Dr. Leyden seems to have thought the K’hōm (pronounced K’hām) a perfectly original language, when compared with the T’hai and Lau, although his reasons have not been distinctly specified. Their radical monosyllables seem to me to be nearly alike, however transposed in their signification they may be when used in speech.’—p. 18.

Of the Mon or Mān, the ancient language of Pegu, which has by no means been superseded as yet by that of the Burmese conquerors, Captain Low expresses his opinion, that it will prove to have ‘the fairest claim to originality of any contained in Dr. Leyden’s second class.’

‘It approaches the T’hai or Siamese language, however, in many instances; and its tones are much deeper and more guttural than those of either that or the Burman language. The Burmans and Siamese, as far as experiments have been made by me, are alike incapable of pronouncing or articulating *Mān* words with correctness; and some they cannot pronounce *.’—p. 4.

The Missionaries were visited, at Bangkok, by numbers of ‘Moans or Peguans, a people mainly subject to the Burmese, ‘but speaking a different language from the Burman.’ Pegu, properly Bagoo, (pronounced by the Moans, with a strong guttural emphasis on the last syllable, Pagau,) is the name of a stream which forms one of the arms of the Irrawaddy; and the Pegu country includes the *Henzawuddy*, the delta of that river. The proper name by which the Peguans are known to the Burmese, is Taliens or Ta-lain. This is, perhaps, the same word as T’hă-loong, the name of a district in the Malayan peninsula, which may have received its name from settlers of this nation. The Martaban river, the Pegu of Buchanan, and the Caypumo of older travellers, is called the Tha-luayn or Ta-lain, which appears to be the same word. Mān or Moan, however, would seem to be the native name of the race, who are apparently a more ancient nation than the Burmese, or than, perhaps, the Siamese. Leyden supposes them to have founded the Kalimin-

* ‘The Māns use nearly the same alphabet as the Burmans. There exists, however, some little difference betwixt four of the consonantal letters, and also in the powers attached to the whole; and the Māns have two consonants beyond what the Burmans have.’—p. 5.

ham (or Meng-Mān) empire, the ancient capital of which, according to statements made to Captain Low, by several intelligent Siamese priests, was situated in a province of Laos, to the north of Siam. It has been already mentioned, that the Laos dialect has an alphabet more resembling the Mān than the T'hai or Siamese, which indicates some connexion between the two languages. Leyden was led to conclude that the Lau or Laos nation consists of two distinct races, the Chang-mai and the Lan-chang. Captain Low supposes the inhabitants of North and South Laos to be of the same race, the above names distinguishing only the countries. Yet, he admits that the Siamese distinguish between those Lau who puncture and paint their bodies, and those who do not follow the practice, which extends more or less among almost all the Indo-Chinese nations. The Siamese, indeed, form an exception: 'they deem the practice a mark of barbarism.' If so, may not the inhabitants of Laos who do not observe the practice, be a race closely related to the T'hai; while the other race are a branch of the Mān or Moan nation? Where is the country to be found that is peopled by a single race?

Not long before the Missionaries visited Bangkok, the Siamese monarch had sent an expedition against Laos, which had returned bringing back a number of captives; and among the prisoners were the king himself and his family. The following extracts from Mr. Tomlin's journal, will relieve the dullness of our philological speculations, and illustrate the character of the people.

' Sabbath, Jan. 30. Went this morning to see the king of Laos and his family, lately taken prisoners and brought hither in chains, and who during the last fortnight have been exposed to public view in a large iron cage! The news of these captives, and their subsequent arrival, caused great joy to many; and the Phra Klang and other high personages were long busied in devising the best mode of torturing and putting them to death.

' We were disappointed in not seeing the king. For some reason or other, he was not brought out to-day. Nine of his sons and grandsons were in the cage; most of them grown up, but two were mere children, who deeply affected us by their wretched condition, all having chains round their necks and legs. One particularly, of an open, cheerful countenance, sat like an innocent lamb, alike unconscious of having done any wrong, and of the miserable fate which awaited him? Most of the rest also seemed careless and unconcerned, and ate the rice heartily which was brought to them. Two or three, however, hung their heads, and were apparently sunk into a melancholy stupor. Now and then they raised them, and cast a momentary glance upon us, their countenances displaying a wild and cheerless aspect. The sad spectacle exhibited by these was heightened rather than alleviated by the laughter and playfulness of the boys.

' Close by are the various instruments of torture, placed in terrific array. A large iron boiler for heating oil, to be poured on the body

of the king, after being cut and mangled with knives! On the right of the cage a sort of gallows is erected, having a chain, with a large hook at the end of it, suspended from the top beam. The king, after being tortured, will be hung upon this hook by the chin. In the front there is a long row of triangular gibbets, formed by three poles joined at the top, and stretching out at the bottom, to form a stable basis on the ground. A spear rises up from the common joining of the poles a foot or more above them. The king's two principal wives, and his sons, grandsons, &c., amounting in all to fourteen, are to be fixed on these as upon a seat. On the right of the cage is a wooden mortar and pestle to pound the king's children in.

The people are exhorted to go and see the captives while thus exhibited, previous to execution, and are expected to rejoice on the occasion! Lately, two or three days were expressly set apart as days of joyous festivity! A theatrical exhibition of Siamese players was going on close in the neighbourhood, in full view of the melancholy scene we were contemplating. The theatre being open, the spectators might amuse themselves by casting their eyes alternately on these two different scenes.

Captain Coffin saw the old king of Laos in the cage a few days ago. He seemed low-spirited but calm, and addressed a few words to Captain C., saying, the king of Siam had formerly behaved very well to him, and had received him in a very respectful manner when he formerly came to Bangkok. Fear or policy might probably induce the poor captive monarch to say these smooth words, as they would doubtless come to the ears of his Siamese majesty.' pp. 92—95.

* * * * *

Feb. 26.—The old Laos King is dead, and has thus escaped the hands of his tormentors. He is said to have pined gradually away and died broken-hearted. His corpse was removed to the place of execution and decapitated, and now hangs on a gibbet by the river side, a little below the city, exposed to the gaze of every stranger entering the country, and left a prey to beasts and birds. It is rumoured that his family will not be put to death, but kept in chains probably during life.—p. 103.

The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.' In a former part of the Journal, mention is made of a 'young French *padre* ' who was lately up in the Laos' country, and put in irons by the 'Siamese,' and who had become deranged. No further account is given of him, nor any explanation of the circumstances, which suggest the suspicion that the Frenchman had been intermeddling with the politics of the country. This would be no new occurrence. The Jesuits had a principal hand in fostering the conspiracy headed by Constantine Phalcon in 1685, which ended in the destruction of that adventurer and the expulsion of the French. The Christians now residing at Bangkok, are chiefly Portuguese; and from the Portuguese consul, the Missionaries received the most hospitable treatment. Some of the Romish *padres*, however, endeavoured to raise an alarm as to their ulterior

designs, and to waken the jealousy of the Siamese Government by the most malicious insinuations. When these reports reached the ears of the king, he adopted the very reasonable measure of ordering the books brought by the Missionaries to be translated, that he might know their contents; and it was soon officially notified, that the king found nothing bad in them, 'nothing against the country or the laws.' The alarm would have passed away, had not a conspiracy of some of the Talapoins been detected at this critical juncture, which the enemies of the Missionaries eagerly connected with the arrival of the foreigners.

'An edict,' continues Mr. Tomlin, 'was issued, prohibiting any one from receiving our books under a severe penalty, some say of death!—and minions of Government were ordered to take away those which had been given: a great many were actually seized and taken violently out of the hands of the people, and sheet tracts pulled down from the walls of the houses. Mr. Carlos, also, was censured for having taken us into his house, and ordered to turn us out at the peril of incurring their displeasure. Mr. H. was requested by the Phra Klang to take us out of the country in his ship, on his return to Singapore. We thought it now high time to bestir ourselves. The consul being a little alarmed, and not knowing what was coming upon him, we resolved that he should not suffer on our account; therefore immediately locked up the house, gave him the key, and went to reside with Mr. H. a few days. We had soon an audience with the Phra Klang, desiring to know the reason why we were thus treated, and about to be banished from the country without having in anywise offended. We presented at the same time a petition drawn up in Chinese and English, setting forth plainly our intention in coming to Siam, our good will to the king and his subjects, and requested that a hearing might be granted, and that we might be suffered to answer our accusers face to face. This we requested the Phra Klang to put into the hands of the king; but he declined, and thought it quite sufficient to talk over the matter with him. He had nothing to say against us, except that we made too great a stir amongst the Chinese by the books. We told him, we were as much averse to mere noise and stir as himself, and thought, after the novelty of the thing had passed away, there would be very little stir made. We appealed to the treaty recently made, as affording us protection till it could be shewn wherein we had offended, and requested a written document to be given to us, if they persisted in sending us away, stating the cause of our banishment, in order that we might shew it to our own government, and so give a proper account of the whole affair. We claimed, also, an equal right with the Romish padres who reside here, and thought it but fair and equal that they should also be sent away, if we were obliged to go. We did this the rather as we are persuaded these Catholic Christians are underneath our worst enemies, and perhaps at the bottom of the whole matter. The Phra Klang, however, felt no inclination to gratify this request, and was more willing to compromise the matter with us. He saw no reason why we should be obliged to leave the country, and only re-

quested us to keep a little more quiet and be more sparing of the books; in this respect we should do well to imitate the good padres, who remained quietly at home, making no uproar among the people. We left the Phra Klang apparently on very good terms, without giving any promise to follow the example of these worthy *Missionaires Apostoliques*." pp. 27—29.

The Phra-klang's fears of the English are supposed to have wrought very powerfully in their favour; and after this, they met with no serious interruption or annoyance. Many individuals came two, three, four, and even five days' journey from the interior for books; and some very pleasing and satisfactory indications were afforded of their having produced a strong and beneficial impression. A singular fact was related to the Missionaries by a young Talapoin.

'In his neighbourhood, remote from Bangkok, there was an old *Sing jin*, or sage, eighty years of age, who told his neighbours some time back, that, within six years, a Redeemer, or Saviour, of his nation should appear. For the present, because their sins were lying upon them, there was no salvation—" *jin wei tsay sew bo ken*." On hearing of our arrival at Bangkok and seeing the books, he said: "These are the forerunners of Him that I spoke of." This may, perhaps, afford some explanation of the reason that the question has been so often put to us, "Is Jesus come hither?" Probably, with some glimmerings of truth, much of the darkness of error is mingled; and the old man and others of his countrymen may, like the Jews of old, be waiting for a temporal, rather than a spiritual deliverer."—p. 116.

One day, a man came to them, and with much simplicity and earnestness asked Mr. Gutzlaff: 'Is this Ayso (Jesus) come with you? Or, will he come? Or, is he now here? Or, are you the person?' Mr. G. answered: 'No, I am not Ayso; but he is come hither, for he is Tien-kong, and is every where.'

It is remarkable how the expectation of one who is to come, still pervades all nations, blending with their various creeds and superstitions. Is this the perpetuation of the universal expectation derived from the sublime intimations of Hebrew prophecy, that preceded Our Lord's first advent? Or is it the reflection of the Christian faith respecting his second coming? Or is it the mere instinctive prompting of "the earnest expectation" with which all nature awaits the day of the manifestation of the sons of God? While the infatuated Jew still blindly clings to his hope of a Messiah Ben David, the Mohammedan *Sheeah* is looking out for the return of the last Imaum, the Boodhist is taught to expect the fifth and last Boodha of the present *kulpu* or mundane period, and the Hindoo votary of Vishnôo anticipates yet one more *avatar* of 'the Preserver'; all dim, shadowy emblems of the triumphant return of the White Horse whose mysterious

Rider bears the titles of Faithful and True, King of Kings and Lord of Lords *,—at whose name, it is written, and the decree is irreversible, "every knee shall bow."

Art. III. *A Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical, and Historical, of Commerce and Commercial Navigation.* Illustrated with Maps. By J. R. M'Culloch, Esq. 8vo. pp. xii. 1143. Price 2l. 10s.

THIS is a work which was much wanted; so much so that a bad book, at least a very imperfect one, would have found a ready sale under such a title; but this volume, which is really a stupendous mass of various information, must, in consequence of the very superior judgement and ability, as well as accuracy, with which it is executed, supersede every similar work. It is, in fact, a commercial encyclopedia, indispensable to the mercantile man for the purpose of continual reference; and comprising at the same time a fund of statistical and geographical information relative to our Colonies, and upon miscellaneous topics, which might almost warrant our recommending it as a work of amusement. Although few persons, we presume, will have courage enough to sit down with the intention of reading it through,—this single volume containing about as much letter-press as would make two ordinary folio volumes,—yet, in turning over its pages for reference, the eye is continually detained by articles of the most entertaining nature. Such has been the case at least with ourselves, in examining its pages for the purpose of testing its accuracy and the competent manner in which it has been executed; for a Reviewer must have the digestive powers of the dragon of Wantley to manage the whole volume. As to the Writer, we should be really glad to learn by what new application of steam power, within the specified time, he has been able to collect and condense such a mass of materials, even making the freest use of the very imperfect performances of his predecessors. There must have been, one would think, some division of labour; and yet, the presiding mind may be detected, we think, throughout; and the attention paid to accuracy, upon which the value of such a compilation absolutely depends, is vouched for by the specific references to authorities. Except in the case of dictionaries or books in familiar use, the page and chapter are generally particularized; 'experience having taught us,' says our Professor, 'that the convenient practice of stringing together a list of authorities at the end of an article, is much oftener a cloak for ignorance, than an evidence of research.' A hint this, by which future compilers will do well to improve.

Faultless the work cannot aspire to be; and those individuals

* Rev. vi. 2; xix. 11.

will render a service not merely to the Editor, but to the public also, who comply with his invitation to transmit to the publishers any material corrections or additional information.

'In a work,' it is remarked in the Preface, 'embracing such an extreme range and diversity of subjects, as to many of which it is exceedingly difficult, if not quite impossible, to obtain accurate information, no one will be offended, should he detect a few errors. At the same time, we can honestly say, that neither labour nor expense has been spared to render the work worthy of the public confidence and patronage. The Author has been almost incessantly engaged upon it for upwards of three years; and the previous part of his life, may be said to have been spent in preparing himself for the undertaking. He has derived valuable assistance from some distinguished official gentlemen, and from many eminent merchants; and has endeavoured, wherever it was practicable, to build his conclusions upon official documents. But, in very many instances, he has been obliged to adopt less authentic data; and he does not suppose that he has had sagacity enough always to resort to the best authorities, or that, amidst conflicting and contradictory statements, he has uniformly selected those most worthy of being relied upon, or that the inferences he has drawn are always such as the real circumstances of the case would warrant. But he has done his best not to be wanting in these respects. We have had no motive to induce us, in any instance, to conceal or pervert the truth. What we have considered wrong, we have censured freely and openly; but we have not done this without assigning the grounds of our opinion; so that the reader may always judge for himself of its correctness.'

It will be seen from this frank avowal, as might have been anticipated, indeed, from the distinguished talents and well known opinions of the learned Editor, that the work is not the compilation of one who feels himself a *tyro*, upon whom a neutrality of opinion on subjects demanding the decision of a sound judgement, is imposed by a needful discretion. Professor M'Culloch has not hesitated to intimate his views on the corn trade, the principles of our colonial policy, the West India system, the East India Company, and other topics; and although his readers may not always agree with him, yet, the substantial value and usefulness of the work are not a little enhanced by the general correctness of the commercial principles which it lays down and illustrates. There is no dogmatism, and very little of hypothesis. The Author's data are calculations and facts, which form the staple of the work, the opinions being but incidental. As a specimen of one class of articles, relating as well to natural history as to trade, we take the word *Balsam*, which will probably supply our readers with some particulars that are new to them.

'**BALSAM** (Ger. *Balsam*; Du. *Balsem*; Fr. *Baume*; It. and Sp. *Balsamo*; Lat. *Balsamum*). Balsams are vegetable juices, either liquid, or which spontaneously become concrete, consisting of a substance

of a resinous nature, combined with benzoic acid, or which are capable of affording benzoic acid, by being heated alone, or with water. The liquid balsams are copaiva, opobalsam, balsam of Peru, storax, and tolu; the concrete are benzoin, dragon's blood, and red or concrete storax.—(Dr. Ure.)

'1. *Copaiva* (Fr. *Baume de Copahu*; Ger. *Kopaiva Balsam*; Sp. *Copayva*), obtained from a tree (*Copaifera*) growing in South America and the West India Islands. The largest quantity is furnished by the province of Para in Brazil. It is imported in small casks, containing from 1 to 1½ cwt. Genuine good copaiva or copaiba balsam has a peculiar but agreeable odour, and a bitterish, hot, nauseous taste. It is clear and transparent; its consistence is that of oil; but when exposed to the action of the air, it becomes solid, dry, and brittle, like resin.—(Thomson's Dispensatory.)

'2. *Opobalsam* (Fr. *Balsamier de la Mecque*; It. *Opobalsamo*; Lat. *Balsamum verum album*, *Ægyptiacum*; Egypt. *Balissan*), the most precious of all the balsams, commonly called Balm of Gilead. It is the produce of a tree (*Amyris Gileadensis*), indigenous to Arabia and Abyssinia, and transplanted at an early period to Judea. It is obtained by cutting the bark with an axe at the time that the juice is in the strongest circulation. The true balsam is of a pale yellowish colour, clear and transparent, about the consistence of Venice turpentine, of a strong, penetrating, agreeable, aromatic smell, and a slightly bitterish pungent taste. By age it becomes yellower, browner, and thicker, losing by degrees, like volatile oils, some of its finer and more subtle parts. It is rarely if ever brought genuine into this country; dried Canada balsam being generally substituted for it. It was in high repute among the ancients; but it is now principally used as a cosmetic by the Turkish ladies.—(Drs. Ure and Thomson.)

'The Canada balsam, now referred to, is merely *fine turpentine*. It is the produce of the *Pinus Balsamea*, and is imported in casks, each containing about 1 cwt. It has a strong, but not a disagreeable odour, and a bitterish taste; is transparent, whitish, and has the consistence of copaiva balsam.

'3. *Balsam of Peru* (Fr. *Baume de Peru*; Ger. *Peruvianischer Balsam*; Sp. *Balsamo de Quinquina*; Lat. *Balsamum Peruvianum*), the produce of a tree (*Myroxylon Peruiferum*) growing in the warmest parts of South America. The balsam procured by incisions made in the tree is called *white liquid balsam*; that which is found in the shops is obtained by boiling the twigs in water: it is imported in jars, each containing from 20 to 40 lbs. weight. It has a fragrant aromatic odour, much resembling that of benzoin, with a warm bitterish taste. It is viscid, of a deep reddish brown colour, and of the consistence of honey.—(Thomson's Dispensatory.)

'4. *Storax* (Fr. *Storax*; Ger. *Stryaxbroom*; It. *Storace*; Sp. *Azumbar*; Lat. *Styrax*; Arab. *Usteruk*), the produce of a tree (*Styrax officinale*) growing in the south of Europe and the Levant. Only two kinds are found in the shops: storax in tears, which is pure; and storax in the lump, or red storax, which is mixed with saw-dust and other impurities. Both kinds are brought from the Levant in chests and boxes. Storax has a fragrant odour, and a pleasant, sub-acidulous,

slightly pungent, and aromatic taste ; it is of a reddish brown colour, and brittle.—(*Thomson's Dispensatory*.)

' 5. *Tolu*, *Balsam of* (Fr. *Baume de Tolu* ; Ger. *Tolutanischer Balsam* ; Sp. *Balsamo de Tolu*). The tree which yields this balsam is the same as that which yields the balsam of Peru ; it being merely the white balsam of Peru, hardened by exposure to the air.

' 6. *Benzoin*, or *Benjamin* (Fr. *Benzoin* ; Ger. *Benzoe* ; Sp. *Ben-gui* ; It. *Belzuino* ; Lat. *Benzoinum* ; Arab. *Liban* ; Hind. *Luban* ; Jav. *Menian* ; Malay, *Caminyan*), is an article of much greater commercial importance than any of those balsams previously mentioned. It is obtained from a tree (*Styrax Benzoin*) growing in Sumatra and Borneo. It has a very agreeable fragrant odour, but hardly any taste. It is imported in large masses packed in chests and casks. It should be chosen full of clear, light-coloured, and white spots, having the appearance of white marble when broken : it is rarely, however, to be met with in so pure a state, but the nearer the approach to it the better. The worst sort is blackish, and full of impurities.—(*Milburn's Orient. Com.*)

' Mr. Crawford has given the following interesting and authentic details with respect to this article:—"Benzoin, or frankincense, called in commercial language Benjamin, is a more general article of commerce than camphor, though its production be confined to the same islands. Benzoin is divided in commerce, like camphor, into three sorts, (head, belly, foot,) according to quality, the comparative value of which may be expressed by the figures 105, 45, 18. Benzoin is valued in proportion to its whiteness, semi-transparency, and freedom from adventitious matters. According to its purity, the first sort may be bought at the *emporion* to which it is brought, at from 50 to 100 dollars per picul (133½ lbs.) ; the second from 25 to 45 dollars ; and the worst from 8 to 20 dollars. According to Linschoten, benzoin, in his time, cost, in the market of Sunda Calapa or Jacatra, from 19 $\frac{3}{10}$ to 25 $\frac{1}{10}$ Spanish dollars the picul. By Niebuhr's account, the worst benzoin of the Indian islands is more esteemed by the Arabs than their own best *olibanum*, or frankincense. In the London market, the best benzoin is fourteen times more valuable than *olibanum*, and even the worst 2½ times more valuable. Benzoin usually sells in England at 10s. per pound. The quantity generally imported into England, in the time of the monopoly, was 312 cwts. The principal use of this commodity is as incense, and is equally in request in the religious ceremonies of Catholics, Mohammedans, Hindus, and Chinese. It is also used as a luxury by the great in fumigations in their houses ; and the Japanese chiefs are fond of smoking it with tobacco. Its general use among nations in such various states of civilisation, and the steady demand for it in all ages, declare that it is one of those commodities, the taste for which is inherent in our nature, and not the result of a particular caprice with any individual people, as in the case of Malay camphor with the Chinese."—(*Indian Archipelago*, III. p. 418.)

' 7. *Dragon's Blood* (Fr. *Sang-Dragon* ; Lat. *Sanguis Draconis* ; Arab. *Damulākhwain* ; Hind. *Heraduky*), the produce of a large species of rattan (*Calamus Draco*) growing on the north and north-east coast of Sumatra, and in some parts of Borneo. It is largely exported

to China, and also to India and Europe. It is either in oval drops, wrapped up in flag-leaves, or in large and generally more impure masses, composed of smaller tears. It is externally and internally of a deep dusky red colour, and when powdered, it should become of a bright crimson; if it be black, it is worth little. When broken and held up against a strong light, it is somewhat transparent: it has little or no smell or taste; what it has of the latter is resinous and astringent. Dragon's blood in drops is much preferable to that in cakes; the latter being more friable, and less compact, resinous, and pure than the former. Being a very costly article, it is very apt to be adulterated. Most of its alloys dissolve like gums in water, or crackle in the fire without proving inflammable; whereas the genuine dragon's blood readily melts and catches flame, and is scarcely acted upon by watery liquors. Its price at Bajarmassin in Borneo, where large quantities are manufactured, is, according to quality, from 50 to 70 Spanish dollars per picul, or at an average 11*l.* 6*s.* 9½*d.* per cwt. Its price in the London market is usually about 30*l.* per cwt.—(*Milburn's Orient. Com. Cramford's East. Archip.*)

'The net duty on balsams imported into Great Britain in 1828 amounted to 5,543*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*' pp. 57, 8.

As an article of a different character, uniting trade and mechanics, we take the word Rail-road.

'RAIL-ROAD, TRAM or WAGON ROAD, a species of road having tracks or ways formed of iron, stone, or other solid material, on which the wheels of the carriages passing along it run. The object in constructing such roads is, by diminishing the friction, to make a less amount of power adequate either to impel a carriage with a greater velocity, or to urge forward a greater load.

'*Construction of Rail-roads.*—The friction on a perfectly level rail-road, properly constructed, is estimated to amount to from $\frac{1}{10}$ th to $\frac{1}{4}$ th only of the friction on an ordinary level road; so that, supposing the same force to be applied in both cases, it would move a weight from 10 to 7 times as great on the former as on the latter. But if there be a very moderate ascent, such as 1 foot in 50, which in an ordinary road would hardly be perceived, a great increase of power on the rail-road is required to overcome the resistance that is thus occasioned. The reason is, that the ordinary load on a *level* rail-road is about *seven times as great* as on a common turnpike road; so that when the force of gravity is brought into operation by an ascending plane, its opposing power, being *proportioned to the load*, is seven times as great as on a common road. Hence the vast importance of having rail-roads either level, or as nearly so as possible.

'It is also of great importance that rail-roads should be straight, or, at least, free from any abrupt curves. Carriages being kept on the road by *flanges* on the wheels, it is obvious, that where the curves are quick, the friction on the sides of the rails, and consequent retardation, must be very great. In the Manchester and Liverpool rail-road, the curves form segments of a circle which, if extended, would embrace a circumference of 15 miles.

Speed of Carriages on Rail-roads, &c.—The effect of rail-roads in diminishing friction is familiar to every one; and they have long been used in various places of this and other countries, particularly in the vicinity of mines, for facilitating the transport of heavy loads. But it is only since the application of locomotive engines as a moving power, that they have begun to attract the public attention, and to be regarded as of the highest national importance. These engines were first brought into use on the Darlington and Stockton rail-road, opened on the 27th of December, 1825. But the rail-road between Liverpool and Manchester is by far the greatest undertaking of this sort that has hitherto been completed. This splendid work, which is executed in the most approved manner, cost between 800,000*l.* and 900,000*l.*; and as far as speed is concerned, has completely verified, and, indeed, far surpassed, the most sanguine anticipations. The road has the advantage of being nearly level; for, with the exception of a short space at Rainhill, where it is inclined at the rate of 1 foot in 96, there is no greater inclination than in the ratio of 1 foot in 880. The length of the rail-road is 31 miles; and it is usual to perform this journey in handsome carriages attached to the locomotive engines, in an hour and a half, and sometimes less! So wonderful a result has gone far to strike space and time out of the calculations of the traveller: it has brought, in so far, at least, as respects the facility of passing from the one to the other, Liverpool as near to Manchester as the western part of London is to the eastern part!

‘The extraordinary speed of carriages on rail-roads depends on the fact, that the *friction*, which on a perfectly level rail-road is the only resistance to be overcome, is *the same for all velocities*; so that, abstracting from the resistance of the air, which is so trifling as not to require to be taken into account, we have merely, in order to double or treble the velocity, to double or treble the power. But in vessels at sea, or in canals, which have to make their way through a comparatively dense medium, the resistance to be overcome increases as the *square of the velocity*; so that to double the speed, the power must be multiplied by 4, and to treble it, it must be multiplied by 9, and so on.

‘*Comparative Advantages of Rail-roads and Canals.*—Astonishing, however, as are the results of the performances on the Manchester and Liverpool rail-road, we doubt much whether there be many more situations in the kingdom where it would be prudent to establish one. That carriages with passengers may be safely impelled along a perfectly level rail-road at a speed of 20 or 30 miles an hour, is a fact that is now proved experimentally; but before deciding as to the expediency of opening such a mode of communication between any two places, it is necessary to look carefully into the expense attending the formation of a rail-road with a suitable establishment of carriages, at the expense of keeping it and them in repair, and at the probable returns. The outlay, judging from what has taken place between Liverpool and Manchester, is quite enormous; the wear and tear of the engines, which is great under all circumstances, is increased in an extraordinary degree with every considerable increase of speed. We do not, therefore, consider the success that has hitherto attended the Liverpool and Manchester rail-road as at all warranting the construction

of similar roads in most other places. The great size of these two towns, and still more their intimate connection,—Liverpool being, in fact, the port of Manchester and of the entire cotton district,—occasions a very great intercourse between them: the number of passengers and the quantity of goods that are always in the course of being conveyed from the one to the other, is far greater than between any two equally distant places in the empire. If a rail-road had not succeeded in such a situation, it would have been madness to attempt the formation of one, at least as a mercantile speculation, any where else.

‘No general estimate can be formed of the comparative cost of canals and rail-roads; as it must, in every given instance, depend on special circumstances. It is, however, certain, that the cost of rail-roads, and particularly of keeping up the locomotive engines, is far greater than it was supposed it would be a short time since. It is reasonable, indeed, inasmuch as these engines are only in their infancy, to suppose that they will be gradually improved, and that ultimately their expense will be materially reduced; but at present it is a heavy drawback from the other advantages of rail-roads.

‘In as far as respects the conveyance of heavy goods, we believe that, even between Manchester and Liverpool, canals are generally preferred. It is not very material whether a ton of lime, or coal, or of manure, be moved with a velocity of 3 or 10 miles an hour; at least, the advantage of superior speed would, in such a case, be effectually overbalanced by a small additional charge.

‘The wonderful performances of the engines between Liverpool and Manchester struck, in the first instance, every one with astonishment, and led to the most extravagant speculations. It was supposed that the whole country would be forthwith intersected by rail-roads; that locomotive engines would be as common as stage coaches; and that the only way in which the canal proprietors could escape ruin, would be by converting canals into rail-roads! Soberer and sounder views are now entertained. The price of canal stock has recovered from the depression which it suffered in 1826. And it seems to be generally admitted, that rail-roads between distant places, at least where a canal has already been constructed, must depend for returns chiefly on the conveyance of passengers and light goods; and that it would not be prudent to undertake their construction, except between places that have a very extensive intercourse together.

‘*Steam Carriages on common Roads.*—The late committee of the House of Commons have collected a good deal of evidence as to the probability of advantageously using locomotive engines, or steam carriages, on common roads. Most of the witnesses seem to be very sanguine in their expectations; nor, after what has been effected, can such anticipations be deemed unreasonable. Mr. Farey, a very eminent practical engineer, declares that “what has been done proves to his satisfaction the practicability of impelling stage coaches by steam on good common roads, in tolerably level parts of the country, without horses, at a speed of 8 or 10 miles an hour.” Mr. Farey further states, that he believes “that steam coaches will, very soon after their first establishment, be run for one-third of the cost of the present stage coaches.” We suspect that the latter part of this statement is a good

deal more problematical than the first; but since there is nothing better than conjecture on which to found an opinion, it would be useless to indulge in further speculations.' pp. 897—899.

The article on 'Colonies' is one of the most extensive and important in the volume, embracing a sketch of the ancient and modern systems of colonization, an examination of the principles of colonial policy, and a statistical view of the British and other European colonies. Here we are upon debateable ground. Professor M'Culloch is the uncompromising and thorough enemy of all restrictions upon the colonial trade, as being injurious and unjust to the colonies themselves, and ultimately of no real use, but the reverse, to the mother country. He seems to contemplate the retention of colonies as, indeed, of little advantage. 'Has the independence of the United States,' he asks, 'been in any respect injurious to us?'

'So far from this, it is certain that it has redounded materially to our advantage. We have been relieved from the expense and trouble of governing extensive countries at a great distance from our shores, at the same time that we have continued to reap all the advantage that we previously reaped from our intercourse with them The expense of the colonies is a very heavy item in the national expenditure—far more so than is generally supposed. Not only are we subjected, as in the case of timber, to oppressive discriminating duties on foreign articles, that similar articles from the colonies may enjoy the monopoly of our markets, but we have to defray a very large sum on account of their military and naval expenditure. There are no means by which to estimate the precise amount of this expense; but it is, notwithstanding, abundantly certain, that Canada and the islands in the West Indies cost us annually, in military and naval outlays, *upwards of a million and a half in time of peace, exclusive of the revenue collected in them*. And if to this heavy expense were added the vast additional sums their defence cost, during war, the debtor side of a fairly drawn up colonial budget would attain to a very formidable magnitude; and one which, we apprehend, could not possibly be balanced.' pp. 314, 318.

An argument is always to be suspected of involving some fallacy, that proves too much; and such, we must confess, appears to us to be the case in the present instance. If 'the only use of colonies' be, 'the monopoly of their consumption and the carriage of their produce,' as Lord Sheffield declared, (and Professor M'Culloch, while he rejects this opinion, does not clearly state what he conceives to be their real and legitimate use to the mother country,) and if at the same time this monopoly is of no real use, and the same countries would afford the same vent for our commerce, if they were not colonies,—what is this but maintaining that colonies are of no use whatever? The Author hopes that it will not be supposed, nevertheless, that he considers the

foundation of colonial establishments as, generally speaking, inexpedient. It is not to the establishment of colonies that he objects, but to the trammels that have been laid on their industry, and to the interference exercised by the mother country in their domestic concerns. Occasions may occur, 'when the soundest policy dictates the propriety of supporting and protecting them 'until they are in a situation to support and protect themselves.' But surely the right of interference, however much to be deprecated is the indiscreet exercise of that right, must belong to the protective Government. And so long as those colonies require such protection, it is but just that they should be made to yield some advantage in return to the parent State.

But Mr. M'Culloch seems to doubt, with Sir Henry Parnell, whether colonies can, as such, be of any advantage to the mother country. Europe has been prodigiously benefited by the colonization of America, it is admitted, inasmuch as it has immeasurably extended the empire of civilization, and opened new marts for commerce; but it is the formation of such colonies, not our possession of them, it seems, that is so beneficial. That there should be such countries to trade with, is an advantage; but that they should belong to us, is a disadvantage. If they did not belong to us, we should save all the expense of governing them, and yet derive from them precisely the same commercial advantages. Now surely this is taking much more for granted, than is warranted by either facts or sober calculation. What has created the commerce and maritime greatness of Great Britain, but her colonies? And what are many of those colonies but out posts for the maintenance of our power? To represent the military and naval expenditure occasioned by the colonies as incurred simply on account of the colonies themselves, is palpably fallacious. If Malta, Gibraltar, and the Ionian Islands cost us the expense of a garrison, is the command of the Mediterranean of no advantage to our commerce? If the former two were ceded to Spain, and the latter abandoned to the protection of Russia, would our commerce suffer no detriment? Or if the Cape, the Mauritius, and Ceylon were given up to the Dutch, would our ascendancy in the Indian Seas, and the security of our Indian empire, be in no wise affected? Yet, all these would be sacrificed by Sir Henry Parnell's sweeping plans of colonial reduction. If perpetual peace could be secured, some of our possessions might be safely parted with; but upon his principles of financial reform, it were better to discard them all as useless incumbrances.

If, however, our colonies be in fact the bulwarks of our commerce, the expense of maintaining them must be set against the total revenue derived from our commerce, not against what is furnished by the colonies themselves. If they are not in a si-

tuation to maintain their political independence, it were unreasonable to require that they should defray the whole military and naval expense of their being protected; for this would be in effect to protect themselves, which it is supposed that they are unable to do. But, for this political protection to which they owe their security, whether it be that of the mother country, or of any foreign power, they may justly be expected to yield some compensation; and if the monopoly of their trade can be made of advantage, it is but a fair equivalent. Yet, it is not for the sake of that monopoly merely, that they are of value, but as military and naval stations; and in protecting them, the mother country protects her own interests.

That the colonies ought to defray the charges of their civil establishment and *internal* defence, is but reasonable; and this they do, with the exception, we believe, of our *slave colonies*, where the presence of a considerable military force is required, not to defend the islands against foreign enemies, but to keep down the black population. The expediency of retaining *such* colonies may, indeed, be questioned. The system of government in the West India islands, is upon the most expensive scale; and were slavery abolished, nearly the whole of the military expenditure which they entail, might be saved. The charge of their naval protection would then alone devolve upon this country; and that is the fair price of the security of our commerce.

When colonies become strong enough not merely to govern, but *also* to protect themselves, and when they find it cheaper to do so, than to buy the protection of a distant State, then, being virtually independent because capable of asserting their independence, it may be for the interests of all parties, that a political separation should take place. At all events, it is likely to ensue. That the separation of the American colonies from Great Britain, was in no respect injurious either to them or to this country, we cannot indeed admit. The injury has been more than repaired; it has been exceedingly counterbalanced by the marvellous expansion of the united colonies into a powerful State, exerting a salutary moral re-action upon the decrepit governments of Europe. But at the time, the separation, being premature as well as violent, was productive of mutual injury. And had not Great Britain retained, by means of her Canadian and other colonies, the means of indemnifying herself for the loss, the blow to our commerce would have been fatal. As it is, our share of the American trade is now become more valuable than the monopoly of the colonial trade was prior to the separation; and the population of British America at this moment, is almost equal to that of the Thirteen Colonies at the middle of the last century *.

* In 1748, their total population was estimated at about 1,100,000.
Nova

The greatest advantage that America has gained by the separation, has been, perhaps, the privilege of a pacific neutrality amid jealous belligerent nations, and security against aggression from any European power. Except as having escaped from implication in the politics of the mother country, she would otherwise have reaped little solid advantage. Prior to their becoming independent, Professor M'Culloch remarks,

‘ Every thing relating to the internal regulation and administration of the different colonies, was determined in the colonial assemblies by representatives freely chosen by the settlers. The personal liberty of the citizens was well secured and vigilantly protected. And if we except the restraint on their commerce, the monopoly of which was jealously guarded by the mother country, the inhabitants of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New England enjoyed nearly the same degree of freedom, when colonists of England, that they now enjoy as citizens of the powerful republic of North America. Their progress in wealth and population was in consequence quite unprecedented in the history of the world.’ p. 312.

For several years after the commencement of the French Revolution, the state of the political world favoured the enterprise of the Americans, whose vessels, as neutrals, were employed to carry from port to port the commodities of the belligerents. In fifteen years, reckoning from 1793, these favourable circumstances increased the amount of American tonnage from 491,000 to 1,242,000 tons. This accidental advantage resulting from the separation of the American Colonies from Great Britain, does not, however, fairly come under consideration, in estimating the general benefits of detaching colonies from the mother country. But for the war, it is not impossible that the progress of America in wealth and population would have been quite as rapid, had the colonies still continued to acknowledge the sceptre of Great Britain.

At all events, before their separation can be regarded as a precedent establishing the advantage of getting rid of our colonies as fast as possible, it may be as well to inquire, in what respects the loss of Brazil and the Indies has redounded to the advantage of Portugal, what France has gained by the independence of Hayti and the loss of her other colonies, and how much Spain has saved by being relieved from the expense and trouble of governing Mexico and Colombia. Till this is satisfactorily ascertained, we really think that it would be unwise to sacrifice the Canadas either to financial reform or to political hypothesis; more especially as the Canadians seem at present to be too well aware of

Nova Scotia contained only 13,000, and Canada about 70,000. The Canadas and Nova Scotia now contain between 900,000 and a million.

the benefits they derive from their connexion with this country, to wish to renounce that alliance for the equivocal advantage of admission to the American Federacy. In tonnage and seamen, the trade of the British North American provinces is said to employ, at present, about one-fifth of the whole foreign trade of this country.

We regret to find Professor M'Culloch countenancing the extravagant misrepresentations and malignant clamours that have been circulated respecting Sierra Leone. The prodigality of the expenditure occasioned by this colony, he asserts to be 'unmatched, except by its uselessness.' Commercially considered, it appears to quite as little advantage, he says, as in other points of view; and 'if an establishment be really required for the advantageous prosecution of the trade to Western Africa, it is abundantly obvious, that it should be placed much further to the south than Sierra Leone.' We take leave to say that this is the reverse of obvious. Captain Beaver, no friend to the colony, admitted, that 'if commerce were one of the principal objects' of the Company, they had chosen 'a tolerably good situation, with an excellent harbour,'*—the only good one, in fact, between Gibraltar and the Gold Coast. And if this station has not had the effect of destroying the slave-trade carried on with the countries round the bights of Biafra and Benin, it has extinguished it from the Rio Nunez to the Shebar inclusive. Nor does its insalubrity, which has been grossly exaggerated, by any means entitle it to be styled 'the most pestiferous of all pestiferous places.' The climate of Guinea, of the island of Fernando Po, respecting which such delusive accounts were circulated, and of Mozambique, is still more destructive. Nay, the Havannah, and the Dutch East India islands, exhibit a greater mortality. Even the Quarterly Reviewers now admit the declamations against Sierra Leone, which their own Journal was chiefly instrumental in instigating, to be 'misplaced and absurd.' 'There can be no question,' they say, 'that, as a colony, it is not worth retaining; but *where, within the necessary limits, is a healthy spot to be found, where the objects which the treaties have in view can be fairly accomplished?*'† We do not concede that, even as a colony, it might not be made worth all that it costs us; but the project of looking out for a more advantageous situation further south, has been sufficiently exposed as founded on ignorance and illusion.

In all that Professor M'Culloch says as to the inefficiency of

* African Memoranda, p. 307.

† Quart. Rev. No. LXXXIV. p. 525. The whole sum expended upon Sierra Leone at present, is stated to be 'ridiculously small, compared with the statements which have been put forth.'

the mixed commission courts,—the absurdity of bribing Spain and Portugal to relinquish the slave-trade,—the evil effects inevitably resulting to the colony from the annual importations of uncivilized negroes,—and the propriety of employing instructed blacks to fill up the official stations,—we completely concur. The colony has been grievously injured by the want of any systematic plan for its government, by jobbing and mismanagement; it has had, in short, every thing against it. But, under a judicious and effective administration, it might be rendered of the highest advantage to Africa, and of far greater use to the commerce of this country. By the way, from his manner of referring to Sierra Leone at p. 340, it is evident that our Author is not aware, that both the Portuguese and the French had formed settlements on the river, before us; and that Golberry, the French traveller, had spoken of the bay as one of the most delightful sites in the world.

Upon the subject of our West India colonies, Professor M'Culloch discovers considerable embarrassment. For the present depression of the trade, it is 'perhaps impossible,' he remarks, 'to point out any means of effectual relief:—their only rational and substantial ground of hope seems to be in a further reduction of the duties on sugar, coffee, and rum.' We are sorry to find him countenancing for a moment the revival of the slave-trade under the pretence of transporting slaves from one British colony to another. The old islands would, like Virginia, if that were allowed, be converted into breeding-grounds. We are surprised, too, that he should represent the black population of Jamaica as having 'increased more than *five* times as rapidly as the whites;' which conveys the idea of a natural increase. In 1673, Jamaica contained 7,768 whites and 9,504 slaves. 'It would have been well for the island,' he remarks, 'had the races continued to preserve this relation to each other; but *unfortunately*,'—the whites have increased from 7,768 to about 30,000, while the blacks have increased from 9,504 to 322,421, exclusive of persons of colour. Professor M'Culloch does not state how large a number of blacks were imported into the island during that period; he does not state, that, prior to the abolition of the slave-trade, Jamaica lost annually 7000 individuals or 2½ per cent. on the slave population; nor that the total black population at this moment does not amount to one half the number imported into the island; so that, instead of any increase upon the black population, there has been a decrease of 435,000 upon 850,000 imported!* All this he does not tell us; but he affirms, 'that it is the immense (numerical) preponderance of the slave population, that renders the

* See Eclect. Rev. 3d Series, Vol. IV. p. 23. Between 1700 and 1808, Jamaica alone received from Africa, nearly 677,000 negroes.

'question of emancipation so very difficult.' How this contributes to the difficulty, is not explained. If any danger arising from their emancipation to the whites is referred to, nothing can be more fallacious. They have the same physical power as slaves, which they would possess as freemen; they would still be under the same political restraints that now retain them in subjection; all experience proves that slaves are more dangerous to a state, than free labourers; and their numbers, by rendering their labour less valuable, would keep them the more dependent upon their employers. It is only as slaves that their numbers can be formidable.

We have felt it to be our duty to point out these flaws in Professor M'Culloch's truly valuable work; flaws which we hope to see disappear in a new edition. They detract little from its substantial merit and usefulness, nor will they, we apprehend, diminish in the slightest degree its popularity. In fact, in certain quarters, it will only be the more acceptable for the opinions we have ventured to controvert, and the omissions to which we have referred. It would have been easy to extend this paper almost indefinitely by extracts from many entertaining articles; and among other important subjects, that of the East India trade would furnish abundant matter for comment. But our limits forbid, and we can only make room for one more extract, taken from a very long and curious article upon Tea.

'The tea shrub may be described as a very hardy evergreen, growing readily in the open air, from the equator to the 45th degree of latitude. For the last 60 years, it has been reared in this country, without difficulty, in greenhouses; and thriving plants of it are to be seen in the gardens of Java, Singapore, Malacca, and Penang; all within 6 degrees of the equator. The climate most congenial to it, however, seems to be that between the 25th and 33d degrees of latitude, judging from the success of its cultivation in China. For the general purposes of commerce, the growth of good tea is confined to China; and is there restricted to five provinces, or rather parts of provinces, viz. Fo-kien and Canton, but more particularly the first, for black tea; and Kiang-nan, Kiang-si, and Che-kiang, but chiefly the first of these, for green. The tea districts all lie between the latitudes just mentioned, and the 115th and 122nd degrees of East longitude. However, almost every province of China produces more or less tea, but generally of an inferior quality, and for local consumption only; or when of a superior quality, like some of the fine wines of France, losing its flavour when exported. The plant is also extensively cultivated in Japan, Tonquin, and Cochinchina; and in some of the mountainous parts of Ava; the people of which country use it largely as a kind of pickle preserved in oil!

'Botanically considered, the tea tree is a single species; the green and black, with all the diversities of each, being mere varieties, like the varieties of the grape, produced by difference of climate, soil, lo-

cality, age of the crop when taken, and modes of preparation for the market. Considered as an object of agricultural produce, the tea plant bears a close resemblance to the vine. In the husbandry of China, it may be said to take the same place which the vine occupies in the southern countries of Europe. Like the latter, its growth is chiefly confined to hilly tracts, not suited to the growth of corn. The soils capable of producing the finest kinds are within given districts, limited, and partial. Skill and care, both in husbandry and preparation, are quite as necessary to the production of good tea, as to that of good wine.

' The best wine is produced only in particular latitudes, as is the best tea ; although, perhaps, the latter is not restricted to an equal degree. Only the most civilised nations of Europe have as yet succeeded in producing good wines ; which is also the case in the East with tea ; for the agricultural and manufacturing skill and industry of the Chinese are there unquestionably pre-eminent. These circumstances deserve to be attended to, in estimating the difficulties which must be encountered in any attempt to propagate the tea plant in colonial or other possessions. These difficulties are obviously very great ; and, perhaps, all but insuperable. Most of the attempts hitherto made to raise it in foreign countries were not, indeed, of a sort from which much was to be expected. Within the last few years, however, considerable efforts have been made by the Dutch government of Java, to produce tea on the hills of that island ; and having the assistance of Chinese cultivators from Fokien, who form a considerable part of the emigrants to Java, a degree of success has attended them, beyond what might have been expected in so warm a climate. The Brazilians have made similar efforts ; having also, with the assistance of Chinese labourers, attempted to propagate the tea shrub near Rio de Janeiro ; and a small quantity of tolerably good tea has been produced. But owing to the high price of labour in America, and the quantity required in the cultivation and manipulation of tea, there is no probability, even were the soil suitable to the plant, that its culture can be profitably carried on in that country.

' It might probably be successfully attempted in Hindostan, where labour is comparatively cheap, and where the hilly and table lands bear a close resemblance to those of the tea districts of China ; but we are not sanguine in our expectations as to the result.

' *Species of Tea.*—*Manner in which they are manufactured.*—The black teas usually exported by Europeans from Canton are as follows, beginning with the lowest qualities :—Bohea, Congou, Souchong, and Pekoe. The green teas are Twankay, Hyson-skin, young Hyson, Hyson, Imperial, and Gunpowder. All the black teas exported (with the exception of a part of the bohea, grown in Woping, a district of Canton,) are grown in Fokien, a hilly, maritime, populous, and industrious province, bordering to the north-east on Canton. Owing to the peculiar nature of the Chinese laws as to inheritance, and probably, also, in some degree to the despotic genius of the government, landed property is much subdivided throughout the empire ; so that tea is generally grown in gardens or plantations of no great extent. The plant comes to maturity and yields a crop in from 2 to 3 years. The leaves are

picked by the cultivator's family, and immediately conveyed to market ; where a class of persons, who make it their particular business, purchase and collect them in quantities, and manufacture them in part ; that is, expose them to be dried under a shed. A second class of persons, commonly known in the Canton market as " the tea merchants," repair to the districts where the tea is produced, and purchase it in its half prepared state from the first class, and complete the manufacture by garbling the different qualities ; in which operation, women and children are chiefly employed. A final drying is then given, and the tea packed in chests, and divided, according to quality, into parcels of from 100 to 600 chests each. These parcels are stamped with the name of the district, grower, or manufacturer, exactly as is practised with the wines of Bourdeaux and Burgundy, the indigo of Bengal, and many other commodities ; and, from this circumstance, get the name of *chops*, the Chinese term for a seal or signet. Some of the leaf buds of the finest black tea plants are picked early in the spring, before they expand. These constitute pekoe, or black tea of the highest quality ; sometimes called " white-blossom " tea, from there being intermixed with it, to give it a higher perfume, a few blossoms of a species of olive (*olea fragrans*), a native of China. A second crop is taken from the same plants in the beginning of May, a third about the middle of June, and a fourth in August ; which last, consisting of large and old leaves, is of very inferior flavour and value. The younger the leaf, the more high flavoured, and consequently the more valuable, is the tea. With some of the congous and souchongs are occasionally mixed a little pekoe, to enhance their flavour ; and hence the distinction, among the London tea dealers, of these sorts of tea, into the ordinary kinds and those of " Pekoe flavour ". Bohea, or the lowest black tea, is partly composed of the lower grades ; that is, of the fourth crop of the teas of Fokien, left unsold in the market of Canton after the season of exportation has passed ; and partly of the teas of the district of Woping in Canton. The green teas are grown and selected in the same manner as the black, to which the description now given more particularly refers ; and the different qualities arise from the same causes. The gunpowder here stands in the place of the pekoe ; being composed of the unopened buds of the spring crop. Imperial, hyson, and young hyson consist of the second and third crops. The light and inferior leaves, separated from the hyson by a winnowing machine, constitute hyson-skin,—an article in considerable demand amongst the Americans. The process of drying the green teas differs from that of the black ; the first being dried in iron pots or vases over a fire, the operator continually stirring the leaves with his naked hand. The operation is one of considerable nicety, particularly with the finer teas ; and is performed by persons who make it their exclusive business.

The late rise and present magnitude of the British tea trade are among the most extraordinary phenomena in the history of commerce. Tea was wholly unknown to the Greeks and Romans, and even to our ancestors previously to the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century. It seems to have been originally imported in small quantities by the Dutch ; but was hardly known in this country till after 1650. In 1660, however, it began to be used in coffee-houses ;

for, in an act passed that year, a duty of 8*d.* is laid on every gallon of "coffee, chocolate, sherbet, and tea," made and sold. But it is abundantly evident that it was then only beginning to be introduced. The following entry appears in the Diary of Mr. Pepys, secretary to the admiralty:—"September 25. 1661. I sent for a cup of tea (a China drink), of which I had never drunk before." In 1664, the East India Company bought 2 lbs. 2 oz. of tea as a present for his Majesty. In 1667, they issued the first order to import tea, directed to their agent at Bantam, to the effect that he should send home 100 lbs. of the best tea he could get!—(See the references in *Milburn's Orient. Com.* vol. ii. p. 530; *Macpherson's Hist. of Com. with India*, pp. 130—132.) Since then, the consumption seems to have gone on regularly though slowly increasing. In 1689, instead of charging a duty on the decoction made from the leaves, an excise duty of 5*s.* per lb. was laid on the tea itself.

' The great increase that took place in the consumption of tea in 1784 and 1785, over its consumption in the preceding years, is to be ascribed to the reduction that was then effected in the duties. In the nine years preceding 1780, above 180,000,000 lbs. of tea had been exported from China to Europe, in ships belonging to the Continent, and about 50,000,000 lbs. in ships belonging to England. But from the best information attainable, it appears that the real consumption was almost exactly the reverse of the quantities imported; and that while the consumption of the British dominions amounted to above 13,000,000 lbs., the consumption of the Continent did not exceed 5,500,000 lbs. If this statement be nearly correct, it follows that an annual supply of above 8,000,000 lbs. was clandestinely imported.

' In consequence partly of the increase of duty, but far more of the conduct pursued by the East India Company in relation to the trade, the consumption of tea, as compared with the population, has been *steadily declining since 1800!* Instead of an *ad valorem* duty of 96 per cent., the teas consumed by the lower and middle classes pay, in monopoly price and duty together, a tax of above 300 per cent. on their cost in the market of Hamburgh! Here is the real and sufficient cause of the declining consumption of tea. It never was attempted, in any other country, to levy a tax of 325 per cent. on the beverage of the poor, or rather, we should say, on one of the important necessities consumed by them. Instead of wondering at the decrease of consumption that has taken place, the only thing to excite the surprise of any reasonable man is, that this decrease has not been incomparably greater. Besides its other injurious effects, the exorbitant price of tea has led to its extensive adulteration, and to a great deal of smuggling in the finer qualities. It has also driven the poor to less salubrious stimulants, and is the principal cause of that prevalence of gin drinking which is so much lamented. We venture to affirm that the abolition of the Company's monopoly would do ten times more to promote sobriety and good order among the poor, than the formation of a thousand temperance societies, and the preaching of as many sermons.

' The tea duties have recently declined to less than 3,400,000*l.*; at an average, however, of the last 14 years, they have amounted to about

3,800,000*l.* a year. But had tea been supplied under a free system, and government imposed a duty on it equal to the present duty and the increased price caused by the monopoly, it would have produced a revenue of about 5,400,000*l.*; the balance, or 1,600,000*l.* a year, being the sum which the monopoly costs this country, exclusive of what it has cost the colonies, and of its influence in raising the duty, and in depressing the trade with China and the East.'

This long extract occupies not quite two pages and a half of the 1150 contained in the volume.

Art. IV. 1. *The Messiah.* A Poem in Six Books. By Robert Montgomery, Author of 'The Omnipresence of the Deity,' 'Satan,' &c. Sm. 8vo. pp. 300. Price 8*s.* 6*d.* London, 1832.

2. *Jonah.* A Poem: in Two Parts. 8vo. pp. 24. London, 1832.

3. *David.* A Poem. 8vo. pp. 32. London, 1831.

4. *The Daughter of Jephthah.* A Poem. By a Gentleman of Stoke. 8vo. pp. 32. Devonport, 1831.

"**T**HE Messiah," by the Author of "Satan," reads strangely. The facile transition from an infernal to a Divine theme, irresistibly recalls the caustic, wicked satire of Lord Byron upon the Laureat.

' He had written Wesley's life: here, turning round
To Satan, "Sir, I'm ready to write yours,
In two octavo volumes: there's no ground
For fear, for I can choose my own reviewers.
* * * * * Well, if you,
With amiable modesty decline
My offer, what says Michael? "'

We have seen, in some edition of Bunyan's Holy War, portraits of Diabolus and King Shaddai placed face to face. Mr. Robert Montgomery must in like manner have intended to furnish us with opposite pendants. 'By the same Author, Satan,' in conspicuous display, fronts the title-page; together with the attractive words, 'Third Edition.' And a sentence from the "University Magazine" informs us, that 'no conception can be 'more grand, more truly sublime,' than Mr. Robert Montgomery's Satan, whose feelings the Poet has 'displayed with great 'power and appalling effect.' To all the admirers of that grand, that sublime poem, to all the purchasers of the first, second, and third editions, we need not recommend the Author's present production, which is of course, if possible, more grand, more powerful, more sublime, more appalling still. What Mr. Robert Mont-

gomery's next theme will be, to what still loftier heights or more profound abyss he will stretch his untiring wing, we cannot venture to surmise. He has long 'passed the flaming bounds of 'place and time,' nor trembled as he gazed. But, having touched the extreme of his elliptical orbit, we suppose that he will, comet like, return nearer to our atmosphere. However this may be, it is not for us to prescribe laws to so brilliant and eccentric a luminary. Why should we hold up our rushlight criticism to the glory of Mr. Robert Montgomery's poetic fame?

In presuming to review the Author's present hyper-Miltonic production, we are conscious of undertaking a work of supererogation. If no other poetry sells in the present day, the works of Robert Montgomery find purchasers, if we may trust advertisements, to the third, fourth, nay, twelfth editions! 'Five volumes 'octavo,' the eager and admiring public have in this way greedily devoured; and in vain the puny Edinburgh Reviewer has opposed his envious criticism to the discriminating praise of that *Arbiter Elegantiarum*, the Editor of the *Lit. Gaz.*, the *Mæcenas*, the *Magnus Apollo* of our incomparable young bard. '*Commenta opinio-nem delet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat.*' In this Ciceronic axiom, Mr. Robert Montgomery complacently takes refuge from all attacks, 'personal or otherwise,' translating it, we suppose, thus: Time will efface the comments of criticism, and confirm the decisions of *good nature*. We admire this elasticity of mind, this sturdy toughness of spirit; and if we could forget the offence that provoked the whipping, we should be ready to pat him on the back for his high mettle, and bid him never mind the smart. A boy is never esteemed a hero, till he has stood a flogging, and shewed, by bearing it as a man, his contempt for the old tyrant his master.

Robert Montgomery is a bold and brave young fellow, and an extremely fortunate one. He is evidently on the best terms with himself, and has apparently fair reason to be on good terms with the world: he should not, therefore, talk about his anonymous foes. He speaks, in the Preface, of those who have misrepresented both his writings and character, in such a way as to imply, that all who have not offered incense to his vanity, have been actuated by personal enmity, and have dealt with him unfairly. It would have been more seemly, more discreet, to acknowledge himself indebted even to that severe criticism by which it is his own fault if he has not profited. But what does he mean by misrepresentations of his character? If the studied deception practised in advertising his first production as a new poem by Montgomery, was justly reprobated as a trick of trade,—if the apparent want of all modest or generous feeling displayed in the assumption of another's fame as a stepping-stone to notoriety, was the subject of indignant remonstrance,—is it for the offender to talk of his cha-

racter being misrepresented? These acts, even could they be attributed solely to his publisher, demanded from him a disavowal and an apology. Whether his true name be Gomery or Montgomery, we care not. There was at all events assumption and imposition in the style in which Robert was puffed off as the true and proper Montgomery. Had his genius been as far superior to that of the Author of the World before the Flood, as it is beyond comparison inferior, still, the injustice and the affront would have been inexcusable. The concession of pre-eminence would have been graceful from a youth to his senior, even had that youth been capable of supporting a rivalry. But when the character of him whom alone posterity will know as the Poet Montgomery is taken into account,—when it is considered how the most hallowed and tender associations have linked themselves with a name which occurs as the signature to some of the finest devotional poetry in the language,—to hymns which have become the common property of the Universal Church, to say nothing of the alcaic lyrics and other exquisite compositions which first made their Author known to fame,—when these circumstances are borne in mind, we must say, that for a young man to suffer his works to be advertised as those of the Poet Montgomery, is an offence never to be forgiven till there shall have been offered for it some public apology. If Robert Montgomery lives to be fifty, and to make his five volumes fifteen, this disgrace attaching to his first starting will still cleave to him—*dies non delebit*—unless he has the manliness to make the best amends in his power for having poached upon another's reputation.

We have no personal knowledge of Mr. Robert Montgomery; we understand that he bears the character of an amiable young man. It is impossible that we could have any prejudice or feelings of unkindness against him, but such as his own indiscretion has provoked. We wish, for his own sake, he had set himself right with the public, in the preface to this poem, instead of complaining of his anonymous foes. His gift should have been left at the altar, till he had first reconciled himself to those to whom he had given just offence. With more pleasure, perhaps with more impartial feeling, we should then have proceeded to examine his present production. We shall, however, now take leave of the Author of Satan, and will endeavour to dismiss from our mind all recollection of his former works and deeds, in estimating the merits of the poem before us.

The argument may be briefly stated as follows. Book I. is occupied with shewing that the gradual announcement of a Messiah was the primary object of the prophetic scheme. The second Book 'is principally devoted to a consideration of the necessity and probability of a revelation from God, by an argument drawn from the nature of the human mind and the destinies of man.'

The third opens with a description of the state of the world at the advent of Messiah, and narrates the circumstances attending the birth and early life of Christ, and the preaching of the Baptist. Book IV. carries on the evangelical narrative through the recorded scenes of Our Lord's baptism, temptation, and entrance upon his public ministry. This is continued through the fifth book, which ends with Our Lord's triumphant entry into Jerusalem. Book VI. describes the Passion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension; concluding with reflections upon the Redeemer's Second Advent. Thus, the poem naturally divides into two parts; two introductory books purely didactic, and a life of Christ in four books, consisting of the evangelical narrative thrown into the shape of poetry. Our first specimen shall be taken from the description of the Miracle at Nain.

— — — — — ‘ Then to lovely Nain,
 By Hermon shaded, o’er whose dazzling snow
 A mid-noon burned, the godlike Jesus went.—
 Whoe’er thou art, a scene of touching might
 And tender beauty, waits thy spirit there.
 And yet, how simple ! such as link mankind
 Together by unbroken ties of soul,
 The glories of the gospel !—*from* the heart
 They spring, and *to* the heart alone appeal
 With eloquence divine !—Behold, as Noon
 Was calming from her hot meridian rage,
 And Tabor o’er Esdraelon’s verdure threw
 A longer shade, where cooling Kishon ran
 His midway course, the Lord of Mercy reach’d
 The mountain-dell, where Nain of Hermon stands.
 But, ere he enter’d, came a mournful troop
 In dark procession from the city-gates :
 The air was wrung with anguish ; and the dirge
 Fell sad and frequent on Messiah’s ear !
 While midmost, on a mantled bier upborne,
 A youth was carried to an early grave ;
 An only child, the star of widow’d home,
 In whose fond ray a mother’s spirit lived !—
 With what a sense of beautiful delight
 Her ear drank in the father’s fancied voice,
 Still in her son triumphant o’er the tomb !
 How tenderly her soul’s creative eye
 Gazed on the glory of his manly face,
 And made each feature all the sire restore
 In proud resemblance !—while a sacred hope
 Survived, that when her widow’d race was done,
 His hand would smooth, his gentle voice attend
 Her dying bed ; and tears of filial truth
 Fall on the flowers that graced a mother’s tomb !
 But Heaven had frown’d,—her living star was set,—

In the bright morning of its beauty, gone
 For ever !—Pity ! thine are barren tears,
 And unrefreshing as the thunder-drops
 On burning sands, to woe intense as this !
 For life and feeling in the grave descend,
 And sounds of comfort, like the clam'rous waves
 In heedless revel o'er the ocean dead,
 Awake no echoes in her spirit now !

‘ But on they come, the sad funereal crowd,
 And deep o'er all the blended tones of grief
 A heart-wrung widow's lamentations rise,
 Distinctive of the mother ! Not a gaze
 That is not dew'd or dim ; the young men weep,
 As fancy pictures on yon cover'd bier
 Their pale companion, from whose mirthful brow
 So many a gleam of young enjoyment flash'd,
 Like daily sunshine over kindred hours :
 The aged bow their heads, to dreams of death
 Surrender'd ; parents muse on buried hopes,
 Or clasp the living with a fearful joy !
 And e'en the children, as the mourning train
 Advances, from unthinking revel cease,
 And sadden down the innocence of glee !
 'Twas then, the Lord of Life and Death approach'd
 The long procession :—then a widow's tear
 Was mighty, for it moved the Saviour's soul !
 At once, majestic, through the yielding crowd
 Beside the corse He came, and touch'd the bier ;—
 Then, moveless as the dead, that living host
 Stood silent !—ev'ry throbbing breeze grew loud,
 And motions of the human heart were heard
 In the deep hush of this portentous hour !
 The awful coming of some dread display
 Each soul awaited : then was heard—‘ Arise !’
 The spirit answered, and the youth arose !
 And to his mother took Messiah's hand
 Her only child ! oh ! ask not, what excess
 Of rapture, what ecstatic shriek of joy,
 What thrilling fires of new affection rose,
 When heart to heart the beat of life return'd
 As there they stood, unutterably blest,
 Each twined round each, affection's holy pair !
 The mountain-top, though daring clouds retreat
 Below it, oft victorious feet ascend ;
 And down the ocean have undaunted eyes
 Descended ; but the height and depth of love
 Maternal,—who shall meet its boundless sway ?
 But rather witness, how one eager gaze
 From the vast multitude's concenter'd awe
 Is bent on Jesus !—dreadful light enrobes

His form, divinity His features wear,
And as He moves, in loud hosannahs rise,—
“A God hath visited His people now!” pp. 157—160.

We offer no comment, leaving our readers to form their own opinion of the poetic skill with which this incident in the Gospel narrative is wrought up; and reserving for the close of this article a few general remarks upon this species of sacred poetry. We shall do no injustice to the Author, by selecting as another specimen, the passage which describes the Agony at Gethsemane.

‘But, veil thyself, Imagination! veil,
And worship! put thy shoes from off thy feet,
Thou mortal gazer!—for on hallow’d ground,
More consecrate than he of Horeb saw
When the bush burn’d with unconsuming fire,
Thou tread’st,—the garden of Gethsemane!
The moon, pale hermitress of heaven, hath found,
With no bright fellowship of starry orb,
Her midway sphere; and now, with conscious dread,
Shrined in a cloudy haze, she disappears,
While motionless those patriarchal trees
Of tow’ring olive lift their spectral gloom.
But listen! groan on groan, with awful swell,
Heaves on the air, as though a God bewail’d
His creatures!—Christ is bow’d in agony,
And prostrate! while a bloody sweat dissolves
From every pore: insufferably sad,
The human with the God contends, and cries,
“My Father! if it can be, let this cup
Be taken from Me, from this hour removed,—
And yet not Mine, but let Thy Will be done!”

‘Dark agonies, unutterably deep,
That moment knew! whose merit countervail’d
All that eternity’s remorse could pay,
Wrung from the spirit of a ruin’d world!
As once on Tabor, His transfigured form
A shadow of His future glory taught,—
Gethsemane’s most awful gloom declares
The dread, intolerable curse of sin!
Which then, through pardon from the earth recall’d,
By imputation on the spotless soul
Of Jesus, frown’d itself from God!—and pass’d
For ever!—In that soul-appalling scene,
His manhood suffer’d all that flesh endures:
God unappeased, and Satan unsubdued,
The death and darkness of accursed sin
Still brooding o’er the world, and He foredoom’d
Upon the cross of agony to die,
That Heaven might open on forgiven man,—

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All this oppress'd Him with the pangs of hell !
 Exceeding sorrowful His soul became,
 E'en unto death ; till from the Throne, His cry
 Of anguish brought a soothing angel down !—
 But in the passion of this dreadful hour,
 O ! where are they, whose eyes so oft beheld
 His wonders, in whose hearts His voice had pour'd
 The balm and blessing of immortal truth ?
 Alas ! one hour they could not watch, nor pray ;
 And they were sleeping, when the Saviour thrice
 From prayer arose, and thrice their sleep forgave !

' Yet now, sleep on ! and take unthinking rest ;—
 The Son of Man, Messiah, is betray'd,
 The traitor hath his trait'rous work fulfill'd !
 For hear ye not the sound of rushing feet
 And ruder voices, through the moonless air
 Advancing ?—stirr'd, as by a tempest-wing,
 Around the olive-branches creak and bend,
 And light comes flashing with a fierce intent,
 Till on the countenance of Christ it falls,
 And lights His features !—marr'd and pale they shone
 Beneath it, as he met the midnight band,
 With torch and lantern, sword and stave arrived,
 To seize Him : Him they sought, and Christ they found.
 When " I am He ! " was spoken,—back they fell
 Like life before a sudden blast of death,
 Whose motion is almighty !—" I am He ! "
 Again He utter'd, and again they fell
 Confounded, till the traitor with a kiss
 Betoken'd Jesus ; then the troop approach'd
 And bound Him !—legions of Immortals ! shine,
 Descend, and wither the unhallow'd throng !—
 No ; meekly as a lamb to slaughter goes,
 The Lord hath yielded : fetter'd, silent, sad,
 Deserted and betrayed, alone He meets
 The Powers of darkness, in their deepest might !

' The break of morning !—with a dim uprise,
 Pale as a prophet, when his eye foresees
 Unutter'd woes upon the future throng,—
 The sun awaketh from his cloudy sleep
 To usher in this all-tremendous day !
 Already, in the judgment-chamber meet
 The fell accusers.'———

pp. 208—211.

As an apology for attempting themes so sacred as these, our
 Author has a happy citation from Wordsworth, who observes,
 that they

——— ' might demand a seraph's tongue,
 Were they not equal to their own support,
 And therefore no incompetence of mine
 Could do them wrong.'

This might seem, in plain prose, a *non sequitur*; but we admit that they cannot be wronged by any sincere attempt to celebrate them, and that their sacredness almost redeems whatever of incompetency necessarily attaches to the attempt. We will give Mr. Robert Montgomery all the benefit of his theme, to which he has evidently applied the best powers of his mind. The notes shew that he has taken considerable pains to qualify himself for treating it with religious propriety; 'nor is he aware', he says, 'that any available source whereby light could be thrown on 'doctrine, scene, or character, has been left unconsulted.' We have pleasure in recognizing the proofs both of application and of intellectual growth which this volume exhibits; and although our estimate of the Author's poetical talents would by no means correspond to that of his partial friends, (our recorded opinion on this point remaining essentially unchanged,) we cannot but applaud the marks of improvement in his present production. In noticing his previous publication, we remarked, that 'he wants 'imagination, and wants ear, but does not want talent.' We think so still. His "Messiah" discovers considerably more talent than his "Satan", but not more of imagination: the very subject, perhaps, precluded this. And while he discovers an extensive command of language, his phraseology has more colour than music. His epithets, though sometimes happy, frequently betray to the critic that inaccuracy of taste which, more than any other circumstance, discriminates talent from pure genius, or, if we may so express it, distinguishes the verse that is artificially produced, from that which produces itself. For instance, the following lines may look well, and sound well, to those who are not fastidious:

'And then blue Night with starr'd enchantment rose,
While moonlight wandered o'er the palmy hills
Of green-haired Palestine.'

Yet, the correct criticism which genius by its own rules anticipates, might here detect almost as many faults as words; faults of taste and faults of fact. 'Green-haired' is a fantastic expression; and whatever it means, it does not describe Palestine. Palms do not generally grow on hills, but in plains. *Starred* enchantment does not consist with moonlight; and 'blue night' cannot be said to *rise* with the stars, as the blueness of the sky fades with the brightning of the stars. We observe (at p. 236) Hebron referred to as a mountain; probably a misprint for Hermon. But we abstain from minute criticism, as the above instance, taken at hazard, will sufficiently explain our meaning. It is but fair to remark that, in the present poem, there are fewer faults of this description, and the improprieties are less glaring than in his former productions. On this very account, perhaps,

it will less please the majority of his admirers, who would be ill satisfied with the substitution of real thought and correct taste for verbal magnificence. A poet cannot, however, please two masters,—true Fame and the Public. He who fondly and loyally serves the former, may slowly win the tardy plaudits of the latter; but he who mistakes for the award of fame, the *vox populi*, in matters of which that public, and the dispensers of popularity, know little or nothing, will be essentially misled, although he may secure all the reward that, perhaps, he cares to win.

We must now advert to the other specimens of sacred poetry before us. The Author of "Jonah" has made the Prophet tell his own tale; and thus he describes the effect of his warning voice on guilty Nineveh.

' Still madly sinned that wrath-doomed City ;—still,
To me 'twas given to bear Jehovah's will ;
And once more was my stubborn heart to prove
The boundless depth of His long-suffering love.

Not now, as erst, my wayward will rebelled,
Nor long delay my lingering footsteps held :—
I stood before that mighty City's gate,
The sinful centre of the sinful state.—
Before mine eyes, as various impulse led,
Existence wide its restless billows spread :—
Reckless, or gay, or eager, or profound,
As lust or pleasure, gain or business bound,
Their onward footsteps pressed the countless throng,
And solemn paced, or giddy danced along ;—
Pampered and proud, and rich and gay, were some ;
Tattered and pinched were others seen to roam ;
Some learned, and some in lofty science versed,
But more in brutish ignorance immersed ;
And all alike with prone and earth-bound eyes ;
All heedless of a good beyond the skies ;
Confined within time's limit every thought ;
His favour, who their being gave, unsought ;
In sin and sense th' ethereal spirit drenched,—
And the heaven-kindled light within them quenched.

' I gazed. It was an hour when teeming life,
With all its business, joys, and crimes, was rife ;
With careful looks were gainful bargains made,
As heaven itself depended on the trade ;
In glittering shows the trumpet sounded far,
Or called to arm for spirit-stirring war ;
Glad bridegrooms went their blooming brides to meet,
While funeral-trains unheeded swept the street ;—
The growing mansions overspread the ground ;
The free and joyous feast went ceaseless round ;

And from their temples forth, (for solemn rite
In this dark land was not forgotten quite,)
They rushed, with hot desires, and breathless speed,
To rout and revel, or to darker deed.

'A holy horror shook my troubled breast ;
My spirit burned :—I told Heaven's dread behest ;
Told, that the cup of wrath divine was filled,—
The day of grace was past,—the sentence sealed ;—
Told that a few brief days alone remained,
Ere all should DIE that those proud walls contained !

'I looked :—I thought to see, as once, of old,
When the first peals of heavenly anger rolled,
Ere burst the tempest, and unsparing hurled
To dire destruction an offending world ;—
I thought, as then, hard hearts, bold fronts, to see,
The laugh of fools, the frenzied revelry ;
To see, round Death's dark brink, his victims play,
And strew with flowers their smooth descending way ;
I deemed my words would meet the listless ear,
The ribald jest, the sarcasm cool, the sneer ;
For foul contempt and scorn I stood prepared,
And for the martyr's blow my bosom bared.
I looked again : lo ! one of lordly mien
Down from his stately seat to bend is seen !
Foremost in rank his gorgeous trappings show,
As foremost mourner in a nation's woe ;—
'Tis He—'tis Nineveh's great King !—Laid by,
Instant, all robes of regal pageantry,
The blazing crown as refuse, cast away,
And studded symbol of imperial sway ;
In sordid weeds of sackcloth veiled his head,
And ashes o'er that sordid covering spread,
With slow advancing step, and abject look,
Upon the naked earth his lowly seat he took.' p. 13—16.

Many a prize poem has displayed less vigour of thought and skill in versification than these pleasing lines.

The "Gentleman of Stoke" has founded a tender love-tale upon the unpleasing, though favourite subject of Jephthah's mysterious vow. The first line is as unpromising as the theme.

'The sons of Zion, fall'n from bad to worse.'

We take to ourselves some credit for getting over this stumbling-block at the threshold. There is merit, however, and feeling in the poem. The Writer has done well not to make an Iphigenia of his Tirzah : she becomes a nun, taking leave of her Asor with the assurance of 'meeting again beyond the sky.'

'Beyond the sky ! nor can the trust be vain,
That all who love on earth, shall meet again !

Or why, when life is passing—nay, is fled,
 Doth friendship turn unchanging to the dead?
 Remove this hope, and who of mortal kind,
 Can brook the tortures of the vacant mind!
 The desolation borrow'd from the past,
 When stunn'd affliction's straining eyes are cast
 Back o'er each charm and virtue of the lost,
 Beloved before, but now endeared the most:
 When tender memory, like the evening's light,
 Gilds every fault, or hides it from the sight.
 Think'st thou that change or toil have power to heal
 The deadly wound divided bosoms feel?
 These can but cheat the languid course of time,
 Till heaven unite them in its happier clime.—
 Think'st thou that they who best conceal regret,
 Have learn'd the sordid lesson—"to forget?"
 Ah, no! howe'er the surface may repose,
 Deep, deep beneath, the stream of sorrow flows:
 And bears each thought toward that eternity,
 Where the dead are—the living hope to be! p. 26.

David has often been badly treated, but old Sternhold himself never put into the mouth of the son of Jesse such nonsense as,

'Ye cherubim who round the throne
 Of God Almighty sing,
 And fan the lightsome air around
 With soft responsive wing.'

Four more lines, from 'the Fire-spirit's Song', are all that we deem it necessary to give as a specimen of this 'David'.

'————Spirits
 Whose home is the thunder-cloud, from whose red eye
 Glance the cloud-rending lightnings that furrow the sky;
 Who pillow on fire, yet who body have none,
 In essence of fire, self-existing alone.'

The first question which suggests itself in reference to sacred poetry of the didactic or narrative kind, such as Mr. Robert Montgomery's 'Messiah,' 'Jonah,' &c. &c., relates to its adaptation to the moral purpose at which it may be supposed the writers have aimed. The choice of a religious subject does not, indeed, imply religious feeling in a poet, more than in a painter or a musical composer. Lord Byron's Hebrew Melodies, Beethoven's Mount of Olives, and West's 'Christ healing the Sick,' are productions quite on a par in this respect. No one imagines that any thing was thought of by either artist, than scenic, or musical, or poetic effect. If a sublime effect be aimed at, religious ideas must be called in aid, as the only source of true sublimity, and therefore a necessary means of producing the desired impression. Accidentally, that impression may be favour-

able to religion; not so much, however, by any emotion which is produced, (for such emotions are purely those of taste, though they may be mistaken for piety,) as by the ideas they may suggest for reflection. It is only from an author's way of treating a religious subject, that we can infer the higher aim which has dictated his choice of it. We ought, perhaps, in most cases, to allow for the operation of mixed motives. The Author of 'The Messiah,' has evidently sought to make his poem religiously instructive; and for this, he deserves commendation. That it will conduce to this end, we can only fervently hope. In the case of the Author's former productions, no reasonable expectation of this kind could be entertained. His 'Satan' is, for any moral purpose, worthless; and of his first poem, the religious ideas are as crude, indistinct, and inappropriate, as the magniloquent phraseology is sterile of meaning. But in this poem, the Writer has relied upon his theme, has studied it, and, to a considerable extent, been supported by it; and by this production only, if he has learned wisdom, he will wish to be known. The poem with which it may most fairly be compared is Cumberland's "Calvary;" which for the time obtained a measure of popularity, though now forgotten. That it was a failure, the public voice has decided; yet it was a failure which does honour to the memory of the man. Highly, however, as we may respect the intentions of the authors of such poems, and approve of their general tendency, we cannot but consider all attempts of the kind as indicating a deficiency of judgement. Dr. Johnson's often cited remarks upon the unsuitableness of religious subjects to poetry, although unquestionably erroneous in their general application, have much truth as applied to the sacred narrative. 'The ideas of Christian theology,' he says, 'are too sacred for *fiction*.' 'a sentiment,' observes a most competent critic, 'more just than the admirers of Milton and Klopstock are willing to admit, without almost plenary indulgence in favour of those great but not infallible authorities.'*

But why too sacred for fiction? Not for any reason that Johnson gives, but chiefly, we think, because the facts of the scripture history, more especially those of the evangelical narrative, appeal not, like every other history, to our sensibility, to our imagination, but to our faith. They demand implicit credit on the ground of the miraculous evidence by which they are attested, and of the inspired character of the witnesses, to whose testimony nothing can be added. Every thing depends upon the certainty of the record. But when fiction is blended with it, the feeling of certainty is weakened. Taken out of the accredited narrative, the facts are disconnected from the evidence; and of whatever poetical embellishments they may be susceptible, they lose in some measure

* Montgomery's Preface to "The Christian Poet," p. xi.

their authority as truth. Whatever emotions the poet may succeed in wakening, they will not be the genuine emotions of faith. A mere picture is substituted for a record; the mind is diverted by the play of fancy from its solemn convictions; and while released from the stern authority of truth, it loses at the same time the power of deriving from the embellished narrative, the peace and joy of believing.

In a far lower degree, we feel objections against what is termed historical romance, when the facts with which the liberty is taken of adapting them to the imagination, are linked to our personal interests by their political consequences and bearings. Of a great part of history, however, the interest and instruction are much the same as may be derived from a parable or fiction. No one can possibly feel an entire conviction of the accuracy or fidelity of the historian. Our belief is very much guided by the probability of the narrative; and poetic fiction may be made to seem more probable than the historic recital, and not less instructive. Scripture history, it is obvious, differs in these respects from every uninspired narrative: its impression very mainly depends upon the reverence which we entertain towards the sacred writer; a reverence not to be transferred to any poetic commentator. We accept any illustration of the record; but when Fiction attempts to improve upon it, and to array the history in the colours of romance, the feelings of a devout mind resent the sacrilege. In all poems founded upon the sacred narrative, it will uniformly prove, that the most pleasing passages are those which are the most faithful to the simplicity of the original, the least fanciful and the least embellished.

The Messiah, presented to the imagination, whether on the canvas, or by the crucifix, or in the epic, is what the Messiah was in the eyes of the thousands that gazed upon his personal form, but never beheld the glory of the Only-begotten of the Father that irradiated it to the eye of faith. He is not thus to be seen 'after the flesh.' Poetry has its office in the sanctuary; but it is not that of the presiding priestess; and when, like Miriam, the fair handmaid of devotion intrudes upon the prophetic function, she only draws down the rebuke of her presumption. 'Poetry,' says Johnson, 'loses its lustre and power, when it is applied to the decoration of something more excellent than itself.' There is truth in the remark, when, with the critic, we understand by poetry, invention: although it is untrue of verse, which is never so worthily and delightfully employed as in the decoration of truth with all the felicities of melodious language. Religious fiction, indeed, may please, when it is professedly a parable; but the imaginary comment upon real facts rarely displays either the propriety of truth or the grace of invention.

Should it be thought that *Paradise Lost* can hardly be brought

under the application of these remarks, so wonderful an exception would only confirm the rule ; while the failure of the same master in *Paradise Regained*, might be explained by the considerations we have adduced ; and the transformation undergone by the Poet on touching that theme, might have served, like any of the metamorphoses of fable, to deter all future poets from the trespass. Two of the most popular poems of any length in the language, the 'Night Thoughts,' and 'The Task,' are both of a religious character : but, with regard to didactic poetry, even Johnson admits, that 'he who has the happy power of arguing in verse, will 'not lose it because his subject is sacred.' To succeed in it, however, it is obvious that the poet must, in addition to this power, combined with tuneful skill, be perfectly competent to teach the truths he sings. Cowper, Montgomery, Pollok, "believed and therefore spoke"; their lips having been touched with a coal from the altar.

The Holy Scriptures comprise at once the purest fountain and the finest model of sacred poetry ; but the historical portions are written upon peculiar principles, which exclude alike embellishment or any appeal to the imagination. They address the conscience, the inmost spirit of man, and therefore reject all that would excite the lower feelings of our nature, or detain the attention with subordinate circumstantials. The Evangelists seem, as writers, to be passionless, because they sought not to touch our sympathies, but to produce or to confirm our faith. In describing the Saviour as he appeared, they use none of the colours of poetry or rhetoric ; they have left no description of his person ; they confine themselves to the most literal recital of what they witnessed. It is only when they speak of his Divine majesty as the Son of God, that their language kindles into ardour and eloquence ; teaching us that poetry is the native language of devotion, and that it is never so fitly employed, as in celebrating what it cannot describe, in extolling what it cannot elevate, and in expressing the feelings of gratitude and adoration towards the Unseen and Unimaginable and Infinite.

Art. V. *A Narrative of a Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand*, in 1827: together with a Journal of a Residence in Tristan d'Acunha. By Augustus Earle, Draughtsman to H. M. Surveying Ship, "The Beagle". 8vo. pp. 372. London, 1832.

THERE is nothing so remarkable in this narrative, as the intense passion for roving and the singularly eventful life of the Writer. To the phrenologist, the cranium of Mr. Augustus Earle would, doubtless, exhibit a most striking development of the organ of restlessness. Although educated as an artist, a love

of adventure tempted him, at an early age, to sea. In one of the small craft attached to the British flotilla in the Mediterranean, he visited many parts of its coasts; accompanied Lord Exmouth's fleet in the first expedition against Algiers; afterwards visited the ruins of Carthage and Lepida; then travelled through Sicily, ascended Mount Etna, and next took a very minute survey of Gibraltar. In the summer of 1817, he returned to England, which he quitted, in the March following, for the western hemisphere. He spent nearly two years in rambling through the United States, and thence proceeded to Rio, the capital of Brazil. The next year, he visited the coast of Chile and Peru, remaining five months at Lima, where he practised his profession as an artist. After a second stay at Rio, he resolved to proceed to India *via* the Cape; and having once formed this resolution, he was unable to wait with patience the arrival of a merchant vessel bound to Cape Town, but must needs 'intrust himself' on board a sloop which was nothing better than 'a worn-out Margate hoy, which was proceeding thither with potatoes, laden to the water's edge.' He embarked in her on the 17th of Feb. 1824. On the 20th of March, they were driven by stress of weather to make for Tristan d'Acunha, where Mr. Earle left the vessel, to scramble among the rocks and make sketches; till, on the third day, a strong breeze springing up, the sloop stood out to sea, and our Artist found himself left behind! There he remained in a somewhat forlorn imprisonment, till Nov. 29, when an English vessel bound for Van Diemen's Land, touched at the island, and took him off. It was now that he resolved to visit New Zealand, where he spent nine months; and thence returning to Sidney, he occupied himself in making innumerable sketches, and in furnishing the drawings for Mr. Burford's Panorama of the Australian Capital. His desire of visiting India now reviving, he again embarked in a vessel bound for Malacca, touching first at the Caroline Islands, and thence proceeding to Guam, Manilla, Singapore, and Pulo-Penang. At every resting place, our Artist enriched his portfolio. At Madras, 'he acquired both 'fame and money', and while there, executed the drawings which have since been copied and exhibited as a panorama by Messrs. Daniell and Paris. During a subsequent stay at the Mauritius, he executed a series of panoramic views of that picturesque island. He then sailed for England, where he arrived 'with a spirit not 'at all depressed by the vicissitudes and perils he had gone 'through, but with an increased and more insatiable desire to 'visit climes which he had read of, but never seen.' Accordingly, the offer of the situation of draughtsman to H. M. Ship Beagle being made to him, Mr. Earle without hesitation availed himself of it; and has now again left this country 'on a voyage 'of discovery not likely to terminate under four years.'

From a person whose life has been thus spent, it would be unreasonable to expect any other than a sailor's narrative; nor ought it to excite surprise, to find that the moral and religious notions of the Author are not characterized by elevation or purity. As an artist, he naturally prefers the picturesque wildness of savage life to the tameness of civilization, and abhors to see 'the finest human forms obscured under a seaman's huge clothing'. His quarrel with the Missionaries, towards whom he does not conceal his cordial contempt and dislike, is partly on this ground. 'These pious men certainly', he says, 'have no taste for the picturesque'. It is true, he was not pleased at their gravity. On presenting a letter of introduction 'from one of their own body', to the Missionaries at the settlement on the Kiddy-Kiddy river, he was 'ushered into a house all cleanliness and comfort, all order, silence, and unsociability.' While partaking of an abundant repast, he overheard them reading and discussing the letter he brought, at which he was mortally offended. He complains, moreover, that they made no inquiry after news, but looked provokingly grave and cold. They did, it is true, invite him to stay all night; and when 'the number of the party precluded this', they readily lent their boat to convey them to the Bay of Islands. But this our Author regarded as no atonement for their reserve and gravity. The Missionaries might possibly have good reason for giving but a grave welcome to 'the party', in company with whom it appears that Mr. Earle introduced himself; and they seem to have formed a correct estimate of the uncongenial character of their guest. But the charge of inhospitality is disproved by the Author's own statement. He subsequently paid a visit to the Church Missionary settlement in Marsden Vale. 'There, however, the missionaries soon gave their visitors to understand, that they did not wish for their acquaintance; and 'their coldness and inhospitality, I must acknowledge', says Mr. Earle, 'created in my mind a thorough dislike to them'. We cannot conceive of any more undesirable acquaintance to pious men so circumstanced, than a party of licentious sailors, to whom the efforts of all missionaries are the subject of coarse ridicule, and whose intercourse with the natives they have so just reason to dread, as tending to counteract all their instructions. Our Author found himself much more at home among the savages.

'On our return from Marsden Vale, our savage friends laughed heartily at us. They had warned us of the reception we should meet with; and their delight at seeing us again, formed a strange contrast to that of their Christian teachers, whose inhospitable dwellings we determined never to re-enter.' p. 61.

How came these savages to judge so correctly of the reception which Mr. Earle and his friends would meet with from their pious

countrymen? Surely they must have confounded them with some of the Europeans of the second or third class referred to in the following description.

‘ Kororadika beach, where we took up our residence, seemed the general place of rendezvous for all Europeans whom chance might bring into this bay. At this time there were two large vessels lying at anchor within a quarter of a mile of the shore, and I was informed there were sometimes as many as twelve or thirteen.

‘ The spot is a most delightful one, being about three quarters of a mile in extent, sheltered by two picturesque promontories, and possessing a fine circular, firm, sandy beach, on which there is seldom much surf, so that boats can at all times land and haul up. Scattered amongst the rushes and small bushes is seen a New Zealand village, which at first landing is scarcely perceptible, the huts being so low. Some of them are of English design, though of native workmanship. These are generally the dwellings of some Europeans, who are of so doubtful a character, that it would be difficult to guess to what order of society they belonged previous to their being transplanted among these savages.

‘ I found a respectable body of Scotch mechanics settled here, who came out in the New Zealand Company's ship “*Rosanna*,” and who determined to remain at Kororadika. Their persevering industry as yet has been crowned with success, and they seem well pleased with the prospects before them.

‘ Here, these hardy sons of Britain are employed in both carrying on, and instructing the wondering savage in various branches of useful art. Here the smith has erected his forge, and his sooty mansion is crowded by curious natives, who voluntarily perform the hardest and most dirty work, and consider themselves fully recompensed by a sight of his mysterious labours, every portion of which fills them with astonishment. Here is heard daily the sound of the sawpit, while piles of neat white planks appear arranged on the beach. These laborious and useful Scotchmen interfere with no one, and pursue successfully their industrious career, without either requiring or receiving any assistance from home.

‘ But there is another class of Europeans here, who are both useless and dangerous, and these lower the character of the white people in the estimation of the natives. These men are called “*Beach Rangers* ;” most of whom have deserted from, or have been turned out of whalers for crimes, for which, had they been taken home and tried, they would have been hanged ; some few among them, having been too lazy to finish the voyage they had begun, had deserted from their ships, and were then leading a mean and miserable life amongst the natives.

‘ There is still a third class of our countrymen to be met with here, whose downcast and sneaking looks proclaim them to be runaway convicts from New South Wales. These unhappy men are treated with derision and contempt by all classes ; and the New Zealanders, being perfectly aware of their state of degradation, refuse all intercourse with them. They are idle, unprincipled, and vicious in the extreme, and are much feared in the Bay of Islands ; for when by any

means they obtain liquor, they prove themselves most dangerous neighbours.' pp. 50—53.

And yet, Mr. Earle, with marvellous simplicity, complains of 'the contemptuous manner in which the Missionaries treat their own countrymen, as they receive most of them on the outside of their stockade fence.' We thank him for so well explaining the reasonableness of their conduct.

With regard to these 'wild yet interesting' savages, among whom our Author found himself so happy, notwithstanding a few horrible drawbacks upon their amiableness, we do not find any novel information in his narrative. The Author of the clever little volume of the Entertaining Library, entitled 'The New Zealanders', has collected from authentic sources every thing that is known respecting their manners and customs; and to that volume we may refer our readers for a true picture of their actual condition. Mr. Earle's account is on many points not only extremely inaccurate, but self-contradictory. In one place, he describes them as having nearly left off thieving, in consequence of seeing the detestation in which theft is held by Europeans, (p. 16,) and as having no idea of robbery among themselves (p. 21); but an incident occurred, which undeceived him. The hut in which he resided had been accidentally set on fire.

'This calamity had made us acquainted with another of their barbarous customs; which is, whenever a misfortune happens to a community, or an individual, every person, even the friends of his own tribe, fall upon and strip him of all he has remaining.—As an unfortunate fish, when struck by a harpoon, is instantly surrounded and devoured by his companions, so in New Zealand, when a chief is killed, his former friends plunder his widow and children; and they, in revenge, ill use and even murder their slaves: thus one misfortune gives birth to various cruelties. During the fire, our allies proved themselves the most adroit and active thieves imaginable; though previously to that event we had never lost an article, although every thing we possessed was open to them.' p. 96.

We like to be just. Touching the thieving, an English mob would have exhibited similar adroitness; and the sufferer would not have so easily redeemed his property. As to their cannibalism, it was Mr. Earle's lot 'to behold it in all its horrors'; but attestation of the horrible fact was not wanting. Slavery also here assumes 'its most hideous shape'; and we are happy to agree with our Author in the sentiment he expresses respecting it. 'That Slavery should be the custom of savage nations and cannibals, is not a cause of wonder: they are the only class of human beings it ought to remain with.' (p. 122.) Mr. E. is clearly mistaken in supposing that the New Zealanders have no priesthood, and that they do not worship their carved figures.

The priests (or *tohungas*) are, on the contrary, persons of great importance and authority; and one of the most enlightened chiefs complained to Mr. Marsden, that there were too many priests in New Zealand, and that they tabooed and prayed the people to death *. Something beyond inaccuracy is involved in our Author's assertion, that 'there is in fact *little crime* among them, 'for which reason they cannot imagine any man wicked enough 'to deserve eternal punishment.' What he would call *crime*, it is difficult to decide. Either the most atrocious murder, 'bloody 'cruelty', hideous oppression, 'unjustifiable cannibalism', theft, fraud, and the most unbridled licentiousness are not crime; or his own volume supplies the most emphatic refutation of the absurd misstatement, which seems introduced only for the purpose of having another blow at the hateful Missionaries. We admit that it must have been mortifying to our Artist's vanity, to find the honour of his company continually declined by his unsociable countrymen; but he has taken a very foolish way of revenging himself at the expense of his own character. His savage friends, it seems, warmly resented this want of hospitality on the part of the Teachers towards our Author. According to their 'unsophisticated notions of right and wrong', it was an unpardonable offence; and they shewed their displeasure in the most dignified way, by refusing to hear them preach! On Christmas Day, Mr. Earle, in company with the captains of two whalers, had resolved to knock up the quarters of the Missionaries once more, to see if they would join them in a pic-nic feast. We must transcribe the picture of the station, and the result of the jovial challenge.

'We proceeded to Tipooa in two whale-boats: it was a most delightful trip, the scenery being strikingly beautiful. The village of Ranghe Hue, belonging to Warri Pork, is situated on the summit of an immense and abrupt hill: the huts belonging to the savages appeared, in many places, as though they were overhanging the sea, the height being crowned with a mighty par. At the bottom of this hill, and in a beautiful valley, the cottages of the missionaries are situated, complete pictures of English comfort, content, and prosperity: they are close to a bright sandy beach; a beautiful green slope lies in their rear, and a clear and never-failing stream of water runs by the side of their enclosures. As the boats approached this lovely spot, I was in an extasy of delight: such a happy mixture of savage and civilised life I had never seen before; and, when I observed the white smoke curling out of the chimneys of my countrymen, I anticipated the joyful surprise, the hearty welcome, the smiling faces, and old Christmas compliments that were going to take place, and the great pleasure it would give our secluded countrymen to meet us, in these distant regions, at this happy season, and talk of our relatives and friends in England.

* New Zealanders, pp. 238—240.

'My romantic notions were soon crushed; our landing gave no pleasure to these secluded Englishmen: they gave us no welcome; but, as our boats approached the shore, they walked away to their own dwellings, closed their gates and doors after them, and gazed at us through their windows; and during three days that we passed in a hut quite near them, they never exchanged one word with any of the party. Thus foiled in our hopes of spending a social day with our compatriots, after our dinner was over, we sent materials for making a bowl of punch up the hill to the chiefs, and spent the remainder of the day surrounded by generous savages, who were delighted with our company, and who did every thing in their power to make us comfortable. In the course of the afternoon, two of the mission came up to preach; but the savages were so angry with them for not shewing more kindness to their own countrymen, that none would listen to them.' pp. 169—171.

The Roman Catholic Missionaries, Mr. Earle assures us, 'adopt quite a different line of conduct.' Hence their wonderful success, while these Protestants are unable to make a single proselyte! And so great is their malignity, that 'they have done all that in them lay, to injure the reputation of the whaler in the estimation of the natives.' p. 167. The whaler is your true civilizer. There is nothing so effectual in driving out one sin, Mr. Earle thinks, as introducing another; and infanticide he represents as having ceased, wherever an intercourse has taken place between the natives and the crews of European vessels, that renders it the interest of the savages to suffer their female children to live. (p. 213.) In his opinion, this 'decided benefit' resulting from the most degrading profligacy, 'far more than counterbalances the evil against which there has been raised so loud an outcry.' A few pages after bearing this testimony to the 'universal and unnatural custom of infanticide' as prevailing among these unsophisticated children of nature, Mr. Earle describes them as '*excessively fond of their children*'; moreover, unlike other savage tribes, 'the wife is often treated as an equal and companion'; and, 'in fact, when not engaged in war, the New Zealander is quite a domestic, cheerful, harmless character.' p. 257.

So much for Mr. Earle's statements and opinions, which we should really not have deemed it worth while to bring into full view, were it not that such flimsy documents as this Narrative, are sometimes gravely referred to as *authorities* for the charges brought against the missionaries by South Sea traders, and echoed by Quarterly Reviewers. The publication of this volume will not render the missionaries less cautious whom they receive under their roofs.

After all, we cannot help feeling sincere pity for our poor countryman, and a strong interest in his future adventures. We hope the time may come when he will be able to conquer his dis-

like of missionaries, and better comprehend 'the abstruse points' of the Gospel, from which he, not unnaturally, thinks, 'a savage' can receive but little benefit.'—The most interesting part of the volume, is the journal of the Author's forced residence at Tristan d'Acunha; and his account of the 'Governor' of the little community, the Robinson Crusoe of the island, is so curious a piece of biography, that we cannot withhold it from our readers.

'Our governor, Glass, who is the original founder and first settler of this little society, was born in Roxburgh. In the course of many long conversations I had with him, seated in his chimney corner, I learned that, in early life, he had been a gentleman's servant in his native town; and that he had an old aunt settled there, an eminent snuff and tobacco vender; but whether she claimed descent from, or affinity with, the celebrated lady of the same name and occupation whom Sir Walter Scott mentions in "*The Heart of Mid Lothian*," as being so great a favourite of the then Duke of Argyle, I could not discover. Indeed, he did not seem to know much about his ancestors,—an uncommon thing even with the lowest of his countrymen. Having (while still quite a youth) been *crossed in love*, he enlisted in the Artillery Drivers; that corps suiting him best, from his well understanding the management of horses, and being an excellent rider. He related many amusing stories of his first and only campaign in Germany, which was an unsuccessful one. His favourite theme was his various adventures at the Cape. He gave me the whole history of his promotion from a private to a corporal; for he rose to that rank. I was always pleased with his descriptions; for there was such an air of truth and candour in them as convinced me of his probity and honour; as well as the high terms in which he always spoke of his officers, and of the service in which he had for so many years been engaged. He was of a happy disposition; for he seemed to forget all the disagreeables of his profession, and only remembered the comforts and pleasures he experienced during the whole time he was a soldier; and he always spoke in enthusiastic raptures of the government, which had so comfortably provided for old veterans. Glass considered himself particularly fortunate in his military career, by having been generally employed by an officer as his servant; and being an excellent shot, a good horseman, and withal an honest, good-humoured fellow, was nearly the whole of his time with his master on some hunting expedition.

'As a convincing proof of Glass's integrity, and his noble qualities as an honest and faithful servant, he once gave me the account of the death of his master, whom he had served for many years; and shewed me a letter he had written a few hours before he died, giving his servant such an excellent character as any man might be proud of receiving; and, at the same time, bequeathing him the whole of his property. Poor Glass was much affected when he gave me these particulars. It was in consequence of the general good character he bore at the Cape, that he was chosen to accompany the expedition sent from thence to Tristan d'Acunha; where he, with fifty Hottentots, formed part of

the garrison. Glass always spoke in high terms of the corps of Hot-tentots he served with, as men peculiarly adapted for artillery drivers, from their firm and perfect seat on horseback, their fearless (helter-skelter) sort of character ; since they would, he said, dash with their horses and guns over roads and precipices that would make a white man tremble to look at ; added to which, he highly praised their invariable good humour, but stated the great, indeed almost only, drawback to their merit to be, their proneness to drunkenness, which no punishments nor disgrace could eradicate.

' Another proof of Glass's good sense was manifested in his wishing to remain here, when the garrison abandoned the island. " Why, you know, sir (said he to me), what could I possibly do, when I reached my own country, after being disbanded ? I have no trade, and am now too old to learn one. I have a young wife, and a chance of a numerous family ; what could I do better for them than remain ? " So he requested and obtained his discharge ; and the few articles which the officers did not consider worth taking back again to the Cape, were given him : but the greatest treasure he obtained was a bull, a cow, and a few sheep, which stocked his farm ; and with his economy, and the care he bestows upon them, I have no doubt he will eventually become the possessor of extensive flocks and herds.' pp. 304—309.

Taylor's story is scarcely less curious ; but we cannot afford room for it. The volume contains a few plates, which are not uninteresting, although they do not shew to any great advantage our Draughtsman's pencil.

Art. VI. *The Consistency of the whole Scheme of Revelation with Itself and with Human Reason.* By Philip Nicholas Shuttleworth, D.D., Warden of New College, Oxford, and Rector of Foxley, Wilts. fcap 8vo. pp. xvi. 370. Price 6s. (Theological Library, No. 2.) London, 1832.

" **A**LL partial evil universal good." This sentiment has rarely been more strikingly illustrated, than in the history of the Atheistical and Deistical controversies. The attacks which have from time to time been made on the sublime mysteries of Revelation, (though doubtless attended with most fatal consequences to many,) have been the chief means of provoking the champions of truth to exert all their prowess in its defence. The consequence is, that every point of the long frontier of argument which the Christian evidences present, has been most diligently fortified, and such a mass of proof collected as may safely defy all the future assaults of infidelity. And who shall say that such results have not been cheaply purchased, notwithstanding the temporary evils attending this fierce controversy ? *The task is done* ; and it is obvious, that no lapse of years, no change of circumstances can rob us of the benefits of this great achievement. A series of works destined to live through all time has been pro-

duced, in which we may see every device of sophistry and untiring slander which the wily advocates of infidelity could employ exposed, and in which their refutation is recorded for ever. But more than this: not only has this assault already led to the construction of bulwarks which no enemy can force or scale; but we see them, each year, towering to a still greater height, and presenting a more imposing aspect. The unbeliever, on the contrary, is limited, from the very nature of the case, to the same mode of assault and the same futile weapons. A moment's consideration will shew that we do not speak without reason, when we affirm, that infidelity has already exhausted every mode of attack and played off its whole stock of miserable stratagems; and that it has not even a plausible conjecture on which to build another tolerable hypothesis. The reason of it is this. Christianity, upon the supposition of its falsehood, is given to the infidel as a curious problem, as a most singular phenomenon, which he is required to explain. Now there are but three or four theories at most, which have even a *primâ facie* appearance of plausibility to sustain them; all which may be shewn to lead to difficulties and contradictions as inextricable and absurd as though the imagination had been allowed its full swing of paradox, and had constructed its theories without any regard even to plausibility. Thus, as the infidel has to spin all his cobweb theories out of his own spider-store, and as these are ruthlessly demolished as soon as they are spun, that time must soon arrive, when even his ingenuity must be exhausted. It is pitiable to see how he will traverse heaven and earth for one poor argument. Now he may be seen scouring illimitable space, just to shew that the grandeur and vastness of the material universe, give the lie to that system of revelation which attaches such disproportionate importance to a world so insignificant as ours: anon he descends from the clouds, and, diving into the bowels of the earth, engages to *prove* from certain antediluvian antiquities, that that false *modern* Moses is out in his chronology. Then, if any doubts still lurk in your mind, after such demonstration, he will carry you off to the musty archives of China and Hindostan, and shew you the records of the *perfect* civilization of those nations millions of years before the Flood. And then you will see him (such is his intense hatred of Christianity) manifesting a credulity which leaves your sober faith infinite leagues behind it; a credulity which gulps down the most apocryphal documents,—whole mountain-loads of palpable fiction; and why? For the mere purpose of rejecting facts which are supported by every species of argument that can commend itself to the attention of a reasonable being. Truly, *that* cannot be said of these far-fetched and laboured hypotheses of infidelity, which is the chief glory of revelation,—“The word is *nigh* thee.”

But, while these outrageous hypotheses evidently shew that the ingenuity of scepticism is almost exhausted, the field of the Christian evidences, on the other hand, is daily enlarging. The *creative* faculty is not called into action here; we are not to construct theories; we are only called to study the magnificent one constructed to our hands. Our duty consists in working that mine of unfathomable treasures which Divine Wisdom has opened to us; a range for investigation and discovery as exhaustless and as ample as that which nature opens to the experimental philosopher. We have only to apply our faculties to this subject, and we must daily arrive at new *facts*, and consequently new proofs. The controversy as to the truth of Christianity, stands, in this respect, upon the same footing with that relating to the being of a God. In the latter case, only two or three hypotheses *other than the true one*, can be constructed, bearing even the *semblance* of plausibility; while the arguments the theist may employ are cumulative and perfectly inexhaustible; every new fact which implies design, being an additional proof of the being of a God. It is just thus with the infinitely varied field of the Christian evidences. That of historical testimony is indeed more nearly exhausted than any other; but the subject of prophecy has been only partially investigated, while the shaft has but just been opened into the internal evidences; (we use the words here in their widest application;) yet from which such an immense mass of treasure has been already drawn. Independently of all which, Christianity has made provision, in the scrolls of prophecy, for a vast accumulation of new evidence. Upon their dark pages, every age will throw a stronger light, and gradually enable us to decipher the mystic characters which lock up, at present, the inscrutable purposes of Deity. Such are the relative positions occupied by Christianity and her assailants: *she* must increase, but *they* must decrease. She will be continually strengthening and enlarging her defences, till her hopeless opponents (like kindred hosts after a similar discomfiture in an equally unholy cause) shall look up in despair to the immeasurable height of the "crystal battlements," and feel that nothing but malice is left them.

At the Reformation, when the Bible was first dragged from the "dusty nooks and corners into which profane falsehood had thrown it," men were too much occupied with the great, the overwhelming verities which the Reformers proclaimed as absolute novelties—for they were such to that age, though drawn from the sacred page—to inquire much into the foundations of their faith. It was not till near the middle of the seventeenth century, when metaphysical science began to be so ardently pursued, that this great controversy commenced. And verily, 'it began at the beginning;' for the daring philosophers who pursued speculative science, he-

sitated not to push their principles to the very wildest conclusions, and to involve the very first principles both of morals and religion in the same confusion. It was then that Clarke and others stepped forth to rebuke the follies of Spinoza and Hobbes. The deistical controversy, however, did not (properly speaking) begin till quite the latter end of the seventeenth century. It raged with unremitted fury from that period till the middle of the eighteenth; it then slept for some years; but has been revived with equal obstinacy in our own times.

It was during the first half of the last century, however, that the storm spent almost all its wrath. It was then that, almost simultaneously, infidelity attacked Revelation at nearly every point,—changing its weapons and its modes of attack with most Protean facility. Now it gravely called in question the historic testimonies; now set in formidable array the apparent discrepancies of Scripture. Here, it took high *a priori* ground, and pronounced a revelation to be needless, and that every man was a revelation to himself: there, on the same ground, it proved miracles to be impossible. Now it assailed the prophecies, and shewed that they had had but a *figurative* fulfilment; while some of its champions—the desperate *forlorn hope*—denounced even the *morality* of the Bible! The defenders of Revelation were not a whit behind their assailants: from every one of these ‘refuges of lies,’

‘The parting genius was with sighing sent.’

It will be sufficient to mention a few of their names who met in battle on that field, to shew that it was one of the most fiercely contested which the adventurous history of controversy presents. On the one side appear Conybeare, Chandler, Leland, Lardner, and BUTLER—himself a host; while on the other side were ranged Chubb, Tindall, Collins, Bolingbroke, Morgan, and many others. So exhausted was the controversy, at least on the infidel side, that though Christianity has gained much, since that day, by a more happy distribution and arrangement of evidence, as well as by the occupation of much new territory, infidelity has done nothing but vamp a-new long-demolished theories;—except when, in quest of something like novelty, it hits upon one of those paradoxical absurdities to which we have already referred. And even for the new ground which Christianity has occupied, we are largely indebted to those great men who defended her in that conflict,—to the extensive application of principles which they had already partially employed. In how many forms, for instance, has the one great principle which gave birth to the book of Butler been applied! And what a treasury of facts for Paley were Lardner's Testimonies! It reminds one of David laying up the materials of which Solomon was to build the temple. The first part of Paley's admirable work on the Evidences, is uni-

versally known to be little more than a happy condensation of Lardner's great work.

The volume which has given rise to this train of remark, is occupied *principally* with the Internal Evidences,—that department, which, as we have already intimated, still presents inexhaustible materials for further argument. By the words, *internal evidences*, we include all those arguments which may be derived from the *sacred volume itself*, whether historical or of any other kind; whether directly, or by a comparison of its various parts. To mention a few particulars; we include, that general air of truth and reality with which the whole narrative of the sacred volume irresistibly impresses the mind, and which is resolvable into a vast number of particulars, many of which it is impossible by any analysis to detect and classify, but which unconsciously influence the mind;—we include, the harmony and keeping of the sacred narrative, (viewing it merely as a piece of history,) a harmony which, considering the infinity of details, the endless particularity which the sacred volume presents, could never have been kept up in a work of imagination, and for which nothing but its truth will enable us to account;—we include, the congruity that is so apparent in the whole volume, viewing it as one continuous system of truth, the gradual revelation of divine wisdom; an argument multiplied ten thousand fold in force, when we recollect the many ages during which it was slowly developing, the many instruments by which it was unfolded, and the disjointed, *unsystematic form* in which, after all, it is handed to us; rendering the very idea of concert not only absurd, but impossible. With respect to the character of the Revelation itself, we include the superhuman sublimity of many of its disclosures; the inimitable simplicity with which the profoundest moral truths are enunciated; the extraordinary nature of the *principal* doctrines, so far remote from any which human imagination would be likely to invent;—the argument from fact, that this book reveals the profoundest depths of our moral nature, and professes a system of doctrines which by experience is found to be exactly adapted to it; a system of doctrines capable, in a way no other system ever was, of elevating and purifying the soul;—the argument from a diligent analysis of this system of doctrines, which, the further it is carried, the more clearly explains the fact just alluded to, and reveals an exquisite mechanism in the gospel, nicely calculated to operate with overwhelming power upon every spring of action within us:—all which arguments again are to be multiplied by the produce of the following arguments derived from the improbability that such a Revelation (abstractedly unlikely to be invented under *any* circumstances) should have been conveyed in such a mode and by such instruments. As to the *instruments*, they were *men*, therefore no more likely than other

religious impostors (supposing them, for argument's sake, to have been such) to invent a system so pure, holy, self-denying and spiritual; they *were illiterate and ignorant*; therefore *infinitely* unlikely to invent a system (merely regarding it as every one must admit it to be) so singularly *original*, as well as *beautiful and sublime*. Then as to the mode; they have, in addition to the inconceivable difficulty of constructing such a system at all, chosen just the most difficult of all possible methods of expounding it; not in a straight-forward, didactic, ethical way, but by what, when well done, is the highest of all intellectual achievements; we mean, embodying a system in examples—in the words and actions of a living character—himself a combination of all wonderful and, one would at first think, heterogeneous qualities, and yet, blended together here so as to form a character, full of harmony, grandeur, and purity; at other times expounding their doctrines in *fragments*, just as incidental circumstances elicited them; and again, adding to all these difficulties, the additional and gratuitous one of *imagining* a fictitious course of narrative and writing a series of feigned letters, in all which an inconceivable variety of petty circumstances (just where fiction so soon betrays itself by its inconsistency) must be attended to, while the main plot is still developing in all its intricacy and complication. But there are a thousand other topics included under this large head of internal evidences, which the time would fail us to mention; and then, when they have been all put forth, and their *individual* force estimated, they are to be viewed *collectively*, and *in relation to one another*; and the probability is to be estimated, (who with merely a mortal mind *could* fully estimate it?) that such a system, in which such complication and variety of evidence converges to one point, should be false? When a mind that has fairly traversed the ground of the evidences of Christianity, can believe this, he is just fit to believe the atomic theory.

It is obvious, that the field of the *internal evidences* is so large as not soon to be exhausted. As each part of the Bible may be viewed in relation to every *other* part, and every part to the whole, it is plain that innumerable analogies will be constantly presenting themselves, which may form the foundation of a striking argument, perhaps of a whole *series* of arguments. What a happy thought was that which suggested to Paley, a comparison of the Acts of the Apostles with St. Paul's Epistles. What a fruitful source of vast numbers of convincing coincidences! And who shall say how far it may yet be carried? Nay, how far has it already been carried both in reference to the Old and New Testament!

But we must proceed to speak of the volume which has given rise to the above remarks. We are disposed to regard it, on the whole, as one of the most valuable contributions which modern

scholarship has presented to that important branch of theology with which it is occupied. Before proceeding to point out those parts of the volume which we deem most interesting, we shall make a few remarks on its general character, and on one or two defects with which we think it chargeable. We cannot help thinking, then, that very many of its readers will charge it with obscurity; not in parts, but as a whole; not in detail, but as regards the general object which the Author has in view. How is this to be accounted for? It does not arise from any obscurity in the several parts of the reasoning; for the Author is evidently gifted with one of the clearest and most logical understandings; nor from a faulty style, for there is, in this respect, the utmost purity and perspicuity, the Writer expressing himself with that concise elegance which is the most felicitous vehicle in which philosophy can possibly convey her thoughts. But this obscurity may be felt, even where each separate argument is valid; 1st., if too much is attempted in a small space, and not sufficient room is given for the development of the author's design: 2nd., when arguments of very various strength are injudiciously thrown together, or arguments which are intended for one class of readers, are mixed up with others which only apply to another. As Dr. Whately very properly observes, arguments which are intended to remove, or at least to diminish, many scriptural difficulties, may have much force with the *candid* mind—a *mind already predisposed to believe*,—but yet shall have no force whatever with an infidel. The more closely, therefore, a writer aims at presenting one class of arguments for a given purpose, the more definite will be his object, and the greater unity of purpose will there appear about his work. This is the inimitable charm of Butler's *Analogy*. His book was intended for a certain class of readers, and he eschews every argument which does not immediately *tell*. He might have pressed into his cause a thousand questionable arguments, and some scarcely questionable,—but he would have weakened the general impression by so doing. He would have diluted his reasoning. But his is no mixture of iron and clay. This defect, perhaps, strikes one more forcibly in our present Author, as his *title*, as well as certain passages in his preface, would naturally lead the reader to suppose that his design was much more limited than it appears to be; in fact, much the same as that of Butler. But more of this presently.

The great cause of obscurity, however, is that we first mentioned; namely, that *too much is attempted in the space*. This little work, in fact, traverses the whole length and breadth, not only of the deistical, but of the Socinian controversies: 'the whole scheme of revelation consistent with itself and with human reason'—a most magnificent project, it is true, but surely not to be achieved in a 12mo volume of 369 not very closely printed

pages. It may be said, that it is an elementary work, and *therefore* could not be spread out to the extent which would have been required to do the subject justice. We grant it; and *therefore* contend that our Author should have limited himself to such a train of arguments—in fact, such a *section* of the subject—as would have been compatible with the limits assigned to him. As this is an elementary work, it was the more necessary; for, supposing there had been more evident unity of purpose about the volume than most readers will perceive, yet, *elementary* works should not consist simply, or even chiefly, of the results of extensive and profound reasoning; of great general conclusions, or even of the *general* reasoning on which these conclusions rest. But let us not be misunderstood. We like these comprehensive abstracts, these ‘*outline maps*’, as Dr. Shuttleworth calls them, for those who have already made no mean progress in the branch of science to which they refer. But works of an *elementary* character and intended for a popular series, must be of a different character. Some considerable detail, and a consequent contraction of the field, are necessary. Dr. Shuttleworth brings forward, it is true, at the conclusion of his volume, an ingenious illustration by which he defends an opposite course.

‘In this respect the design of the comprehensive survey of the theory of Christianity here attempted, will bear some resemblance to that of the blank outline maps which we place in the hands of young students in geography, by the aid of which the grouping and relative connexion of the several districts are rendered more easy of apprehension, than would be the case, were they to commence by entangling themselves in minute questions of detail.’ p. 357.

Surely a moment's consideration must satisfy any one of the marked difference between the two cases, and therefore the fallacy of the illustration. For it is evident, that what confounds the memory in closely crowded maps is, that there is a great multiplicity of details to be remembered, with no other aids for that purpose than the most arbitrary associations; each place being, to one ignorant of the country, no more worthy of remembrance than another. But that which enables us to see the force of comprehensive principles, and their mutual bearings and relations, are those very trains of detailed reasoning by which we first arrived at them, or trace their connection with one another. The mind is, in this case, assisted by that detail which would only perplex in the other, simply because the very perception of the conclusions, depends upon a knowledge of the train of arguments which lead to it. There is an edition of Paley's and of Locke's works, now in course of publication, which professes to give the *cream* of their writings, by presenting an abridgement of their reasoning, or rather the mere results of it. The consequence is, that many

pages of these volumes exhibit little else than meagre catalogues of naked dogmata, with little of that reasoning by which they are severally established or by which they are connected. Neither Locke nor Paley was very prodigal of words, and he must be a *shorthand* thinker indeed who will venture to abridge them.

It is true, indeed, that the extent of detail with which it is desirable to go into any given subject, must be determined by the judgement of the author; but of this we are quite sure, that he must not fill too large a sphere for effective though not unnecessarily minute detail. All those works which have been most extensively useful, have been eminently distinguished by their definiteness and precision of aim, yet more, if possible, than by the strength of their several parts. Butler's *Analogy*, Paley's *Evidences*, his '*Natural Theology*', his '*Horæ Paulinæ*', and others, are distinguished by this quality. It is by dividing and subdividing the intellectual territory, and cultivating each well, that the greatest amount of produce can be obtained. This is, in fact, only one of the many applications of that invaluable principle—the division of labour.

From the title of our Author's book, but still more from the first two sentences of his preface, one is led to suppose that he was about to confine himself to the same line of argument as Bishop Butler; that is, to shew that the greater part of the objections of the unbeliever against Revelation, will apply with equal force to other modifications of religious belief.

'The object of the following dissertation is to do justice to the internal evidences of Christianity, by disincumbering them of the weight of that class of objections, which, though in popular discussion generally considered as affecting the cause of revelation exclusively, stand in reality in no need of refutation, for the plain and simple reason, that they are applicable in exactly the same degree to every possible modification of religion whatever.' p. v.

One would infer from this, that our Author intended to have little to do with the *positive* evidences for the truth of Revelation. But he proceeds to shew that he has a further design; for he sometimes attacks specific objections in a most powerful manner, by shewing that such is the amount of positive evidence, that, formidable as many of the objections of the infidel may be, it requires a less magnanimous effort of the understanding to admit the latter, than to reject the former. This is a very beautiful thought, and is very often illustrated with remarkable felicity and effect. But then, to do the argument justice, the Author should not confine it, as he professedly does, to the *internal* evidences; (although we admit they are the strongest for his purpose;) he should take the whole amount of evidence from *any* source in favour of Christianity, or, which is the same thing, the

whole amount of the difficulty which the unbeliever is called on to reconcile, if he rejects the solution which the supposition of the truth of revelation affords. And then, the question is, whether he will retain his objection, (which may be susceptible of a very satisfactory answer, though he cannot discover one,) and believe that such an immense multiplicity of *positive* proofs is a fortuitous circumstance; or whether, admitting the evidence of revelation to be conclusive, he will abandon his objection. We wish our Author, leaving every other train of argument, had confined himself solely to this class of objections; we are sure he would have acquitted himself admirably. He might have taken up, first single portions of the argument and gone into details, and then given a comprehensive view of the whole.

There are several chapters, (especially in the latter part of the book, in reference to certain points of the Socinian Controversy,) which we think would have been as well omitted altogether. We cannot understand on what principles of procedure previously laid down as the basis of his arguments, they are constructed. We allude more particularly to the two short chapters on the Divinity of Christ and the Personality of the Holy Spirit.

Having thus spoken our minds freely on some of the defects of this volume, considered as a continuous piece of reasoning, we shall proceed to the far more agreeable task of pointing out its excellencies. Of the style and manner, we have already spoken. It has, however, far higher merits than these. Many *insulated* trains of reasoning are fully equal, both in point of originality and force, to any thing that has appeared since the days of Bishop Butler. Take the following passages, in which the reasoning and the eloquence are equally felicitous. Our Author is speaking of the 'difficulties' which belong to natural, not less than to revealed religion, and of those which belong exclusively to Christianity; and he shews that, admitting the difficulties of Christianity to be both numerous and great, we must calculate, as a *set-off* against this, its solution of many of the difficulties in which natural religion left us involved; and he then contends, *that the remaining difficulties are not greater than might be expected from the enlargement of the sphere of intellectual vision which Christianity furnishes*; each extension of our knowledge being at the same time an extension of our ignorance:—a fact not only true in religion, but in experimental philosophy.

'The rationalist may, indeed, shut his eyes, and choose not to see, or he may otherwise occupy his thoughts, and may really be not aware of the darkness involved in the foregoing questions, but most certainly that darkness is as old as philosophy itself. If the Christian is more perplexed by discussions of this nature than the mere Theist, it is only because, from the tremendous importance of his creed, his mind has

been rendered more anxious and contemplative, that reflection has become a more momentous duty, and the current of his thoughts, in consequence, been more systematically turned in that direction. True, indeed, it is, that the mysteries here alluded to are far from comprehending all that are involved in the admission of the truth of Christianity. All that is now asserted is, that it is both unfair and illogical to lay exclusively to the charge of that peculiar form of belief, perplexities which it shares in common with every other modification of theistical enquiry, and from which the adoption of the gross absurdities and inconsistencies of even Atheism itself would scarcely afford us a shelter. Without, then, pretending to deny that the Gospel revelation has difficulties really and specially its own, we would merely urge, that it is those specific and peculiar difficulties, and no other, which suggest a legitimate subject of discussion to the sceptic. By a sober investigation of them, then, let it be tried. The result, we are satisfied, will be, that the additional enigmas which it proposes, beyond those attaching to natural religion, are not more in number than might be fairly anticipated from the wider survey of the Divine arrangements which it affords to our minds, and the consequent necessity for the supply of new matter for wonder which this last supposition involves. We may add, also, that if the perplexities which Christianity may thus appear to have superadded to the religion of nature be found, as assuredly many of them will be found, to explain and remove some of those which previously encumbered the principles of Theism; such explanations ought in fairness to be taken, so far as they may go, as a set-off against the new difficulties thus introduced, and as a diminution of their total amount. This act of justice, infidelity will, perhaps, never be found to have voluntarily conceded, but it is obviously claimable upon every sound principle of argument. Let us illustrate this observation by what, we know, occurs every day in the pursuits of experimental philosophy.

‘If we might venture to speculate upon what might be presumed *à priori* to be the probable effect of sudden illumination of the human mind, on the subject of the great principles of religion, we should naturally be disposed to expect a result perfectly analogous with that which we know from experience accompanies every similar enlargement of our apprehension of the objects of physical science: that is to say, the mind would gain a step in advance, and occupy a wider area of knowledge than before; but at the same time the concurrent effect would be, that whilst some pre-existing difficulties would be partially, and others perhaps satisfactorily, explained, the accumulation of new facts, thus occasioned, would necessarily bring with it an accession of perplexity, of which we were not aware in the earlier stage of our progress. In the present state of the human faculties, one source of doubt is removed only by the inevitable introduction of another. A phenomenon in chemistry or in natural history may be explained by the discovery of some hitherto unknown principle; but that fresh discovery, whilst it serves as a key to unlock former subjects of doubt, is itself quite as perplexing as those which it has removed. It is impossible to deny that Newton has truly explained the phenomena of the planetary system, by referring them to the universal law of gravitation.

But this discovery has only put us in possession of one link the more in the eternal chain of consequences, so that, instead of asking any longer what it is which retains the heavenly bodies in, and gives regularity to, their respective courses, our question now is, what is the principle which gives to all matter whatever, its power of mutual and reciprocal attraction. The subject matter of our knowledge is increased, but our final ignorance remains the same. Our intellectual horizon shifts as we advance, but the same mass of clouds hangs to the last on its extreme verge.

‘With regard, then, to the admitted difficulties of Christianity, it may be confidently asserted, that in this respect the sceptic does not argue the matter fairly. He assumes that a Divine Revelation ought necessarily to operate as a universal solution of pre-existing doubt; whereas the infinite and stupendous nature of the problems with which it has to do, and the admitted fact of the very limited faculties of the human mind, ought naturally to have suggested to him the directly opposite conclusion. The idea of a religion without mystery involves, in fact, little less than a contradiction in terms.’ pp. 27—30.

This is only another way of urging the lesson, capable of such inexhaustible applications, which the whole volume of Butler is intended to inculcate; namely, the necessary ignorance of man on many most important points, and the consequent folly of rejecting *anything* on the ground of its being *mysterious*. Our life is made up of mystery, and is itself a mystery; and we cannot pursue one of the many avenues of knowledge without soon arriving at those impassable barriers which convince us of our incurable ignorance. Yet, we are so familiarized with that theatre of wonders in which we live and move and have our being, that it ceases to appear wonderful. But could we imagine some being of transcendent powers becoming acquainted with the stupendous facts which are hourly transpiring around us, without passing through that slow and initiatory process which (before it is over) familiarizes us with the wonders so much, that, when they are felt and seen, they cease to *seem* wonderful,—what would he say, but that imagination could not conceive a more ridiculous thing, than that creatures, every moment of whose lives furnished a refutation of such folly, should refuse to believe propositions (established by appropriate evidence) because they deemed them in other respects too mysterious. Yet, this is the basis, not only of Deism, but of Socinianism; and the great lesson to be taught those who embrace the errors of either, is their **IGNORANCE** and their **LITTLENES**.

Though it is true, as our Author argues, that our ignorance enlarges with our knowledge, that it is, as it were, the shadow that tracks its progress, yet, there is this advantage connected with more comprehensive views, that they produce not only an acquiescence in what is proved to be incurable ignorance, but that humility of mind which, taught by past experience, will not presume to dogmatize on what is unknown, or rashly decide upon

what is and what is not within the sphere of possibility, or reject proffered truth, simply because invested with mystery. In heaven, doubtless, this disposition will be perfect. While making eternal advances in knowledge, we shall in all probability be attaining at the same time only profounder views of the extent of our ignorance, of the infinite depths which still lie, in night, unexplored beyond us; nay, of transcendental mysteries which it shall never be given to created mind to penetrate; while, subdued into humility, instead of flattered into pride, by ever-expanding prospects, we shall only fall with the lowlier prostration before the throne of Him who 'alone dwelleth in light,' and that light inaccessible, and with whom alone are 'hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.' This much is certain; that on earth, those who have attained the most comprehensive views of things, are just those who have been the most deeply impressed with their own ignorance, who have been the most cautious in forming their judgements, or in pronouncing their opinion, and whose natures have been most abhorrent from that coxcombical affectation of despising *mysteries*, which is the certain characteristic either of half learned or second-rate minds.

Our review has already extended far beyond the limits we had assigned it; and we have only room for the following extracts from the 17th chapter, entitled, 'Of the tendency of the Prophetic Books of the Old Testament.' It contains many beautiful observations.

'The object of this dissertation being chiefly to point out the general congruity of the Holy Scriptures with themselves, and with the universally acknowledged phenomena of human nature, in other words, to dwell more immediately upon the internal evidence which they bear of their own authenticity, it will scarcely fall within its design to dwell upon the very strong confirmation afforded by prophecy to the truth of Christianity. In a work so limited in compass as the present, it was impossible to do justice to so extensive a subject, and which has already been cogently illustrated in many first-rate standard works: nor would the minute and circumstantial detail, which such an examination would require, accord with the very general view of the more superficial and popular objections to the credibility of our religion, which is all that is now attempted to be taken. With regard, therefore, to this truly important branch of the Christian evidences, it will be our object to dwell chiefly upon the more broad and general character of the writings of the Jewish prophets, as forming a kind of intermediate dispensation between the Levitical institutions, the strict and formal letter of which they are calculated to spiritualize, and the covenant of the Gospel, of the real nature and destination of which they gave the first clear intimations.

'Now, among the foremost impressions left upon our minds by their perusal, is that of the internal proof which they bear of their own authenticity, from the total want of system and definite purpose which they display, and the entire absence of any personal interest or advan-

tage to their respective authors, if we put out of the question the appropriate position which they are calculated to occupy between a religion of types and one of antitypes, between one of ritual expiations and one of spiritual holiness ; and the strong testimony which they thus afford retrospectively to the truth of the Mosaic, and prospectively to that of the Christian covenant. It would most assuredly be impossible to account for the composition of the larger and more prominent proportion of these truly remarkable documents, by referring it to the ordinary human motives of self-interest, or of national or personal vanity. That they were not written for the purpose of giving an additional sanction to the Levitical institutions, is obvious from the fact, that they frequently speak of them in language so depreciating, as almost to imply a spirit of hostility : whilst, on the other hand, that their object was not that of casting any slur upon the authenticity of that ritual is equally evident, from the fact that they explicitly assert its Divine origin, and attribute the severe visitations which befel their countrymen to the wrath of Providence, for their continued violation of its enactments. Now, admitting that the Jewish prophets were sent into the world at their respective epochs, for the purpose of weaning the public mind gradually from the provisional establishment of Moses, and preparing it for the reception of evangelical truth, all these characteristics which mark their writings are precisely what might have been expected ; but, we repeat, no other solution with which we are acquainted would meet the case. Any idea of personal aggrandizement, as the motive of the line adopted by their authors, was again obviously out of the question. To the Jewish community they must have appeared, from their continued anticipations of national calamity and discomfiture, any thing rather than patriotic ; and by the unpromising censure with which they lashed the vices of the sovereigns of the day, they must have expected to draw down, as we know that they actually did, the most violent persecution upon their own heads. Yet, with all these apparently unpopular characteristics, their books (such we must presume was the unanswerable evidence of their inspiration at the time of their production) have been received as infallible oracles by the very people whose crimes they denounced, whose religious prejudices they offended, and whose political ruin they foreboded ; and, from that day to the present, have been reverentially transmitted from father to son, through every change of evil and good fortune, and referred to in their original language by that inflexible people under almost every possible modification of manners, and in almost every climate of the earth.

‘ The gradual preparation for a new and better system than that of the provisional institutions of Moses, as hinted at by himself, and slowly developed in the subsequent writings of the prophets, seems to have been admirably contrived by Providence, according to the continually shifting circumstances of the Jewish people. Moses, it has been already remarked, alludes to the eventual abrogation of his own ritual by the substitution of the covenant of the Gospel, in language sufficiently precise to satisfy us that he was fully aware that such would be the fact ; though in a manner not so prominent as to derogate from the veneration claimed for his own enactments, by announcing

more broadly than was expedient their real character. But as time advanced, and when after a course of successive ages the Levitical rites had been sufficiently long established to have completely identified themselves with the national habits, the Almighty appears purposely to have become more and more explicit in his intimation of his ultimate purpose. The substitution of spiritual, in the place of ritual, holiness ; the one efficient expiation of sin, destined to be once for all offered and completed in the sufferings and subsequent glorifying of the Messiah, and the communication of the blessings of the Gospel to the Gentiles equally with the Jews, are expressly alluded to so early as the time of David, in many of the Psalms attributed to that monarch and his contemporaries, in a manner obviously calculated to subtract from the then existing reliance upon the efficacy of the sacerdotal sacrifice.'

* * * * *

' In proportion as the completion of the time contemplated by Providence drew nearer, this tendency to derogate from the effectiveness of their existing ritual, and to anticipate a more perfect system still hidden in the womb of futurity, becomes more and more evident in the writings of the later prophets. And, accordingly, we know that in consequence of these repeated allusions, all bearing prospectively to the same point, and more especially of those contained in the Book of Daniel, the appearance of a Prince and Saviour was an object of earnest expectation among the Jews at the time of our Redeemer's birth ; though from feelings of nationality they were disposed, in direct contradiction to the very prophecies to which they referred, to restrict the object of his mission to their own peculiar nation. Now it cannot be denied that, upon the presumption that the intentions of Providence were what the Christian supposes, this gradual repeal of the earlier covenant, and preparation of the human mind for the promulgation of that which was to displace it, was wisely contrived. The system pursued was like that which we witness in some of the common operations of physical nature, where the effete animal organ, which is to be superseded by the substitution of one more complete, detaches itself slowly and almost imperceptibly, and finally drops off when the process for the production of that which is to follow is completed. Another, and no trifling advantage, also, was obtained for the eventual advancement of Christianity by this peculiar arrangement ; namely, the confirmation of its authenticity subsequently to its promulgation, by the evidence of previously received prophecy. The same writings which, before the proclamation of the Gospel covenant, seem to have been intended only for the single purpose of weaning the minds of the Jews from a too strong attachment to the mere ceremonial of their law, and of inculcating principles of more substantial holiness, served, after the coming of Christ, to afford the most irrefragable proofs of the reality of his mission. In consequence of this double purpose, which has been answered by the prophetic writings, it is that their importance, as means of instruction, is at this moment as great to the society of Christians as it was originally to the people for whose use they appeared to be more immediately intended : a circumstance in which we trace again another close analogy with the general economy of th-

Creator, almost all of whose visible works are adapted for the promotion of other and secondary purposes, after the first more ostensible object has been attained.' pp. 200—209.

Many, very many passages of the same admirable character are scattered through the volume. We need not say, therefore, we most cordially recommend the work to general perusal.

Art. VII. *Maternal Sketches*; with other Poems. By Eliza Rutherford. Sm. 8vo. pp. 176. Price 7s. London, 1832.

THIS is a delightful volume of melodious verse poured from the well-spring of the heart's best affections. The title is not very well chosen. The theme of the principal poem is Maternal Affection, or, in good Saxon English, Mothers' Love, —from its first new and delightful impulse, at the birth of her first-born, to its latest energies as the mainspring of the tenderest and noblest efforts of self-denying watchfulness and exertion. The subject is as old, almost, as the creation, and as familiar as the song of birds, or the unchanged, yet ever-changing phenomena of nature; but who is ever tired of gazing on the reflection of earth and heaven in a clear and living current? No object could have been more gracefully chosen by a female writer; and only a woman could have treated it with the feminine delicacy and strong and pure feeling which characterize this chaste production. The charm of the poem is, that it has every appearance of having been dictated, not by the ambition of writing poetry as poetry, but by the wish to embody in that form, sentiments and emotions of which the melodious expression *is* poetry. In many volumes of the kind, we find a long and laboured poem apparently written on purpose to give importance to the volume, the whole charm and merit of which are found in the minor pieces, that have been dictated by natural feeling. In this volume, on the contrary, the shorter poems are very inferior in interest, as well as in point of versification, to the leading poem; a strong internal proof that the Writer has drawn her inspiration from nature and the subject, not from any artificial source. But our readers will judge for themselves. Here is a lovely picture:

' Rich in the basket's beautiful array,
Thy baby robes the choicest art display;
The sempstress there has plied her task for thee,
In all the needle's light embroidery:
Here the rich flower, and there the twining stem,
The snowy roses, and the lace-worked hem:
The toilet ornament, with motto drest,
Bears the fond wish in flowery verse exprest

And kind congratulations, far and near,
With thy young charms salute her favoured ear.

- Sweet are the pageants of thy morning hour,
Child of affection—snow-drop of the bower !
Soft are the balmy gales on thee that play—
Pure as the breath of summer's calmest day.
- Yet dearer interests shall pervade her breast,
New beauties win her, and new charms arrest :
The breath of innocence—the murmuring voice,
That seems with new-born transport to rejoice,—
To ask communion, pleasure to impart,
And waken echo in that tender heart.
- The grateful offices of love are paid
By her own hand ; in careless beauty laid
Upon her lap, from dress and bondage free,
He pours his first wild song to liberty ;
Moves the young limbs, with vigour newly found,
And tries at length the eloquence of sound ;
Fixes his eye, and asks the answering tone,
Now soft, now loud, in measure all his own.
- *Then* shall her soothing numbers, floating near
His dreamy pillow, lull his slumbering ear,
While, in the beauty of serene repose,
On her loved form his drooping eyelids close.
- See !—at the magic of a sound, that eye
Darts all its force of love and ecstasy,—
Distinctions none, save that soft voice alone
That vibrates to the heart its silver tone.
Each varying form and colour on that sight
Unnoticed blends, in harmony of light ;
Save this, all other fairer forms above,
Robed in its own celestial garb of love.
- Look at the gilded plaything, brought to lure
And tempts him from a spot he deems secure ;
He turns a moment with delighted eye,
And eager hand, its feeble force to try ;
Then back again he starts, with quick alarms,
And slights the glittering bauble's idle charms.
- Hark to that tender melody of tone,
When his young accents imitate her own !
No harmony can equal bliss impart
To that soft echo in his mother's heart ;
And still she hears, with every fresh surprise,
Some new succession of sweet sounds arise :—
First the lov'd name, and then the fond farewell,
Till he has learned each rising wish to tell.

- ' See ! when his tender frame in sickness fades,
And fever parches, and disease invades,
Her eye, unclosed, untired, its vigil keeps,
She rocks his cradle—listens while he sleeps,
Cheers when he wakes, with love's creative wiles,
Paid by his fond caress and tearful smiles.
- ' The first faint step he makes in life's rude way,
Her eye his polar star—*her* hand his stay,—
Lured by that beck'ning hand and gentle tone,
He feels his safety in *her* look alone.
- ' Poor child of Royalty !—Thy fate I mourn,
If from this friend and loved protectress borne,
Yon infant, on the harvest sheaf at rest,
Watched by the faithful dog, is far more blest ;
For his poor mother's tender thought may shed
A glance protecting o'er his russet bed,
While, soothed by Nature's breath, he lies at ease,
Sheltered from harm, and nurtured by the breeze.' pp. 3—8.

With great delicacy and pathos, a transition is made to the feelings of one who has been betrayed from the path of virtue.

- ' That mournful stigma, sheds on *him* its stain,
And the devotedness of Love is vain.
Oh ! might she shield him ! but it cannot be,
What art can shun that fatal obloquy ?
In lonely glades, with *him*, with *him* alone,
She would retire, unfriended and unknown ;
But *there* the sorrow still to be renewed,
The *one* deep source of grief, that must intrude,
Even at the artless mention of *her* name,
To paint his youthful cheek with burning shame.
Where is the parent that should train his youth,
Sanction *her* precepts, stamp *her* words with truth ?
Where is the counsellor, the friend, the guide,
Who o'er his youthful conduct should preside ?
Ah ! hush the bitter thought !—forbear, forbear
To touch the hidden spring of anguish there.
- ' Oh ! widowhood most dreadful ! ne'er can she
Portray departed worth to infancy,
Locked in the silent chambers of her breast,
Her sorrows with their bitter secret rest.
Poor penitent ! thy tears and prayers avail
But little, Rumour circulates the tale,
And these sad wanderings from the path of truth,
Fling a cold mildew o'er the flower of youth.' pp. 10, 11.

The poem is desultory, and we shall not detail the argument of each canto. Considerable skill is shewn in varying the didactic parts by historical illustrations and moral contrasts. In portraying

'maternal anticipations,' there is a happy allusion to the dream which Dante's mother had of the greatness of her unborn son, and to the mournful parting between Tasso and his mother, on his being called to Rome by his father for the purpose of education. The penitent apostrophe to his illustrious mother, made by Gustavus III., in his last moments, is next introduced; and then the following beautiful historic allusion.

'So, when the deeds of Essex dared the law,
Nor e'en that royal pledge could mercy draw,
In the lone cell, his mother's hymns of love
O'er memory came, like music from above.
Then, those pure counsels, which had long been hushed,
While fortune flattered, and ambition flushed,
Rose unsubdued by time, and breathed their balm
In that last conflict, to support and calm.
Time's heavy wave had o'er his bosom rolled,
But left in memory's sands those grains of gold.'

Among the other historic anecdotes, the Roman Mother is not forgotten. After 'the Campanian dame' had displayed her costly treasures, she in return

—' begged to see

Cornelia's precious store of jewellery.
Just then her children from their school arrive,
Adorned with all the charms that youth can give;
Bounding, they seek that tender mother's care,
Health on their cheeks, and freedom in their air.
Exulting tenderness reveals her joys;
And, leading in each hand her youthful boys,
"Behold!" she says, "my hoarded, choicest store:
These are my jewels, and I ask no more."

'Imperial Rome! when thy proud eagle flew
O'er half the world, and claimed its tribute due—
Grasping the bolted thunder as it rose,
To hurl destruction on its hapless foes;
When thou wast mightiest, and stood'st forth alone,
In beauty, art, and arms, no rival known;
Thy breath the breath of eloquence, thine eye
The soul's bright awful electricity,
Whose ray consumed, ere the hot bolt of war
Shot its red vengeance from the flaming car:
Proportion's finest mould, thy noble form—
Thy arm a haven, and thy wrath a storm:
When from thy hills the great, the mighty came,
And nations felt a magic in thy name:—
Then were thy sons to matron skill consigned,
And love maternal formed the youthful mind.
This—this alone!—bade patriotism warm,
And glory captivate, and honour charm,

Inspired their breasts with love of liberty,
 Taught them their noble birthright—to be free.
 What were the Roman masks or shows to her?
 What the Pantheon's charm, the city's stir?
 The proud cabals of party, or the gay
 And festive scenes on Roman holiday?
 See! by the Appian way, where valour sleeps,
 And patriot pride the fond memorial keeps,
 She wanders, with her youthful sons, to read
 High names, enrolled for many a valiant deed.
 The infant eye (within whose tender light
 Played sportive thought) emits a ray more bright,
 And kindling hopes, and brilliant visions glow,
 Shading with their deep thought the brow of snow.
 She gives the glittering bulla its fond charm
 Of sacred power to shelter him from harm;
 And when the toga's folds his form invest,
 And manhood's hopes swell ardent in his breast,
 Then she is near, those breathings to inspire,
 And rule or quell ambition's rising fire.

'Such was the Roman mother! So with flowers
 She hung life's vestibule, and gave the powers
 Of his young mind their energy and scope—
 Rome, and her grandeur, bounding every hope.
 But higher thoughts inspire the Christian's breast,
 With immortality's bright prospect blest;
 She asks no splendours to adorn his way
 That mock his grasp, and glitter to betray.
 The hopes she wakens mingle with the sky,
 And light with heavenly ray his destiny;
 Like the bright clouds that float on summer even,
 Gilding the scenes of earth with tints of heaven,
 Her voice his early orison shall teach,
 And wake devotion with the lisp of speech;
 That dawn is her's,—so transient and so fair
 Ere the rude world may claim admission there,—
 It is her own, and *all* that she may claim;
 Yet shall it bear through life her sacred aim;
 Heaven has itself conferred upon *that* love
 A spell, a talisman, all power above.
 With his young morning visions bright and fair
 Her memory stands, and nothing shall impair
 Its sacred influence: life's mists may rise,
 But cannot dim those tender sympathies.' pp. 79—83.

These specimens will sufficiently shew the general tenor and spirit of these 'Sketches'; and they will, better than any formal recommendation of ours, speak for the Author to the hearts of our readers. As we have spoken somewhat slightly of the minor pieces, we must in justice give the following elegant stanzas.

‘TO A BROTHER.

- ‘ Be great !—be great to all beside,
But spare thy lonely thoughts for me,
Who would each lesser care divide,
That flings its dark’ning shade o’er thee.
- ‘ Yes—hide thyself from others’ ken,
And wear the smile that worldlings wear,
But, O ! unmask thyself again,
When I thy lonely moments share.
- ‘ For it were happiness to know
Thou hadst no cold disguise for me,
Whose heart, amidst thy joy and woe,
Beats with the tenderest sympathy.
- ‘ Nay—I would rather others share
Thy festive scenes, thy brightest hours,
If o’er thy brow, when pressed by care,
My hand might wreath affection’s flowers.’
- p. 162, 3.

Art. VIII. *Parliamentary Reform Act, 2 Will. IV., c. 45, with Notes*, containing a complete Digest of Election Law, as altered by that Statute ; and with Analytical Tables and a Copious Index. By Francis Newman Rogers, Esq., of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law. 12mo. pp. 147. London. 1832.

WHAT have we gained by the passing of the Reform Bill ? This question, most of our readers, we suppose, have heard reiterated, by some persons in the spirit of anxious inquiry, by others, in the tone of taunt and sarcasm. The best answer that can at present be returned is—Time will shew. Much, very much, however, will depend upon the conscientious firmness and alertness, as well as intelligence, with which the enfranchised portion of the middle classes of this country avail themselves of the important privilege and trust which this great measure of reform has put into their hands.

It is not to be denied, that immediate self-interest, self-interest of a tangible and sordid kind, is a much more powerful stimulant to action, than a regard to those wider and more generous interests, which are our own in common with the rest of our fellow-citizens. Party-spirit and venality are far more *busy* principles than prudence and patriotism. They never sleep—at least by night, being most busy when good folks are in their dormitories. And they are not only ever-active, but their operations, unlike the slow deliberations of their worthy opponents, are characterized with the directness and sagacity of instinct. Limited in its range, but true to its proximate end, correct in its short and

H H 2

simple calculations, self-interest flies at once to its point; constructs its schemes with precision; when foiled or baffled, renews its exertions with unabated diligence and pertinacity; and in short, as the spider is more than a match for a lazy housewife, as the thief is often more on his guard than the watchman, as the Tory is more a man of business than a Whig,—so, in the contest between good and bad principles, moral or political, we continually find, that the latter are, though weaker, the more active, and that they always overcome, the moment the strife between them is suspended.

This is the best apology—perhaps, it will be deemed a somewhat elaborate one—that we have been able to frame, for the supineness of the better-principled portion of the community at seasons of critical importance, when the enemy is insidiously busy. We very much fear that this will prove to have been the case, to a great extent, in reference to the public duty which has devolved upon every depository of the elective franchise. The Tories have been long in the field,—registering every vote they could detect in the rural districts subject to their influence, and securing before-hand, so far as possible, all the strength of numbers that corruption, or intimidation, or stratagem, may command. Already, in anticipation of the coming election, money, to a large amount, is being employed in buying up the new constituency of the counties. By bribery and corruption, their old and favourite tactics, the conservatives, the *self-conservators*, are seeking to nullify the reform in the system of representation. Marquises have already subscribed their thousands, and dowager-countesses their five thousands; and, from the lawyer-agent down to the meanest retainer, the whole force of the Tory faction is in requisition and active operation. We are afraid, that there has been no corresponding promptitude and organized activity on the side of the friends of Reform. Thanks to the energy of the Anti-Slavery Agency Committee, in some quarters, effectual measures have been adopted to secure the return of men whose sentiments on that one grand point of national policy—the toleration of colonial slavery—will be a pledge, in most cases, of their enlightened and liberal views upon every other. Much, very much the country will owe, in this respect, to this association. But were the immense importance of returning to the next parliament, patriotic and high-principled men, who will deserve and command the confidence of the country, and justify the reform bill in its working and results, duly estimated, every religious man who has a vote, or who can by his influence direct one, would lose not a moment in fulfilling his immediate duty.

The exercise of the elective franchise in this country, during the long reign of corruption, has, in many places, ceased to be regarded as either a valuable privilege or an individual duty. A

peaceable and indolent acquiescence in established abuses, or an indignant disgust at the shameless system of dictation and bribery, has led numbers to stand altogether aloof from the contests of partizans and candidates. The same effect has resulted, in America, from a different cause,—the unlimited extension of the right of suffrage. Persons of education, talent, and good intention in the United States, may be heard to remark with complacency, ‘that they do not go to the polls once in three years’.* The consequences of this negligent discharge of their duty as citizens of the Republic, which assuredly indicates a want, not merely of mere public spirit, but of public virtue, is justly regarded by the American patriots as most dangerous to the vital interests of the State. If the elective franchise were properly viewed, not as a personal right, but as a social trust, the non-use of that franchise would be seen to involve, not the mere abeyance of a claim, but an unfaithful discharge of a responsibility. On all political divisions, every Athenian citizen was required to take either one side or the other; and without a general observation of this principle, it has been confessed by an American writer, ‘*the forms of popular government are impracticable*’.

It is a serious mistake to suppose, that religious men are, as such, discharged from any civil duties; or that spirituality of mind, mortification of the passions, separation from the world, consists in a withdrawal from the scenes of active life. The difference between the spiritual man and the worldly man, who, as members of society, have so many interests in common, lies not so much in their actions, as in the motives of their acts. Change the motive, and the very nature of the act is changed; the meanest service is ennobled, secular business becomes a part of religious conduct; and the altar sanctifies the commonest gift. The divorce of political and civil duties and the highest style of Christianity, is an error against which, we venture to suggest, the ministers of religion are bound to warn their flocks. Let every pious elector vote conscientiously, and his act will be as religious as his motive.

The Reform-bill which has now become the Election-law of the land, it has been justly remarked, is but a means to an end. That end is the enlightened revision of the whole system of our domestic and colonial policy. Reforms of an extensive character, it is universally felt, can be no longer postponed with safety. Questions of vital interest *must* come under the consideration of the next Parliament, of whomsoever it shall be composed. Upon every such question, the sentiments of those who opposed the Reform-bill are well-known: they are the consistent, united, de-

* See Eclectic Review, Jan. 1832, p. 34.

terminated opponents of all change,—except their own encroachments. Whether it be West India slavery or the Tithe system, a commercial monopoly or ecclesiastical pluralities, the deformities of our penal code or the vested rights of Old Sarum, the profanation of the Sacrament as a civil test, or the atrocities of barbarous game laws,—we find the whole conservative party, with scarcely an exception, marshalling themselves in defence, not merely of the powers that be, but of the things that be, one and all, as integral parts of the same system. Against the principle of innovation, to whatever applied, whether rights or wrongs, there is nearly the same manifestation of resistance on the part of these inveterate lovers of prescription. No voluntary concession was ever made by them, except under the influence of fear. Acting upon the maxims of Ottoman policy, they seek to conquer by delay, trusting to the chapter of accidents to extricate them out of their embarrassments. Of this party, the Reform-bill has produced the discomfiture; but it remains to be seen, how far it will prove, what is devoutly to be wished, the political extinguisher of Toryism.

The last hope of this falling faction, is, that the Reform-bill will, in its working, disappoint the country. They are now looking to the Radicals as their best allies. Upon the popularity or unpopularity of the first Reformed parliament, they sagaciously calculate that much will depend; and of any species of reaction, they will lose no opportunity of taking advantage. Now, we have all along anticipated some little discontentment as likely to arise on the discovery of the true character of the Reform-bill, which is essentially aristocratical. We like it none the worse for this; but assuredly, never was there a greater mistake than to suppose that this Bill will, as to its general operation, strengthen the power, or meet the views of radical levellers, or diminish the legitimate influence of the aristocracy. The numerical extension of the constituency already appears to be far less than was imagined; and the average effect of the bill will be, to raise the qualification of the voter. In the county representation indeed, the towns will now have far less weight and ascendancy than under the old system of qualification; and the rural districts will be chiefly under aristocratic influence. We are only afraid lest the aspect of the next House of Commons should not be sufficiently popular to meet the feeling of the country: we have no expectation whatever of its being too democratic. There will, of course, be many new members, as there have always been in every new parliament; but the majority will be, in all probability, our old acquaintance. If Wetherell's broad humour shall be missing, Colonel Sibthorp will still be there to play his vagaries; and if Sugden's bland and winning address shall no longer delight the house, there will be Dawson, and Praed, and

Burge to represent all that is Conservative. There will be as many sons of peers as ever, and not fewer gentlemen, whether Messrs. Hunt and K——y grace the reformed parliament or not. The return of the more valuable members of the present house, is certain; and the absence of the more insignificant will scarcely be noticed. Still, we entertain the sanguine hope, that the general complexion of the new House will be such as to command the confidence of the nation.

This is the main point. If this is restored, every thing is gained. The national confidence had been—we will not say forfeited, but—shaken, in respect to the competency and integrity of those who ought to be the legislative guardians of the rights and interests of the commons of the realm. The loyalty of the English people to their most valuable and cherished institutions had for some time been rapidly declining, owing to the pressure of no imaginary evils, which engendered a spirit bordering upon resentment against the Government. It is at such a time that the keen attention of the people becomes directed towards political grievances which, if not the immediate or sole cause of the evils they suffer, form an irritating aggravation of them. It is then that all sorts of visionary or violent political remedies find their advocates, as the panacea for every disorder of the state. The more enlightened portion of the community began to perceive, that though ballot, and annual parliaments, and universal suffrage, were but the poisonous specifics of political empirics, the increasing clamour for these indicated the existence of real disorder; and that the time was come for a change of measures. The system of postponement had been persisted in by every Tory administration for the last forty years, till every pretence was exhausted. The Duke of Wellington has the merit of being the first minister of his party, who, despising the mean shift of 'Call again to-morrow', set himself to attempt an adjustment of long standing claims. Two great questions he settled with the promptitude and decision that became a statesman. Upon the third, he might have easily come to a satisfactory compromise with the nation, and have rendered himself the most popular and powerful minister that ever held the helm. But he demurred altogether to the claim, and would not concede an inch. He disdained to promise what he never meant to perform; and thus, the question of reform was brought fairly and of necessity under the arbitration of the country. The cause of justice has prevailed.

But the auditing of the national accounts must be proceeded with; and this is well understood on all hands. There is no good reason that the inquest should be stayed. With regard, however, to the great questions that still remain for adjustment, there is this important difference; that they are not so much accounts between the government and the governed,—with the

fearful exception of Ireland,—as conflicting claims between different parties in the nation, upon which the legislature will have to arbitrate, the government being the umpire. Hence, the infinite importance of that reform of the high court, before which the pleading will be brought. Hence, the necessity of excluding from the panel those whom the voice of the people has challenged as avowedly hostile to their interests. The nation had almost ceased to look to parliament for redress; but now that there can be no objection to the constitution of the legislature, by universal consent the reference will be to this legitimate tribunal. The people generally are sick of agitation, and unless they find themselves cheated, cajoled, and insulted by the corruptionists, will be disposed tranquilly to await the decisions of the new parliament upon the great points affecting their interests. They are willing that their *bond fide* representatives should be also their governors. Much will be expected, more than, perhaps, is reasonable, from the new parliament; but if its members shall carry with them into the house the confidence of their constituents and there maintain a character for honesty of purpose and integrity, whatever blunders they may commit, whatever evils they may fail to remove or alleviate, whatever clamours they may be unable to satisfy, the nation will be tranquil even in disappointment, and loyal under even the pressure of burdens. And if so, the reform in the representation, to which this will be chiefly owing, will have answered its main purpose.

Three objects the Reform bill was adapted and intended to effect. The first was, to untie the bands of a liberal cabinet, and to render it possible for any administration to be honest. The second was, to put down disaffection, by re-establishing the House of Commons in the confidence of the people. The third was, to raise the character of the House itself in point of intelligence and public virtue. How far this last object shall be realized, will mainly depend upon the manner in which the electors shall exercise their important trusts. The Reform-bill has done much for the people: it remains for them to do much for themselves. It rests with them to give effect to the bill, and to carry out the reform beyond its technical provisions, by giving their unbought support to the approved candidate *at their own expense*. Under the old system, the two principal qualifications for a county member were, the being able to spend ten or twenty thousands for the bauble of a seat, and having the folly so to spend it. Few, comparatively, among those who might have been best qualified to serve their country, could pay the fine without robbing their families. The spendthrift candidate was supported by his bribed and drunken ‘constituents’; and electors, trepanned like recruits, had to be decoyed or driven to the poll. It must take some time to eradicate the false notions of the re-

lation between the representative and his constituents, which the long continuance of such abuses has fostered. The very agitation of the subject of reform, prior to the passing of the bill, has, however, been productive of much good, by awakening a spirit of independence. The reform bill may be said to have come into partial operation, even before it passed, by greatly influencing the selection and return of members to the present parliament; and this good effect it will tend to perpetuate. The Conservatives sanguinely calculate that, the excitement and stir being over, things will gradually revert to their old course,—to the *status quo ante bellum*. They are acting upon this presumption, in having recourse to the old expedients for laying asleep or overbearing the spirit of independence. The note of warning has been sounded in a little Tract, entitled, “Hints to Electors on the approaching Dissolution.” (Ridgway.) The advice which it contains is so plain and good, that although we do not entirely approve of all the expressions in it, we shall extract a paragraph or two by way of conclusion to the present hasty article.

‘ If your newly acquired rights are to be of any value to you, none must be permitted to interfere with the free exercise of them. Of what use is the right to vote at elections, if your representatives are not of your own choosing? If you are to be driven to the poll, like a parcel of sheep, to vote for the wrong man, at the mandate of hired agents, as has hitherto been the case in many of our Boroughs and Counties? Property will always, and ought to have, its fair influence, but not at the expense of principle. If an elector has no principles of his own, let him dress by the wisest and honestest among his neighbours; and if that be his landlord, so much the better. But if the latter be of the illiberal school; if he be a time-server, or a tyrant, instead of a steady friend to the poor and the oppressed, and an unflinching advocate of justice, he will, probably, support some candidate like himself, who will violate, or skulk away from his duty as suits his convenience. Trust men, therefore, only according to their merits; and not merely their *domestic merits*; for there are hundreds of excellent members of domestic life who would steep the country in blood, rather than see a general Reform of corrupt abuses; and who think that the Christian religion cannot thrive without Bishopricks worth 20,000*l.* a year.

‘ No real friend of Reform will ever think of interfering with the votes of his dependents. If any, therefore, attempt to violate your independence by such practices, set them down for Tories and Conservatives, and denounce them to public animadversion. . . . To what end have the Reformers toiled for years, and at last enfranchised you, if you allow yourselves to be frightened into a breach of the solemn duties you owe to your country by the menaces of the vain and selfish? Or if you basely suffer yourselves to be bought by their bribes, or brutalized by their intoxicating potions? It may befit those who wish you to do wrong, first to rob you of your reason; but it ill becomes an enfranchised Englishman to sell his birthright for a pot of beer.

‘The old stale trick of personal canvas will be resorted to, and you will be asked to do as a favour that which you ought to refuse as a duty. *If the candidate be a proper man, give him your votes unasked, for he goes to Parliament for your good, and not for his own; and you are more obliged to him than he to you.* But if the candidate be unfit, no doubt the obligation lies the other way; and he may well talk about “the honour you have done him, &c. &c.,” for it is an honour which dishonours him who confers it unworthily. Let no prayers or entreaties induce you to wrong your country, or yourselves, by voting for such persons. If once you commence the Reform Era, by recognising the right of any human being to control you in the free choice of your representatives; if you do not *now* resist all such interference, you will set a precedent for your own bondage upon all future occasions; and the Reform Bill, instead of a lasting benefit, will leave you no better off than it finds you.

‘If an old Tory—the outcast of some exploded Borough, presumes to solicit you to empower him to do you further mischief in the New Parliament, meet him with a list of his own unpatriotic votes upon past occasions; ask him if he comes (like King Richard in the play) to woo you in right of his misdeeds? And tell him you want no resurrections from the sepulchre of Schedule A. If he then try to wheedle you, by asking what harm he can do now the Reform Bill is past, bid him in return tell you what good can be expected from those who are only known to the public, and eternally branded by their past misconduct.

‘If no cajolery will do, they will fly to bribery, and calumny against their opponents, or they will coalesce with every thing most repugnant and opposed to them; any thing rather than lose their grand object of personal advantage or distinction.

‘What, then, is your solemn and bounden duty?

‘1. *To remember, that while the House of Commons, which holds the nation's purse, does its duty, all is safe, and the intrigues of factions and of Courts will prove abortive.*

‘2. *That the formation and conduct of this House depends upon yourselves; upon your selecting proper persons to fill it, and instantly settling about the necessary preparations for so doing.*

‘3. *That every town or district should forthwith form a Committee to communicate with some central Committee (in Counties), and to enjoin the Electors not to promise their votes until Candidates, genuine and tried Reformers, worthy of their confidence, shall be recommended to them.*

‘4. *That these Committees shall diligently enquire into, and determine the Candidates who are best qualified to serve the public; and that Candidates who are only able to recommend themselves by a personal canvas, or one conducted by means of their paid agents, or conservative clubs, are not of the sort wanted, and ought to be strenuously opposed.*

‘5. *That the fitness of every Candidate can only be judged by a close examination into his past conduct, whether as a Member of Parliament, or a Magistrate, or in any situation in which he may have come before the public; and if he is altogether a new man, and his*

principles have not been long since unequivocally promulgated, his family connections should be enquired into, before his professions of faith, however liberal, are admitted as trustworthy.

'6. That in the present times it is not only necessary that the principles and opinions of the Candidate should be *unquestionable, but that his age, capacity, knowledge of business, stock of information, and habits of punctuality*, should be sufficient for the task imposed upon him.

'7. And lastly, That where the Candidate is not a tried man, he should undergo a rigid examination, and give pledges as to his future conduct upon as many points as possible ; and that it is better to get a known Reformer, from whatever part of the country he may come, than an untried man, be his promises what they may ; *and when you have got a fit man, keep him so, by returning him free of expense, instead of sending him crippled in his fortunes, and broken in spirit, and liable to be tempted to repair his loss at your's and his country's cost.*

Art. IX. *Enthusiasm*, and other Poems. By Susanna Strickland (now Mrs Moodie). 12mo. pp. 214. Price 5s. London. 1831.

THIS pleasing little volume claimed at our hands an earlier notice. Its Author's maiden name has often graced the pages of the *Annuals* ; and to a numerous circle of friends, this publication will be an interesting memorial. Of the poetical feeling and genuine talent displayed in Mrs. Moody's productions, the following spirited lyric will give ample evidence.

' THE SPIRIT OF MOTION.

' Spirit of eternal motion !
Ruler of the stormy ocean,
Lifter of the restless waves,
Rider of the blast that raves
Hoarsely through yon lofty oak,
Bending to thy mystic stroke ;
Man from age to age has sought
Thy secret—but it baffles thought !

' Agent of the Deity !
Offspring of eternity,
Guider of the steeds of time
Along the starry track sublime,
Founder of each wondrous art,
Mover of the human heart ;
Since the world's primeval day
All nature has confessed thy sway.

' They who strive thy laws to find
Might as well arrest the wind,
Measure out the drops of rain,
Count the sands which bound the main,

Quell the earthquake's sullen shock,
 Chain the eagle to the rock,
 Bid the sun his heat assuage,
 The mountain torrent cease to rage.
 Spirit, active and divine—
 Life and all its powers are thine !
 Guided by the first great cause,
 Sun and moon obey thy laws,
 Which to man must ever be
 A wonder and a mystery,
 Known alone to him who gave
 Thee sovereignty o'er wind and wave
 And only chained thee in the grave !'

pp. 126—128.

On the very next page we meet with these beautiful stanzas, which *will* be transcribed.

LINES WRITTEN DURING A GALE OF WIND.

- ' Oh nature ! though the blast is yelling,
 Loud roaring through the bending tree,
 There's sorrow in man's darksome dwelling,
 There's rapture still with thee !
- ' I gaze upon the clouds wind-driven,
 The white storm-crested deep ;
 My heart with human cares is riven—
 O'er these—I cannot weep.
- ' 'Tis not the rush of wave or wind
 That wakes my anxious fears,
 That presses on my troubled mind,
 And fills my eyes with tears ;
- ' I feel the icy breath of sorrow
 My ardent spirit chill,
 The dark—dark presage of the morrow,
 The sense of coming ill.
- ' I hear the mighty billows rave ;
 There's music in their roar,
 When strong in wrath the wind-lashed wave
 Springs on the groaning shore ;
- ' A solemn pleasure in the tone
 That shakes the lonely woods,
 As winter mounts his icy throne
 'Mid storms and wasting floods.
- ' The trumpet of the angry blast.
 Peals loud o'er earth and main ;
 The elemental strife is past,
 The heavens are bright again.

' And shall I doubt the healing power
Of Him who lives to save,
Who in this dark appalling hour
Can silence wind and wave ?

' Almighty Ruler of the storm !
One beam of grace display,
And the fierce tempests that deform
My soul, shall pass away.'

pp. 129—131.

If all the poems were equal to these specimens, the volume might defy criticism. The inequality is greater than might have been expected ; especially in the versification, which, in some of the poems, is harsh and untunable, while the blank verse is singularly monotonous and heavy. Enthusiasm, we must confess, does not answer to its title ; and Fame will never reach its direction. But 'The Deluge,' which follows these two poems, bursts upon us with unexpected power. We must make room for this spirited poem.

' THE DELUGE.

' VISIONS of the years gone by
Flash upon my mental eye ;
Ages time no longer numbers
Forms that share oblivion's slumbers,
Creatures of that elder world
Now in dust and darkness hurled,
Crushed beneath the heavy rod
Of a long forsaken God !

' Hark ! what spirit moves the crowd ?
Like the voice of waters loud,
Through the open city gate,
Urged by wonder, fear, or hate,
Onward rolls the mighty tide—
Spreads the tumult far and wide.
Heedless of the noontide glare,
Infancy and age are there,—
Joyous youth and matron staid,
Blooming bride and blushing maid,—
Manhood with his fiery glance,
War-chief with his lifted lance,—
Beauty with her jewelled brow,
Hoary age with locks of snow :
Prince, and peer, and statesman grave,
White-stoled priest, and dark-browed slave,—
Plumed helm, and crowned head,
By one mighty impulse led—
Mingle in the living mass,
That onward to the desert pass !

' With song and shout and impious glee,
 What rush earth's myriads forth to see?
 Hark! the sultry air is rent
 With their boisterous merriment!
 Are they to the vineyards rushing,
 Where the grape's rich blood is gushing?
 Or hurrying to the bridal rite
 Of warrior brave and beauty bright?
 Ah no! those heads in mockery crowned,
 Those pennons gay with roses bound,
 Hie not to a scene of gladness—
 Theirs is mirth that ends in madness!
 All recklessly they rush to hear
 The dark words of that gifted seer,
 Who amid a guilty race
 Favour found and saving grace;
 Rescued from the doom that hurled
 To chaos back a sinful world.—
 Self-polluted, lost, debased,
 Every noble trait effaced,
 To rapine, lust, and murder given,
 Denying God, defying heaven,
 Spoilers of the shrine and hearth,
 Behold the impious sons of earth!
 Alas! all fatally opposed,
 The heart of erring man is closed
 Against that warning, and he deems
 The prophet's counsel idle dreams,
 And laughs to hear the preacher rave
 Of bursting cloud and whelming wave!

' Tremble Earth! the awful doom
 That sweeps thy millions to the tomb
 Hangs darkly o'er thee,—and the train
 That gaily throng the open plain,
 Shall never raise those laughing eyes
 To welcome summer's cloudless skies;
 Shall never see the golden beam
 Of day light up the wood and stream,
 Or the rich and ripened corn
 Waving in the breath of morn,
 Or their rosy children twine
 Chaplets of the clustering vine:—
 The bow is bent! the shaft is sped!
 Who shall wail above the dead?

' What arrests their frantic course?
 Back recoils the startled horse,
 And the stifling sob of fear
 Like a knell appals the ear!
 Lips are quivering—cheeks are pale—
 Palsied limbs all trembling fail;

Eyes with bursting terror gaze
 On the sun's portentous blaze,
 Through the wide horizon gleaming,
 Like a blood-red banner streaming;
 While like chariots from afar,
 Armed for elemental war,
 Clouds in quick succession rise,
 Darkness overspreads the skies;
 And a lurid twilight gloom
 Closes o'er earth's living tomb!

' Nature's pulse has ceased to play,—
 Night usurps the crown of day,—
 Every quaking heart is still,
 Conscious of the coming ill.
 Lo, the fearful pause is past,
 The awful tempest bursts at last!
 Torrents sweeping down amain
 With a deluge flood the plain;
 The rocks are rent, the mountains reel,
 Earth's yawning caves their depths reveal;
 The forests groan,—the heavy gale
 Shrieks out Creation's funeral wail.
 Hark! that loud tremendous roar!
 Ocean overleaps the shore,
 Pouring all his giant waves
 O'er the fated land of graves;
 Where his white-robed spirit glides,
 Death the advancing billow rides,
 And the mighty conqueror smiles
 In triumph o'er the sinking isles.

' Hollow murmurs fill the air,
 Thunders roll and lightnings glare;
 Shrieks of woe and fearful cries,
 Mingled sounds of horror rise;
 Dire confusion, frantic grief,
 Agony that mocks relief,
 Like a tempest heaves the crowd,
 While in accents fierce and loud,
 With pallid lips and curdled blood,
 Each trembling cries, "The flood! the flood!"

pp. 37—43.

ART. X. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In the press, *A Circumstantial Narrative of the wreck of the Rothsay Castle Steam Packet*, comprising interesting personal details of the survivors, biographical notices of a portion of those who perished, &c. &c. By Joseph Adshead.

In the press, *Morning Discourses* addressed to the congregation of Christ Church, Birmingham. By George Hodson, M. A., Archdeacon of Stafford.

In the press, *Conversion*, in a series of cases recorded in the New Testament, Defective, Doubtful, and Real. By the Rev. J. K. Craig, Oxon. In 2 Vols. 12mo.

The Rev. John Ely, of Rochdale, has in the press, in 1 Vol. 8vo. "*Winter Lectures*," a series of Discourses illustrative of the Divine Dispensations.

Nearly ready, *Steel's Shipmaster's Assistant, and Owner's Manual*, 20th edition, newly arranged and corrected to 1833, (including the regulation of the new Customs' act.) By J. Stikeman, custom-house agent.

Dr. Morison's *Exposition of the Psalms*, Explanatory, Critical, and Devotional, in three volumes octavo, is now completed.

In the press, *Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language*; containing the Accentuation—Grammatical Inflections—Irregular Words referred to their Themes—Derivation—Meaning of the Anglo-Saxon Words in English and Latin—Substance of Somner, Lye, Manning, with additional Anglo-Saxon Words from Manuscripts, and a copious English Index, serving as an *ENGLISH and ANGLO-SAXON DICTIONARY*. By the Rev. J. Bosworth, L.L.D. F.R.S. F.S.A. Member of the Royal Society of Literature, &c. &c.

ART. XI. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

ASTRONOMY.

Principles of Astronomy. By William Brett, M.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. 8vo. 10s. boards. Part I., containing Plane Astronomy.

HORTICULTURE.

Outline of the First Principles of Horticulture. By John Lindley, F.R.S., Assist.-Sec. to the London Horticultural Society; Author of "*Outlines of the First Principles of Botany*," &c. 18mo. 2s. sewed.

MISCELLANEOUS.

An Historical Account of the Plague

and other Pestilential Distempers, which have appeared in Europe, more especially in England, from the earliest Period. To which is added, an Account of the Cholera Morbus, from its first appearance in India; including its ravages in Asia, Europe, and America, down to the present time. Ornamented with a neatly engraved Emblematic Title Page. 12mo, 1s. 6d.

Mirabeau's Letters during his Residence in England; with Anecdotes, Maxims, &c. now first translated from the Original Manuscripts. To which is prefixed, an Introductory Notice on the Life, Writings, Conduct, and Character of the Author. 2 Vols. 8vo. with a Portrait, 1l. 1s. boards.

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR OCTOBER, 1832.

Art. I.—1. *The Ecclesiastical Polity and other Works of Richard Hooker*: with his Life by Izaak Walton, and Strype's Interpolations. To which are now first added, The "Christian Letter" to Mr. Hooker; and Dr. Covel's "Just and Temperate Defence" in Reply to it: accompanied by an Introduction, a Life of Thomas Cartwright, B.D., and numerous Notes, by Benjamin Hanbury. In three Volumes. 8vo. pp. ccvi, 1431. (Portrait.) Price 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* London, 1830.

2. *Two Letters*, by "*Fiat Justitia*," Author of a Letter to the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel; in Reply, the First to a Churchman, who condemns him for going too far; the Second, to a Dissenter, who expostulates with him for not going far enough. With an Appendix, containing a Letter from the Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel, with Observations upon it; Remarks on the Unity of the Church; Church Communion; Ecclesiastical Endowments; Theory and Practice of Independency, &c. &c. concluding with Hints on Church Reform, as applicable to Congregationalists. 8vo. pp. 121. Price 2*s.* 6*d.* London, 1832.

3. *A Model of non-secular Episcopacy*: including Reasons for the Establishment of Ninety-four Bishopricks in England and Wales. By the Rev. Thomas Sims, M.A. formerly of Queen's College, Cambridge; Author of "*Christian Records*," &c. &c. 8vo. pp. 24. Price 1*s.* London, 1832.

4. *An Address to the Dissenters of England on the Subject of Tithes.* By a Dissenter. 8vo. pp. 24. Price 1*s.* London, 1832.

5. *The Protestant Dissenter's Catechism.* The Twentieth Edition: with an Appendix and a Preface, by William Newman, D.D. 12mo. London, 1831.

‘**T**O them that seek (as they term it) the reformation of laws
& orders ecclesiastical in the Church of England,’
Richard Hooker, ‘the judicious Hooker,’ in the preface to his

great work, addresses the following advice and rebuke. ‘ Be it that there are some reasons inducing you to think hardly of our laws; are those reasons demonstrative, are they necessary, or but mere probabilities only? An argument necessary and demonstrative is such as being proposed to any man, and understood, the mind cannot choose but inwardly assent. Any one such reason dischargeth, I grant, the conscience, and setteth it at full liberty. For the public approbation given by the body of this whole Church unto those things which are established, doth make it but probable that they are good; and therefore unto a necessary proof that they are not good, it must give place. But if the skilfullest amongst you can shew that all the books ye have hitherto written be able to afford any one argument of this nature, let the instance be given. As for probabilities, what thing was there ever set down so agreeable with sound reason, but some probable shew against it might be made? Is it meet, that when publicly things are received, and have taken place, general obedience thereunto should cease to be exacted, in case this or that private person, led with some probable conceit, should make open protestation, I Peter or John disallow them, and pronounce them nought? In which case your answer will be, that concerning the Laws of our Church, they are not only condemned in “ the opinion of a private man, but of thousands,” yea, and even “ of those amongst which divers are in public charge and authority.” As though when public consent of the whole hath established any thing, every man’s judgement, being thereunto compared, were not private, howsoever his calling be to some kind of public charge. So that of peace and quietness there is not any way possible, unless the probable voice of every intire society or body politic overrule all private of like nature in the same body. Which thing effectually proveth, that God, being author of peace and not of confusion in the Church, must needs be author of those men’s peaceable resolutions, who, concerning these things, *have determined with themselves to think and do as the Church they are of decreeth*, till they see necessary cause enforcing them to the contrary.’

In the Dedication to Archbishop Whitgift, this loyal Churchman takes a loftier flight. ‘ As “ by the sword of God and Gideon ” was sometime the cry of the people Israel, so it might deservedly be at this day the joyful song of innumerable multitudes, yea, the emblem of some estates and dominions in the world, and (which must be eternally confest even with tears of thankfulness) the true inscription, style, or title of all Churches as yet standing within this realm, “ By the goodness of Almighty God, and his servant Elizabeth, *we are* ”.’

The most expressive comment that can be offered upon the

general argument in the preceding extract, is supplied by Mr. Hallam. 'It is well known,' he remarks, 'that the Preface to the Ecclesiastical Polity was one of the two books to which James II. ascribed his return into *the fold of Rome*; and it is not difficult to perceive by what course of reasoning on the positions it contains, this was effected.'* When the first four books appeared, Cardinal Allen and Dr. Stapleton were so much delighted with them as to invite the attention of the Pope (Clement VIII.) to this masterly production of 'a poor obscure English priest.' Nor was his Holiness less pleased with the perusal. 'This man indeed deserves the name of an author,' was the papal encomium. Hooker was in fact, a true *Guelf*, an advocate at once of civil liberty and ecclesiastical despotism. It is true, he contends for the royal supremacy in place of the papal; that is, he maintains the *national point of honour*, a domestic pope, instead of a foreign one; but he stipulates with equal explicitness for the independent authority and inalienable rights of the Church. 'To live by one man's law,' he remarks, 'is the cause of all men's misery;' and 'utterly without our consent we are at the command of no man living.' 'Every nation or collective multitude has naturally no superior under God.' And again: 'Laws they are not, which public approbation has not made so.' Mr. Locke's Essay on Government is avowedly built upon the constitutional principles of civil liberty laid down in the Ecclesiastical Polity, to which work he continually refers. Yet, when Hooker comes to speak of the authority of the Church, forgetting all his better principles†, he becomes the advocate of as pure a despotism as that of either Rome or Turkey. To the 'more than maternal power of the Church,' he attributes prerogatives far more absolute than, in civil matters, he was willing to concede to the majesty of the Crown itself. 'That which the Church, by her ecclesiastical authority, shall publicly think and define to be *true and good*, must in congruity of reason *overrule all inferior judgements whatsoever*.'

The radical fallacy of Hooker's reasonings was not perceived at the time, even if it be generally understood now. The right of private judgement in matters of religion, was nearly as little respected by the Puritans, his antagonists, as by the champion

* Hallam's Const. Hist. p. 234, n.

† 'The ground of all civil laws is this; no man ought to be hurt or injured by another. Take away this persuasion, and ye take away all the laws.' Such is the golden remark of our Author in his Discourse on Justification (Vol. III. p. 398). Is this the ground of all ecclesiastical laws?

of prelacy. His Dissenting Editor, Mr. Hanbury, has very fairly and explicitly noticed this fact.

Cartwright himself says: "Those who would withdraw themselves should be by ecclesiastical discipline at all times, and now also under a Godly Prince, by *Civil Punishment* brought to communicate with their brethren." And again: "The *Magistrate* ought to *compel* them to hear the word of God; and if they profit not, nor with sufficient teaching correct not themselves, then they should be *punished*." Thus, they would equally have claimed and exercised jurisdiction over the persons of other Christians who could not accord with their own views and observances. Persecution, therefore, was a principle with both sides.' Vol. I. p. xx.

Hooker's fundamental positions, the main pillars of his whole fabric, may be stated in the form of a syllogism, thus: 'All public laws must overrule private judgements: The Church, like other Societies, is invested with power to make laws: Therefore, whatever laws the Church enacts, are binding upon all who are born within its confines.'

It is obvious, however, at the first view, that this compact argument, stated absolutely, labours under the inconvenient disadvantage of proving too much; for it is felt that it would serve the purpose of the Church of Rome, precisely as well as that of the Church of England. A proviso, therefore, is appended to the minor premis, qualifying the power attributed to the Church,—'provided those laws do not interfere with or contradict the Laws and Commandments of Holy Scripture.' But will this saving clause answer its purpose? A little examination will shew that it is in reality fatal to the whole proposition. The power to make laws, in no way depends upon the moral rectitude of the enactments. When a writer 'has proved that the Church has a discretionary power to appoint what ceremonies, and establish what order she thinks fit, he may then,' Daniel Neal justly remarks, 'vindicate not only the Ceremonies of the Church of England, but all those of Rome; for no doubt that Church alleges all their ceremonies conducive to her well-being, and not inconsistent with the laws of Christ.' Bishop Warburton thus endeavours to parry the sturdy Nonconformist's thrust. 'How so? Does it follow that, because I have a right to the use of a power, I have a right to the abuse of it? The Church of Rome, that of England, and every other Christian Church of one denomination; may, as a Society, make laws of order and discipline. The Church of Rome abuses this right: therefore the Church of England shall not use it.*' Strange that so

* Mr. Hanbury, from whose notes we take this citation, (vol. i. p. xl.) remarks, that here Warburton assumes the very matter in debate. This is true; but it is not, we think, the greatest fallacy.

acute a writer should not have perceived that, in distinguishing between a right to the use of a power and a right to the abuse of a power, he was merely playing upon words, and availing himself of the ambiguity of the word right! The right to use a power, and the right to abuse a power, are not merely inseparable, but identical. The word right here, can mean nothing but a legal right, a political power; and though it is morally wrong to abuse any right or power, the legal ability does not depend upon the right application of it. It has been said, that a person cannot have a right to do wrong; which is an assertion at palpable variance with every day fact. A man has a right, a complete legal right, to squander away his property, to misuse his wealth, to do a thousand wrong things; provided that he do not commit a legal *wrong* upon another. The only right with which a Church can be invested, is a political authority; and if this does not admit of being abused, it does not exist. If the Church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, it must possess this power, whether its exercise be morally right or not; whether the rites and ceremonies it ordains, be Scriptural or unscriptural. The question is not, whether the Church of Rome abuses its right, but whether it possesses it; and the same reasoning applies to the Church of England.

Rejecting, then, Hooker's saving clause as a mere fallacy, his argument remains subject to the insuperable objection already mentioned, of proving too much. But in which branch of the syllogism lies the fallacy? His major proposition is, we think, unassailable. Neither private judgement nor private conscience can be pleaded against public laws. The right of private judgement is an equivocal phrase; and hence the endless dispute respecting the nature and proper limitation of such right. It may mean, either the right that the individual actually possesses, or the right that it is thought he ought to have. No man can be properly said to possess a right which the laws do not give or secure to him. Every actual right is a legal right; what are termed moral rights being hypothetical claims, which may furnish the reasons and ground of legislation, but do not, till recognized by law, come into actual operation. Now no man can have a legal right *against* the law, whether it be a right of private judgement or a right of conscience, or a right of property. So long as laws exist, whether equitable or not, they must in fact overrule all inferior judgements; and he who infringes upon them, whether his intention be morally good or evil, must bear the penalty. The plea of private judgement or conscience cannot be admitted by any judicature.

The right of private judgement means, *the liberty to act according to our judgement*; and no man possesses that liberty, except so far as the laws give it him; for civil liberty is the crea-

ture of law, which at once defines and protects it. When, therefore, we say, that, in matters of faith, a man ought to be left to the exercise of his private judgement, ought to be at liberty to follow the dictates of his conscience, we mean, not merely that he ought to be under no legal restriction in that respect, but that he ought to be under the protection of the laws in so doing. He is to exercise his private judgement, not against the laws, but under the protection of the laws: otherwise he is not in the possession of religious liberty.

The minor proposition of the syllogism is, that the Church, like other societies, is invested with power to make laws. Against this it has usually been objected, that the Church is not empowered to legislate in matters of faith, or to mend and alter the Constitution of Christ; which is only saying in other words, that it has not a right to make bad laws, or to abuse its power. But the preliminary point to be ascertained, is, whether the Church in question is invested with such power. This is a question of simple fact. The Church, as a society, cannot have, any more than an individual, either power or authority, other than it derives from the laws which define its prerogatives; unless, indeed, it is invested with political sovereignty, in which case it ceases to be, properly speaking, a society. Now whatever degree of power or authority it is expedient or reasonable that a church or other society should be invested with, it does in fact possess all that power (neither more nor less) which the laws admit of its exercising, whether for good or for evil, whether in contravention of sound principles of policy or in accordance with them. What a Church ought to do, is quite another matter. It either is or is not invested with the power here ascribed to it. Hooker's reasoning, then, halts here. He takes it for granted that the Church has an *inherent* power of a political nature; an assumption which approaches to a contradiction in terms; for every society is the creature of conventional arrangements, and can have no inherent power, much less a power such as is here claimed. It may seem a very specious assertion, that every society has a right to regulate its own concerns,—to make laws for its own well-being; but it has no such right, except so far as it is *allowed* to govern itself. No society, not possessed of political sovereignty, can withdraw its members from the operation of the laws which limit their rights, alike in an individual and in a collective and corporate capacity. Whatever power a society possesses, must either be given to it by the consent of its members, or be created by the express provisions of law, as being a political right.

Christianity confers no new political rights, and therefore no such rights can belong to Christians collectively, as such. The right to make laws of any kind, is a right purely political. It makes no difference in this respect, whether they relate to religion

or not. Again, no persons can have an inherent or natural right to make laws; for even hereditary rights are not inherent, but conventional. The right to legislate in religious matters, is but the authority which the laws give, or allow, to certain parties acting as a society or corporation, to regulate the matters specially intrusted to them. Any higher pretensions than this, on the part of a Church, are subversive of the first principles of civil society, and strike at the sovereignty of Cæsar. The Church of England is an estate of the realm. As such, it can have no Divine or abstract authority, but that only which belongs to it by the law and constitution of the kingdom. What its powers are, we shall examine presently. For argument's sake, we will admit, that the Church is invested with a certain power to make laws for its own government and well-being, &c. We now pass on to examine the conclusion which completes the syllogism; *viz.* that whatever laws the Church enacts, are binding upon all who are born within its confines. Or let us take Warburton's rendering of Hooker's principle.

“What that great author affirms is this, That whoever is *born* in a Church *where the true doctrine of Christ is taught and professed*, is obliged to submit to those laws of the society, without which no society can subsist. Just as he who is *born* in a civil society, founded on the principles of natural liberty, is bound to submit to those Laws of Natural Society without which Civil Society cannot exist.”

Vol. I. pp. xxxix. note.

But ‘who is to be the judge,’ asks Mr. Hanbury, ‘that any particular church teaches and professes the true doctrine of Christ?’ Here, again, the attempt at qualification betrays the unsoundness of the position; for if it were true, it must hold good, whether the doctrine of the Church be true or false. In opposition to this statement, Mr. Locke affirms, that no man is *born* a member of any church; but this is going too far. When the Church, as in Romish countries, is identified with the national institutions, a man is as truly born a member of the Church, as he is born a member of the civil community: he may as truly be said to be born a Papist or a Mohammedan, as he is born a Neapolitan or a Turk. And, in point of fact, every one born to a community, is as much bound by its ecclesiastical, as by its civil laws. If all who are born within the geographical confines of the Church of England are no longer bound to submit to its ecclesiastical laws, it results simply and entirely from the fact, that the Church and the State in this country are no longer identified, and that the laws of the Church are no longer binding upon Englishmen, who are at full liberty to discard its authority in matters of faith.

It is true, the XXth Article of the Church of England still

proclaims, that 'the Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith.' And those who subscribe to the article may think that such power and authority ought to be vested in their Church; but how does the fact correspond to the hypothesis? Is it true, in point of fact, that any actual power or authority of this kind can be exercised by the Church? Clearly not. The Church has long been deprived of its legislative powers; and unless the King in Council can be considered as the Church, it is notorious that the Church cannot decree a single rite or ceremony,—cannot appoint a fast or festival,—cannot decide upon any form of prayer, much less an article of faith. If it could, such decrees and ordinances would be binding upon all within its pale, but they would no longer be binding upon all the subjects of the State; for the Toleration Act and the other statutes which render it lawful for persons to obey the dictates of their conscience in matters of faith, completely nullify and repeal the power and authority claimed by the Church, by divesting it of the ability to enforce its decrees. We no longer contend for any right of private judgement against the law, but under the law. Why should we fight with a shadow,—with the ghost of the slain?

But how stands the case as to those who are members of the Established Church? To them, so long as they continue members of the Society, the following reasoning of Hooker may still seem to apply: 'A law is the deed of the whole body politic, whereof if ye judge yourselves to be any part, then is the law even your deed also. And were it reason, in things of this quality, to give men audience, pleading for the overthrow of that which their own very deed hath ratified?' (Vol. I. p. 40.) Freedom of discussion was as ill understood, in those days, as the right of private judgement; but such sophisms would not now impose upon the public mind. Hooker, in his whole argument, confounds political obedience to the laws with an approbation of their wisdom and expediency. To plead for an alteration of the laws is, with him, rebellion. That is not submission to the powers that be, according to his reasoning, which does not prostrate the understanding before the wisdom of the legislature. It is not enough that we determine to 'do', but we must 'think' also as the Church decreeth. 'That which the Church shall publicly think and define to be *true* and *good*', he maintains, 'must in congruity of reason overrule all inferior judgements whatsoever.' In this sentence is contained the grand mistake of centuries. All which the Church ordains as law, must, it is admitted, over-rule all private judgements, so long as the Church retains the power to legislate; because the law does not, in such case, leave the person to be guided by his judgement of what is true and good. But can the law compel a change of his judge-

ment? Can it require him to think that true which he knows to be false, and that good which he knows to be evil? His *right* of private judgement is taken away by the law, but his private judgement cannot be reached by the law, which, in attempting to define what is true and good, discovers only its own impotency. The law can create and rule rights and wrongs; but truth and falsehood it can neither make nor determine. Hence, the absurdity as well as injustice of all enactments, ecclesiastical or political, which affect to overrule private judgement or conscience in matters beyond the proper province of human legislation; matters in which every man ought to be protected in obeying the dictates of his own conscience, without reference to any other rule of faith than the word of God. It is because they overrule private judgements, that such laws are evil; because they interpose between faith and its proper evidence, between conscience and the only Lord of conscience, and violate those sacred rights which God himself has conferred upon every subject of His moral government.

The right of private judgement in matters of religion, and the exclusive authority of the Scriptures, are correlative propositions which imply in fact the same thing. Yet, how little has this been understood! Some writers have represented Protestants and Nonconformists as pleading for the right of private judgement as itself a rule of faith and conduct, whereas it is simply a liberty to stand by the Inspired Rule. This sacred right is a release from human authority in matters of faith, in order that we may exclusively submit to that authority which is Divine. Others, with Dr. Faber, would concede 'the right of forming a private judgement upon perfectly unambiguous propositions,' but not upon any litigated points: such 'illegitimate exercise of insulated private judgement,' that Champion of Church Authority joins with the Romanist in heartily reprobating*. This is in effect denying the right altogether, as well as doing away with Scripture as a perfect rule; a point which Chillingworth has put unanswerably. Others, overlooking the very obvious truth, that a man may have a complete right to do things which it is not right for him to do, inasmuch as moral rectitude is not the source or limit of personal rights,—have argued as if the validity of the right of private judgement depended upon the right use of it, and was forfeited by the abuse. It might seem a very obvious truism, that a man has a right that he actually possesses, whatever use he may make of it; and not less true, if less obvious, that a man ought to have such rights as are necessary to his discharging his most solemn obligations. This is the whole of the matter, as regards the much disputed right of private judgement in matters of faith.

* Difficulties of Romanism, pp. 37—40.

We shall not, we hope, be thought to have gone out of our way, or to have trespassed inordinately upon the patience of our readers, in this brief examination of Hooker's main position, in noticing the present edition of his works. It has seemed to us important, that so cardinal a point should be placed in a clear light; and whether we have succeeded or not in making it clear, our remarks may supply some useful hints to those who are most competent to pursue the inquiry.

Before we proceed any further, we must discharge a debt of justice, too long withheld, to the Editor of these volumes. It is a curious fact, that for the best edition of Hooker's Works that has hitherto appeared, and which is destined to supersede every former one, the public are indebted to a zealous Independent Dissenter. Mr. Hanbury's attention appears to have been first drawn to the slovenly and unsatisfactory manner in which former reprints had been issued, by an article in a deceased critical Journal, and a feeble reply, in vindication of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine. 'It is due to the Delegates,' Mr. Hanbury remarks, 'to notice that their latest edition of Hooker (1820) is printed from *better* copies than the edition of which the Reviewer complained.

'Still, however, "the best" copies were not resorted to; and neither in the Oxford, nor in any other edition, has the AUTHOR (whose decease did not permit him to complete his labours by superintending their entire publication) had that justice rendered to him, which the principal object of his labours, and his "pragmatical wisdom" have demanded from Episcopalians. It is almost superfluous to add, that the high and deserved estimation in which the Author is held, among all parties, for the astonishing purity and richness of his diction, his profound erudition, classic dignity, and political wisdom,—imperatively requires the utmost care and fidelity in the collation of the early editions and the revision of his invaluable works.

'The present edition of Hooker's Works owes its origin to these and similar considerations. Among the many advantages which it presents to the reader, he is informed, that it contains the very rare and important "Christian Letter", printed in forty-seven quarto pages, in 1599, but never republished. As this tract created a feature in Hooker's history, being alleged to have "procured" his death; and is remarkable for being the *first* publication of the *Doctrinal* Puritans, it must of itself give a new and extraordinary interest to these volumes.

'This Edition also contains the "Just and Temperate Defence of the Five Books of Ecclesiastical Policie," by William Covel, D.D.; an excessively rare Tract, never reprinted. It is dated 1603, and consists of one hundred and fifty-four pages 4to.....The Editor indulges the hope that his "Life of Cartwright" will not be deemed the least interesting portion of his labours. He had not found, till his other matter was far advanced at the press, that no existing Life of Cart-

wright presented such a view of his character, talents, and intimate connexion with the "*Ecclesiastical Polity*," as was requisite. The Editor was therefore compelled to begin it, even at the risk of delay at the printing-office. Hooker's *Epistle to Lord Burghley* is now for the first time admitted among his other productions.

'Genuine editions of the first five Books of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* having come into the Editor's possession, and a number of discrepancies being noticed between the oldest and recent copies, the conclusion became obvious, that the text of Hooker, more, perhaps, than that of any other of our most eminent classic authors, needed thorough revision. The collating of any ten of the following pages with the corresponding matter in any other modern edition, will shew of what kind and to what extent Restorations have been made; for, without in the least degree impeaching the qualifications and fidelity of preceding Editors, yet, their occasional alterations, together with the casualties occurring at the press, required restorations both minute and frequent. Hooker is here permitted to express himself in his own way; "his own practice" being "unmolested:" hence his inversions and other seeming irregularities may be judged of by every reader; who has, also, the opportunity of interpreting for himself what may appear obscure or ambiguous.

'The inadvertence or neglect of Hooker's patrons and admirers, and the difficulties arising from the scarcity and consequent expense of the means of illustration occasioned by the lapse of two centuries, have not till now been seriously attempted to be remedied. For one professing to be a Congregationalist, or Independent, to have performed what ought to have been done by others, may excite astonishment in all who know Hooker's treatment of the rising or emerging and growing varieties of Christian sects in his day.'

Vol. I. pp. x.—xiii.; xv, xvi.

It is a fortunate circumstance, however, that the task has fallen into such hands; since a large portion of the bibliographical and other incidental illustration would not otherwise have been incorporated with the edition; nor would the life of Cartwright, a highly valuable document, have been deemed a necessary or desirable appendage. The candid Episcopalian will forgive the Editor for having occasionally, in the additional foot-notes, intimated his dissent from the opinions and statements in the text; (a liberty not greater than has been taken with his Author by the Translator of Neander's *Church History*;) more especially as these comments are always brief, and indicate the extreme attention and care which Mr. Hanbury has bestowed upon the text. The greater part of the notes which he has added, are, however, simple references, citations, or biographical notices. Those persons only who have been engaged in similar labours, can appreciate the elaborate and minute pains, and the extent of reading, which this revision and illustration of Hooker's text must have cost. The additional documents, moreover, greatly

enhance the value of the edition. In the 'Introduction,' as Mr. Hanbury styles his preliminary remarks, there is comprised more controversial matter than will be palatable to many of the admirers of Hooker; nor are we prepared to vouch for the cogency or good taste of all and every thing contained either in the Introduction or the Annotations. But so admirably has he acquitted himself of his task upon the whole, that all parties must award to him their thanks; and for Hooker's sake, the most captious Episcopalian must forgive the 'Independency' of his honest and indefatigable Editor. These volumes must find a place in every well-chosen clerical library.

As Mr. Hanbury has done us the honour to cite from our pages * an encomium upon this noble performance, masterly in every thing but its reasoning, it is the less necessary that we should now expatiate upon the merits and beauties of Hooker's writings, in order to guard ourselves against the imputation of underrating him. It is no disparagement to his character to affirm, that his forte did not lie in polemics; that his style is more persuasive than his reasoning; that his greatness is that of the preacher, rather than of the controvertist; and that the finest passages in his writings are those in which he forgets the disputant and the partizan, and discourses of justification with the meekness of apostolic wisdom, or dwells with rapt devotion upon the glory of the Saviour. It would have been well, if Hooker and his antagonists had alike borne in mind, on all occasions, the truth so beautifully expressed in his Preface to the Ecclesiastical Polity; that 'there will come a time when three words uttered 'with charity and meekness, shall receive a far more blessed reward, than three thousand volumes written with disdainful 'sharpness of wit.'

What did the "Ecclesiastical Polity" effect towards the termination of the great controversy? Absolutely nothing. What single point has been adjusted by all the learning, logic, and sharpness of wit of the combatants on either side,—of Hall and Milton, Parker and Owen, Stillingfleet and Alsop? Whatever good results may attend the agitation of religious controversy, the accommodation of opinions would not seem to be one of those benefits. More than two centuries have elapsed since Hooker flourished, and, though great changes have since passed upon Church and State, the debate survives, which then employed the master spirits of their age, and is as tenaciously maintained, with as little prospect of a settlement, as ever. It has received some important modification of its character, however, from the altered circumstances of society and the peculiar spirit of the present

* Eclect. Rev. Vol. XIII. p. 254. (March, 1820.)

times, which have mingled fresh elements of polemic strife with the original questions.

The ecclesiastical controversy between the Church of England and the Dissenters, is of a fourfold nature. It relates, 1. to the question of Church authority; 2. to the polity or constitution of the Church: 3. to matters of ritual; and 4. to the Church as an establishment, and the subject of tithes. There is also a doctrinal controversy; but this subsists as much within the Church, as between the Pelagian clergy and the evangelical Dissenters. We shall therefore confine our remarks at present to the actual state of the controversy which may be properly styled ecclesiastical.

I. With regard to the first point, Church authority, once 'the grand hinge upon which the whole controversy between the Church and the Dissenters turned,' in contending against it now, we are combating a nonentity. It has no existence except in the twentieth Article and in the fond imaginations of churchmen. The authority claimed in controversies of faith, was originally a *forged* authority*; and the only ecclesiastical body by which it could have been exercised, was the Convocation, which has long been suppressed. The Thirty-nine Articles were originally articles 'agreed to by the whole clergy:' it is by the State that they have been authoritatively imposed. The Church having determined that they are true, the State decreed that they

* Mr. Hanbury has a curious note upon this point, which we may transcribe as a specimen of his illustrations. "The people of England must have been profoundly ignorant in Queen Elizabeth's time, when a *forged clause* added to the Twentieth Article of the English creed passed unnoticed till about forty years ago [1724]. In the act xiiiith Eliz. an. 1571, confirming the Thirty-nine Articles, these Articles are not engrossed, but referred to as comprised in a printed book, entitled, Articles agreed to by the whole clergy in the Convocation holden at London 1562. That clause, 'The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies and authority in Controversies of Faith,' is not in the Articles referred to; nor the slightest hint of any authority with respect to matters of Faith. In the same year 1571, the Articles were printed both in Latin and English precisely as in the year 1562; but soon after came out spurious editions, in which the clause was foisted into the Twentieth Article, and continues so to this day. A Forgery so impudent would not pass at present." *Sketches of the History of Man*. By the Hon. Henry Home, of Kames, 1774, Book I. ak. 4. § 1. "It is certain that it never was composed by, or exhibited in manuscript to, a Convocation. Such a power might not have been authoritatively claimed by the Church, lest offence should be taken at a time of general irritation on the subject of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction." *The Christian Remembrancer*, April 1829, p. 227. Vol. I. p. xxix.

should be believed. In the same way, the Church having determined a man to be a heretic, the State ordered him to be burned alive. It was by the power of the State, but the act of the Church. In fact, the power to decree or legislate, and the executive power, are alike political; and the application of political power to the determination of truth, the attempt to decide by political authority what is true and worthy to be believed, is not only criminally unjust; it is a political blunder. The time, however, has passed away in this country, in which such power and authority could be exercised by either Church or State. The clergy of the present day would be as little disposed to submit to a new decree in matters of faith, or to have their controversies terminated by authority, as were the old Puritans. No new rite or ceremony will ever be imposed, because the power to impose is gone. It was always an illegitimate power, foreign from the spirit of our laws; a usurpation, on the part of a single estate, of prerogatives which can be lawfully exercised only by the entire Constitutional Legislature. It is now at an end;—not in mere abeyance, but abolished. The repeal of the Test Act was the *coup de grace* to the dying monster. All that remains to be done is, to repeal the Twentieth Article itself, as both a forgery and a fiction, which can no longer impose upon any one. It is scarcely worth while for the Dissenters to waste another word in demonstrating, that the Church has *no* power to decree rites or ceremonies, *no* authority in controversies of faith; there being no power in this country but that of the Civil Magistracy and Legislature, no authority in matters of faith but the Bible only, which contains the whole ‘religion of Protestants.’

2. The second branch of the controversy relates to the polity or framework of the Church itself. And here, again, it is most remarkable, how completely the subject of debate has been taken out of the hands of the Congregational Dissenters, by other parties, themselves Episcopalians. It is well known that the main objections of the old Nonconformists were directed, not against Episcopacy, so much as against Prelacy; not against the primitive notion of Diocesan rule, so much as against a secular hierarchy and that ‘metropolitan governance’ which, Dr. Barrow admits, ‘was introduced by human prudence.’ It is for prelacy as ‘twined’ with nobility, in the second wreath of ‘the threefold cable of the State,’ that Hooker most passionately pleads;—respecting which he complains, that this chief ornament of the commonwealth, ‘Prelacy, the temperature of excesses in all estates, the glue and soder of the public weal, the ligament which tieth and connecteth the limbs of this body politic each to other, hath, instead of deserved honour, all extremity of disgrace.’ (Vol. III. pp. 202, 4.) The causes of that disgrace which he bewails, he with singular boldness exposes. ‘In go-

‘vernment, be it what kind soever, but especially if it be of such kind of government as prelates have over the Church, there is not one thing publicly more hurtful, than that a hard opinion should be conceived of governors at the first: and a good opinion, how should the world ever conceive of them for their after proceedings in regiment, whose first access and entrance thereunto giveth just occasion to think them corrupt men, which fear not that God in whose name they are to rule? Wherefore a scandalous thing it is to the Church of God, and to the actors themselves dangerous, to have aspired unto rooms (places) of Prelacy by wicked means. . . . Woe worth such impious and irreligious profanations. The Church of Christ hath been hereby made not “a den of thieves,” but in a manner the very dwelling-place of foul spirits; for undoubtedly such a number of them have been in all ages who thus have climbed into the seat of Episcopal Regiment. Men may by orderly means be invested with spiritual authority, and yet do harm, by reason of ignorance how to use it to the good of the Church. . . . But the hurt is more manifestly seen which doth grow to the Church of God by faults inherent in their several actions: as, when they carelessly ordain; when they institute negligently*; when corruptly they bestow church-livings, benefices, prebends, and rooms especially of jurisdiction; when they visit for gain’s sake, rather than with serious intent to do good; when their courts erected for the maintenance of good order are disordered; when they regard not the clergy under them; when neither clergy nor laity are kept in that awe for which this authority should serve; when any thing appeareth in them rather than a fatherly affection towards the flock of Christ; when they have no respect to posterity; and finally, when they neglect the true and requisite means whereby their authority should be upheld. . . . A bishop in whom there did plainly appear the marks and tokens of a fatherly affection towards them that are under his charge, what good might he do ten thousand ways more than any man knows how to set down! But the souls of men are not loved; that which Christ shed his blood for is not esteemed precious. This is the very root, the fountain of all negligence in Church government.’ (Book VIII. § 24. Vol. III. pp. 231—3; 236.)

This is plain speaking; but the boldest passage, perhaps, in the whole work, and one which for its caustic severity and patriotic freedom might seem worthy of Knox himself, occurs in the

* ‘I doubt not,’ he adds, in the next paragraph, ‘that even conscienceless and wicked patrons, of which sort the swarms are too great in the Church of England, are the more emboldened to present unto Bishops any refuse, by finding so easy acceptance thereof.’

next paragraph but one. 'Herod and Archelaus are noted to have sought out purposely the dullest and most ignoble that could be found amongst the people, preferring such to the High-priests' office, thereby to abate the great opinion which the multitude had of that Order, and to procure a more expedite course for their own wicked counsels, whereunto they saw the High-priests were no small impediment, as long as the common sort did much depend upon them. It may be there hath been partly some show and just suspicion of like practice in some, in procuring the undeserved preferments of some unworthy persons, the very cause of whose advancement hath been principally their unworthiness to be advanced.' 'Somewhat it is that the malice of their cunning adversaries, but much more which (bi-shops) themselves have effected against themselves.' And he closes these biting remarks with the interrogation: 'If there still continue in that most reverend order such as by so many engines work day and night to pull down the whole frame of their own estimation amongst men, some of the rest secretly also permitting others their industrious opposites every day more to seduce the multitudes, how should the Church of God hope for great good at their hands?' (Vol. III. pp. 237—239.)*

Such, according to the unimpeachable testimony of Hooker, were the causes that had wrought that 'extremity of disgrace' into which, in his own day, Prelacy had fallen. And although he takes care to add, that 'malicious accusers' were no more justified by those confessed abuses, 'than Shimei was by his sovereign's most humble and meek acknowledgment even of that very crime which so impudent a caitiff's tongue upbraided him withal;' yet, most persons in the present day will be very apt to think, that those who quarrelled with Prelacy altogether, under such a state of things, were not wholly inexcusable.

To whatever causes it may be owing, Prelacy, at this time, is by no means held in honour by the people of England. Although its rule is unquestionably mild, and the character of the Episcopal Bench far more worthy of honour than, perhaps, at any former period, still, the opinion seems to be very fast gaining ground, that Prelacy is one of those excrescent abuses which demand the knife of reform, in order to save the constitution of the Church itself. To change the metaphor, it seems to have been discovered, that that purple thread which Hooker mistook

* It is with no view of retaliating upon our contemporary, the British Magazine, for his not very fair citations from our own pages and other documents, of Dissenting *confessions*, that we have copied out this passage;—but it may serve to admonish him that he has commenced a very dangerous game.

for a twine of the second wreath of the cable, might be gently removed without injuring a fibre of the main texture of the constitution. And with whom does the proposal originate, of releasing the bishops of the Established Church from the weight of their baronial honours and duties? With sour Puritans or malignant sectaries? No such thing. With pious and zealous Churchmen, of orthodox creed and unimpeachable loyalty. Lord Henley wishes to *emancipate* the Church from its unnatural alliance with the State, from its fatal subjection to the Crown, in order that the hierarchy may be cleansed from the pollution of politics. His plan of equalizing the bishoprics, includes the erection of *two* new sees. Mr. Sims's plan of subdividing the dioceses would require seventy new ones, making the total number ninety-four, besides suffragan bishops. The first announcement of such a multiplication of an unpopular order, may startle some, and excite derision in others. But, if twenty-four bishops were thought an insufficient number three hundred years ago, when the population of England and Wales was probably not above four millions, surely, now that it has risen to fourteen millions, ninety-four might not seem a disproportionate number. Besides, the increase in the number of dignitaries, upon Mr. Sims's model, would not be so great as appears at the first view. He proposes in the first place, to abolish the archiepiscopal dignity,—undismayed at the empty sneer which Hooker throws out against those who 'quarrel at syllables, and take so poor exceptions at the first four letters in the name of an archbishop.' (Vol. III. p. 207.) Next, it is proposed to do away with the office of dean, as being 'virtually a sinecure, absorbing funds that might support many active bishops, or relieve many aged incumbents.' Thirdly, Mr. Sims would have no chancellors, the title and office being alike unsanctioned by early Christian antiquity. The duties of a chancellor as 'official principal,' belong to lawyers, not to churchmen; and his duties, as 'vicar-general,' should be discharged by the diocesan. The archdeacon is an imperfect bishop: the proposed plan would give him his proper title and functions, by converting archdeaconries into dioceses. At present, Mr. Sims remarks, the office, which is of popish origin, and has an 'exorbitant power' attached to it, 'presents an obstacle to the creation of new dioceses, and to the full discharge of episcopal functions in accordance with the wants of the people.' Now if archbishops, deans, chancellors, and archdeacons cease to exist, no reasonable man will think a hundred bishops too many, unless he has an implacable quarrel against the name and the order itself.

We do not feel ourselves called upon to offer any opinion as to the details of Mr. Sims's model; but it is certainly deserving of the serious attention of all the friends of Church Reform. It

has been evidently drawn up with great care, and upon the basis of official statistical details. Some of the episcopal sees which it is proposed to create, existed in former times; for instance, the sees of Westminster, Southampton, Wells, Taunton, Dorchester, Shrewsbury, Coventry, Leicester, Huntingdon, Bedford, Cambridge, Hull, and Nottingham; most of which were constituted episcopal sees by 26 Henry VIII. c. 14. Three of these have been extinguished by unions. The whole of Hertfordshire would be included in the new diocese (now archdeaconry) of St. Albans; the whole of Dorsetshire, in that of Dorchester; and the whole of Cumberland and Westmoreland would be divided between the sees of Carlisle and Kendal. These dioceses would surely be of sufficient territorial dimensions. But, without entering further into the details of the 'model,' we shall lay before our readers the general reasons which are adduced by the amiable and much respected Author, for proposing so extensive a reform in the ecclesiastical polity of the Establishment.

'In the early progress of Christianity, Bishops were established in different cities. As in the seven churches of Proconsular Asia, Ephesus, Smyrna, &c. so in Britain also, York, London, Colchester, Caerleon, &c. were Episcopal Sees. The Episcopal See did not constitute a place a city; but cities in which magistrates presided, were selected to be Sees; and from each of those central spots, religion was diffused amongst the *pagans*, or *villagers* of the surrounding district. Christianity had been alloyed by much superstition, when the missionaries sent by Gregory came to instruct the Anglo-Saxons. In the year 668, Theodore brought a new title to England—that of ARCH-bishop. William the Conqueror made Bishops Barons of the realm. As Barons they became politicians, and consigned the chief part of their duty as Bishops to Archdeacons, Officials, Vicars-General, &c. The corruptions and abuses of the church were multiplied; the whole body was covered with putrefying sores. Lollards in England, like the Waldenses and Albigenses on the continent, entered their protests against reigning abominations. The dawn of a reform of the National Church at length appeared. Henry VIII. persecutes the reformers, yet dissolves the connexion of England with Rome. His son Edward becomes a genuine Reformer. Cranmer, Ridley, Bucer, and others, assist in promoting the Reformation. Before it could be completed according to the designed model, England is deprived of her Monarch by early death, and of her best Bishops, under his sanguinary sister, by martyrdom. Elizabeth restores Protestantism; but the English Church, in her reign, was stamped with a character of secularity which has never been effaced. The time has at length come when it *must* be effaced;—that infidels may not finally succeed in overthrowing the Church of England through the medium of long-patronised abuses; that religious Dissenters may not deem it right to subvert it on the same ground; and that the members of that Church may stand up in its defence with the more zeal and courage, as those who are not the advocates of errors or corruptions, but the friends of piety, of order, of truth, of morals,

of loyalty, and of civil as well as religious freedom. The great preliminary step to a *second* reformation of the Church of England, is the reformation of her Episcopacy; an institution not originally designed for the aggrandizement of a few, but for the benefit of many; and the many who require its advantages, are the many millions which England and Wales now contain beyond the few millions of former ages. The evils interwoven with the present system of Episcopacy being removed,—as far as possible without delay, and, where delay may be almost unavoidable, by honest prospective measures,—the reformation of the Church of England, under other aspects, as pluralities, alterations in the Liturgy, &c. may be effectually prosecuted; whilst Episcopacy, *unreformed*, will furnish a pretext and precedent for abuses in other departments of the Established Church; and, by thus presenting an obstacle and barrier to improvement, not only embarrass Ministers of State, but, perhaps, ultimately involve the Episcopal order, the House of Peers, and even the Throne, in perils unexampled since the period of the Commonwealth.

‘In the following pages a plan is submitted, by the adoption of which, it is believed, those perils may be averted. A model of Episcopacy is proposed, in defence of which reference can be confidently made to Scripture, and to the practice of the primitive Church. The good sense of the British public may be at the same time appealed to, to determine, whether it is not adapted to meet the actual wants of the people, as well as to consolidate and preserve the fabric of the Established Church in all its most valuable constituent parts. Whatever it is here proposed to abolish, is neither essential to Episcopacy, nor even consistent with its primitive and purest form; but, on the contrary, foreign to its nature, superfluous, and injurious.’ pp. 4—6.

The specific reasons for the proposed alterations are interwoven with the plan; and a few additional remarks are given in the Appendix. Upon the subject of canons and prebendaries, Mr. Sims expresses himself in the following explicit language.

‘Wherever offices in Cathedrals, often of great pecuniary value, are yet virtually sinecures; not bestowed as a reward of laborious efforts or long service, but through political influence and family connexion; not reserved as the retreat of the aged, but for the encouragement of indolence; formed to multiply the number of pluralists, and perpetuate abuses in church patronage; they present a picture that cannot but excite the regret of those members of the Church of England who desire that the great principle of justice, too long outraged, should triumph in ecclesiastical, as well as civil affairs. The day may not be distant, when sinecures shall cease to exist; when due remuneration shall be given to Bishops from a diocesan source, without recourse to other and objectionable sources; when Bishops, aided both steadily and occasionally by clergymen of great eminence as preachers, shall raise cathedrals to their just elevation, as fountains of religious instruction; when the worship within the walls shall be less theatrical, more devotional, less conformed to the Romish model, more worthy of a Reformed Church; when Diocesan Seminaries or Colleges for youth shall be found within Cathedral precincts; or, at least, for training

some of those designed for offices in the Church ; whether to officiate as Presbyters after their university education ; or as Deacons without education at the University, in school-chapels, in poor and populous city-districts ; or as School-masters or Parish Clerks in country villages. Nor, whenever the better appropriation of Cathedral property on principles of equity and utility shall be discussed, will the erection and endowment of new Churches, the improvement of the condition of the poorer Clergy, and contributions to Schools and Hospitals, it is hoped, be forgotten.

‘The urgent necessity of effecting an honest reformation in the Church of England being now generally acknowledged, the most effectual measures will, it may be hoped, be adopted. The *first* reformation furnishes a precedent. Bucer’s Treatise on Church Government having been prepared expressly for the use of King Edward VI. with a view to the abolition of pluralities and the correction of other abuses, Archbishop Cranmer and seven other persons were empowered to draw up canons for the reformation of the Church, which were afterwards to be revised by thirty-two persons whom the King should name. The early death of King Edward defeated the noble design before it could be completed. To that failure, as one chief source, may be accurately traced some of the calamities in the reign of Charles I., and some of the difficulties by which the Church at this perilous crisis is surrounded ; difficulties, however, by no means, it is believed, insurmountable.’—pp. 23, 24.

The part of the model which we least like, is that which relates to synods. ‘I was ever of Nazianzen’s opinion,’ says Bishop Burnet, ‘who never wished to see any more synods of the clergy.’ But Warburton may be right, when he says, that the quarrels of synodical assemblies ‘have all arisen from not ‘having had their original and end precisely determined.’ A synod or other church assembly that should not assume to decree rites or ceremonies, or affect any authority in questions of faith, composed in part of laymen, and confining its proceedings to the proper business of such meetings, might be as innocent as an Association-meeting among Independents, or a Congregational Union.

Two questions may suggest themselves to our readers in relation to this project of Church Reform : Is it likely to be carried into effect, or any similar plan ?—Would such Reform extinguish or diminish Dissent ? If required to return an answer to the first question, we should say, that, as we affect not to be prophets ourselves, so we have learned to hold very cheap the wisdom of those who will venture with any confidence to predict what will or will not take place in political affairs. Things the most unlikely have lately been accomplished ; and other things almost universally pronounced to be inevitable, have *not* occurred. Thus much, however, we may venture to predict ; that the longer Church reform is put off, the greater changes will be found

necessary ; and further, that if Divine Providence intends prosperity or permanence to the Church of England, its reform is not very distant.

Our reply to the second question would be, that such a reform would at least conciliate the respect and esteem of other Christian churches ; and, as it would inevitably bring on the revision of the other matters in dispute, there is no saying how far it might lead towards a general accommodation. A ' Non-secular ' Episcopacy ' would assuredly be far more formidable to Dissent, more especially in connexion with a reformed ritual, than Prelacy in all its might and glory. But upon this delicate point, lest we should be misunderstood by some of our friends who are ready to suspect us of not being sufficiently staunch, we shall avail ourselves of the opinions expressed by the Author of "*Fiat Justitia*." He anticipates, not, in the first instance, a reform in the Establishment, but a separation from it, retaining the constitution and the forms of an Episcopal community.

' Episcopacy,' he remarks, ' would not only be a very harmless thing when separated from the state, but, in such a condition, it would soon cease to be the splendid error which it at present is, and, by the modifications it would receive, might perhaps come nearer to the primitive model (if there be one) than Congregationalism itself. Separated from the state, many immense evils of the Episcopal system, as at present existing, would be annihilated at once. The men, too, of whom the supposed Church would be composed, would have the power to resist the imposition of the Prayer-book *as it is*,—and they *would* resist it ; we should soon see that their voice, as well as their conscience, would demand a revision ;—their power and liberty would secure it ;—alterations would be made in their forms and ritual, which would render their Liturgy and Offices more scriptural in themselves, and less objectionable to honest men, than they unquestionably are at present. Relieved from the thralldom of a State-church, they would get rid of the "sectarian spirit," which that thralldom inspires and perpetuates ;—they would learn, as a body, to recognize the validity of other churches and other ministers, and would hold visible communion with them as such. This would be beneficial to both parties ;—it would destroy in time the bigotry of both ;—each would gradually come nearer the other, and get proportionably further from itself ; and in the end, they would meet just at the point, perhaps, where truth is at present—*somewhere* in the space between them.

' From this explanation, you will perceive, that my language was not intended to imply an approbation of Episcopacy as it is, nor of the Church forms and discipline as they are ; I meant only to express the satisfaction I should feel in the first step towards reformation being taken by the parties concerned, and my willingness to leave the next to themselves. I certainly did not mean to contend, that no modification of Episcopacy could render it innocent, and no alteration in the forms of the Church make them acceptable. I am not sure that the first might not be reduced to something nearly primitive ; and as to

the second, I am inclined to prefer the use of a Liturgy in public worship, *in connexion with free prayer*, to either the one or the other exclusively and alone. Dissenting Churches need, I think, reform, as well as the Church established by law; not to the same extent, indeed, nor of the same kind, but still reform. Feeling this, I am not disposed, in inviting others to become Dissenters, to ask them to go all at once so far, as that the next step, if they are wise, will be to attempt to come back again,—unless, indeed, I could hope that, by doing so, they would bring in a body—at least a *little way*—their elder nonconforming brethren along with them.

‘The fact is, I sometimes suspect that *no system*, as at present existing and administered, is exactly suited to the condition of the country. The Church is encumbered with frightful enormities; the people have outstripped it in the stature of their minds, and they have outlived that affection which, from unreasoning sentiment—from mere instinctive respect for what is established and venerable,—once attached them to its observances and its forms. Dissent, unaccommodating and exclusive, ignorant or regardless of human nature, pursuing its principles of theoretical perfection, and attaching too much importance to microscopic formalities,—repels many whom it should study to attract. Thousands who are ill at ease while remaining in the Church, are by no means disposed to fall back on the conventicle. The clergyman dissatisfied with the constitution and the state of the Establishment, anxious and ready to leave it, looks abroad in vain for some other denomination with which he could willingly associate. Those who positively secede, do not unite themselves with existing Dissenters. If any number were to separate, they would be *compelled* to form a distinct denomination, for there is none at present with which they could cordially coalesce. The sudden destruction of the Church by violence and rapine, is, I am quite persuaded, what every liberal Dissenter would deplore. Touched, however, it must be, and that with no tender hand. The distribution of its property; the revision of its offices; its detachment from the State; and its advances to communion with other churches;—all this must proceed, and proceed far, to meet the just and imperative demands prompted either by the desire for rational reform, or by the principles and aspirations of advancing piety.’ *Two Letters*, &c. pp. 52—55.

The pamphlet from which we have taken this extract, is a publication scarcely less remarkable, as a sign of the times, than Mr. Sims’s ‘*Model*’. It consists of free and desultory thoughts upon almost the whole range of topics comprised in the ecclesiastical controversy; dictated, most evidently, by deep reflection and an extensive acquaintance with what is called the religious world, and bearing the impress of that spiritual wisdom of which at this crisis the Church of Christ stands in so peculiar need. The Writer avows himself to be, on conviction, a Dissenter; but he has the courage at the same time to express his doubt, whether Congregationalists, though ‘impregnable on the point of Dissent from the Establishment, are either defensible or consistent in many

'of the parts and practices of their own system.' While an Establishment 'seems adapted merely to prevent the absolute infidelity of the many', and Independency, 'to preserve and perfect the piety of a few', he has at times thought, he confesses, that he could imagine 'something partaking of both, but better than either'. He does not venture to lay before us any new model of Congregationalism; and he is prudent in not affording the pretext which any definite plan would present, for pouring contempt upon his counsels as those of a visionary. What he has apparently aimed at, has been, to moderate the headstrong confidence with which zealots and bigots on both sides rush to the wordy war, each proclaiming, 'The Temple of the Lord are we';—to awaken some salutary misgivings as to the perfection of *any* system of church government which at present exists; and to shew, that Church-reform may be applicable as well to Congregationalists as to Episcopalians and Presbyterians. The first step to conciliation is the mutual admission that all parties have been in the wrong. The temper of the times, however, it is remarked, 'if we may judge from the publications of *all* parties, seems violently opposed to conciliation.'

'I sometimes hope', proceeds the Writer, 'that there may be many pure and elevated spirits concealed, who have not bowed the knee to the Baal of confusion; who are anxious to end the dissensions of the pious, that all may go forth in one united phalanx against ungodliness and sin; who feel that we have a common enemy, and ought to avoid becoming enemies to each other; and who, therefore, are prepared, or preparing, for taking advantage of any circumstances which shall facilitate the application of the oil of charity to the agitated waters of strife and debate. May it be so! and may it soon be discovered by a disposition, in some of all churches, to substitute calm and brotherly conference for burning and bitter controversy!' p. 75.

We are willing to persuade ourselves that we can discern some faint indications of a rising disposition of this nature in the body to which we have the honour to belong. Here and there, we have heard expressions of regret that the banner of ecclesiastical discord should have been of late so vauntingly displayed from the platform and from the press. Three years ago, we ventured to say to the Dissenters, 'Forget your old and fruitless controversy with the Church, till better times give you a better hope of being kindly listened to.*' It is well known to many, what fierce indignation on the part of some *ultra*-Dissenters, what unjust suspicion on the part of others, the presumptuous admonition excited at the time. The policy we then recommended, it has

* Eclectic Review, Third Series, Vol. II. p. 496.

since been acknowledged by some of these very parties, would have been the best for the interests of our religious Institutions, the best for the cause of Reform, the best for the cause of Dissent. Similar advice, now, may stand a better chance of being calmly listened to; and we are not without hope that this pamphlet will produce a strong and salutary impression. In the Appendix No. IV., will be found a letter addressed to the Author, proposing a problem which will doubtless startle many readers: 'Of what modifications is the system of Congregationalism susceptible, that 'may adapt it to the general circumstances of society?' To maintain that it is unsusceptible of modification or improvement, would be only to pronounce its condemnation, and to predict its fall. The present Writer avows a strong persuasion, that 'either 'some new form of ecclesiastical polity, comprehending the different elements of excellence at present separated and diffused, 'will suddenly arise, produced by such a donation to the Church 'of charity and wisdom as should lead, almost by miracle, to universal combination and consolidated effort, and in *this* all others 'shall merge and terminate;—or many of those at present existing may remain, but the spirit that distinguishes and divides 'them shall perish.'

'The rise and diffusion of a feeling like this', he proceeds, 'would be to me a proof that "God was coming forth from his place", "to visit his Church and to water it; greatly to enrich it with the river of God which is full of water;" "to make Jerusalem a praise in the earth, and a rejoicing to all people". I could imagine that the latter-day glory were begun, if I heard, on all sides and from many voices, a demand for UNION—not *uniformity*: for UNIVERSAL COMMUNION—not *sectarian exclusiveness*. This is the spirit which, in its perfect development, will raise every sect above its petty partialities, and at last fuse all into one great and consolidated whole. Deep, pure, unaffected love penetrating and pervading the Church, uniting all its parts in actual fellowship, and making it visibly as well as spiritually one; this is the weapon for subduing the world. The virtue of love has been much lauded, but little felt; often inculcated, but seldom exemplified; talked of, but not understood. Men, judging from their conduct, have supposed it to signify love to *their own sect*—marvellous affection!—or love to all others *when they shall have joined theirs*,—magnanimous liberality! Love of this sort has *had* its Millennium. It has done nothing but mischief during the long lapse of far more than a thousand years. Another, and a more comprehensive principle, is required now. I cannot but hope that the day is approaching, when the sublime experiment of its power shall be tried. The bigot of every denomination has taken for his text, "The wisdom that is from above is *first* pure, *then* peaceable"; and on this he has rung his eternal changes, arguing for the subjugation of all to sympathy with himself, before he could unite with them in the communion of the Church. I should say to all who agree in the profession of primary and funda-

mental truth, but who differ in secondary and inconsiderable matters, "Study *first* to be peaceable, *then* pure"; "Receive ye one another, as Christ also received you, to the glory of God;" "Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not, and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth;" "Follow after the things that make for peace, and things whereby ye may edify each other." In your separate condition you have all arrived at the same views as to saving truth: expect further agreement as the reward of fellowship. "Let as many as are perfect"—instructed in the fundamentals of Christian doctrine—"be thus minded;" and, "if in any thing ye be otherwise minded,"—if, on subordinate topics, you have different opinions,—by proceeding together in brotherly communion, "God will reveal even this unto you." Love in the heart will become light in the intellect; you will feel yourselves perpetually approaching to greater uniformity; in proportion as you have more of that visible oneness which will for ever be seen in the Church in heaven, you will display less of that diversity of sentiment which hitherto has distinguished and often distracted the Church upon earth.' *Two Letters*, &c. pp. 61—63.

We could wish here to close the present paper; but we must, with all convenient brevity, proceed to complete our design of adverting to the other branches of the ecclesiastical debate.

3. The original ground of the controversy between the Hierarchy and the Puritans, was the imposition of unscriptural rites and ceremonies. It was not Episcopacy, but the sign of the cross in baptism, kneeling at the eucharist, the surplice, and the other objectionable parts of the offices and ritual of the Church, which formed the main occasion of the long dispute within the Church, that terminated in the Act of Uniformity. With the discussion of these points, Hooker's fourth and fifth books are occupied; and they have assigned to them a very prominent place among the reasons of Dissent, in the Protestant Dissenter's Catechism. A new edition of this tract, with some judicious corrections and omissions by the highly respected Editor, is now before us; and we are tempted to take this occasion of saying a few words upon the publication.

We are not aware of the date of the original edition, but this Catechism must have been first published upwards of forty years ago, when it had the honour of being vehemently reviled by two of the greatest orators of the day, Bishop Horsley and Edmund Burke; a circumstance which must have tended greatly to promote its circulation. Its sale would not seem, however, to have been very rapid, since, in 1807, it had reached but a thirteenth edition, and six editions only have since been taken off in five and twenty years. Had this Catechism really been in popular use among the Dissenters, had it been generally regarded as 'a standard work', (as those who have made it the text of their aspersions upon the Dissenters, have affected to suppose,) it is needless to say that the sale would have been ten times, or we

might say a hundred times as great. But it has little to recommend it to popularity, and we can hardly suppose that it was ever used as a catechism. It has more the character of a polemical squib, than of a collection of religious knowledge; and it was far better adapted to the year 1790, than to 1830. This, the present Editor appears to have felt, so far as to induce him to omit many offensive passages, for which he offers the following apology.

‘A minute criticism on obsolete terms and phrases, in such a composition as the English liturgy, must appear invidious, and is not at all consistent with the candour and liberality which ought to be found among Dissenters. Some things which may be very proper, or necessary, in a controversy with a high-flying Churchman, will by no means fit the lips of a child or any young person of either sex, into whose hands this Catechism may come. I have *softened* one of those passages which relate to the Spiritual Courts: their thunders have long ceased to roar. And the universities are certainly in a much better state than when this little work was written. After all, I have left unaltered many lines which some perhaps will think had been better blotted out. In addition to the reasons which operate at all times, there are some derived from the circumstances of the time in which we live, to enforce a truly evangelical style of conduct towards those who differ from us in these matters. The Church of England, every one may see, is too much like “a house divided against itself”, to be allowed to reproach us with our divisions. . . . If these things have contributed to place Dissenters on higher ground than that on which they formerly stood, let them disdain to dwell on little blemishes in the liturgy. Let them exhibit the dignified moderation and generous forbearance which must ever accompany “the meekness of wisdom.”’

These remarks are worthy of the amiable spirit of the learned Editor; but why, it may be asked, republish a ‘Catechism’ open to such objections? If we may venture to conjecture the motives which have led Dr. Newman to sanction this reprint, we should suspect that his regard for the venerable name of old Samuel Palmer, and feelings of kindly remembrance towards one whose friendship he enjoyed, have had the chief influence; together with the wish that the Catechism should not again be printed without the removal of some of the more glaring improprieties. Dr. N. expresses his persuasion that the ‘leading principles’ are derived from the Christian Revelation; but this says little in favour of the form in which those principles are exhibited. We doubt, however, whether the answer to the first question can be reconciled with those leading principles. That there are ‘four religions’ in the world, ‘the Pagan, the Jewish, the Mahometan, and the Christian’, we must think as crude and incorrect a notion as could possibly be instilled into the mind of a young Nonconformist. The first part comprises ‘a brief his-

tory', which comes down only to the year 1779. Part the second gives the reasons of Dissent, in the greater part of which we of course must coincide. Some of them, however, are but feeble reasons; others captious; and there is a disagreeable flippancy and pertness in the style, occasioned by the very form of the work, as a dialogue between Question and Answer. An instance of the captious remarks may be found at Q. 82. 'Why do Dissenters object to the appointment of these holy days? A. It is impossible that *many* of them should be observed without a culpable neglect of business.' True, but '*many*' of them are *not* observed. *Two* only (not Sundays) are religiously observed by the Church of England; and the young Nonconformist should be told, that the appointment of the fasts and festivals did not originate with the Church of England, and has long ceased to be regarded as binding. Again, at Q. 113, we have a most curious piece of information. After the respondent has enumerated 'the crimes cognizable by the Spiritual Court', viz. '*adultery, fornication, simony, heresy, schism, slander, perjury, neglecting the sacraments, and the like*'; he is questioned, what are the punishments inflicted on persons found guilty of such crimes? *Answer.* 'Chiefly those which the Gospel does not warrant; such as fines, imprisonments, deprivation, and excommunication.' Does not the Gospel, then, warrant the excommunication of the adulterer? Or are fine and imprisonment improper punishments of the perjurer 'and the like'? It may be said, that the Spiritual Court is an unconstitutional tribunal; but that is another matter. Upon the whole, we are glad to notice the improvements in this twentieth edition of the Catechism; but we should not be sorry to think that it would be the last.

Were we required to state our reasons for dissatisfaction with the rites of the Church of England, we should refer to the confessions of Churchmen,—to the writings of Mr. Hurn, Mr. Riiland, and others, which prove, beyond all possibility of denial, that what may be represented as mere cavils when urged by the Dissenter, are real grievances to the pious clergyman. And the less Dissenters say about these matters, the more boldly *they* will speak, who feel their pressure. Nonconformity no longer stands in need of this method of defence. On the other hand, if church reform takes place, the revision of the offices and liturgy, and of the terms of ministerial conformity, must follow. The repeal of the Act of Uniformity, one of the most iniquitous acts that ever disgraced a Christian Government, is fervently to be desired for this reason, were there no other, that its existence stamps with more than inconsistency any attempt on the part of the clergy to obtain the alteration of an iota in the book to which they have solemnly pledged their unqualified approbation.

4. The fourth branch of the controversy relates to the Estab-
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blishment as such, and to the Church property. This is, strictly speaking, a political enquiry, though one of vast importance to the interests of religion, as well as to the secular interests of the community. It embraces, indeed, a very extensive range, and subdivides itself into various distinct heads of inquiry: I. The expediency of Endowments in relation, 1. to the interests of learning; 2. the support of the ministry; 3. charitable and benevolent objects: II. the existing Church Property, considered, 1. as to its tenure and amount; 2. as to its kind and the mode of levying the tithe; 3. as to its distribution. We protest against the attempt to make any part of this extended enquiry a party or a Dissenting question. The tithe is a national grievance, but not more so to Dissenters than to others; for the allegation that it is 'an invasion of the rights of conscience,' we cannot but regard as altogether erroneous. The conduct of the Quakers, who, for conscience' sake, submit to inconvenience, gives a consistency and respectability to their collective protest against tithe, which must clear them of insincerity even in the eyes of those who consider their objections as unreasonable. But in Dissenters who pay tithe without scruple, the plea that their consciences are hurt at having the money to pay, sounds too much like a reason of self-interest, rather than of piety.

The 'Address to the Dissenters of England on the subject of Tithes,' we should presume to be a juvenile essay. Flippant, shallow, violent, and declamatory, it affords a flagrant specimen of that secularized, or rather vulgarized Dissenterism which makes a good cause look like a bad one. It is, in fact, a mere political tirade; and a single sentence will indicate the taste of the writer.

'The true rights of mankind begin to develop themselves with a clearness that cannot fail to beget an energy in the assertion of them, that no corruption—no collective power of all the "would-be-tyrants" in the world—can possibly resist.' p. 23.

The subject of Tithe will infallibly undergo the searching inquiry of the reformed Parliament: it is there that Dissenters might with the most effect contribute their assistance to the settlement of what is properly a legislative question. The abstract question relating to the expediency of endowments, is quite another matter. Upon this point, we are inclined to think with Mr. Douglas and the Author of the Letters, that the extreme opinions are both remote from the truth. Then, again, as to the right of interfering with existing endowments, and of regulating Church property, there arises an important question of constitutional law, which we cannot regard as belonging to the ecclesiastical controversy. "*Fiat justitia*" briefly touches upon the subject in a note, with equal good sense and moderation; and we shall transcribe his observations without going further into the subject at present.

'What appears to me the *common-sense* view of the "Church and its endowments," as Dr. Dealtry would express it, may be given in very few words. Funds, acknowledged to be large, exist among us in the shape of property *professedly devoted to God*; that is, intended to provide for the service of God in order to promote the religious benefit of the people. This property has arisen, or arises, from the bequests of the pious, government grants, and direct taxation. Now, of all benevolent bequests, Government is the ultimate trustee; it can modify their use, or change their destination, whenever an obvious necessity requires it: hence, it can authorize the Directors of the Harpur Charity, at Bedford, to apply a portion of their funds to objects not contemplated by him who bestowed them; hence, too, it can divert what was left to support Popery in general, or to provide masses for the souls of particular individuals, to the use of Protestant literary or religious institutions. Again: Whatever Government gives for the public advantage,—for the public advantage it can resume;—it ought to do so, if enlightened public opinion demand it;—public opinion may demand, in such a case, the one of two things—either, that the grant be discontinued entirely, being found by experience to be injurious rather than beneficial; or, that it be discontinued as to its *form*, but still made in *fact*, though under a new modification.

'Church-property is really the property of the nation. It has been left, or granted, as has been said, not for the private and pecuniary benefit of individuals who may happen to possess it, but for the religious benefit of the whole commonwealth. If this is not consulted or secured by its appropriation, the people have a right to demand that it should. It is property held upon certain conditions; and if these conditions are not fulfilled, the nation, whose property it really is, must look out for those who *will* fulfil them;—those who are willing to do its work, and able to do it well: and, if it should be satisfied—rationally and religiously satisfied—that the creation of such property was a blunder and a mistake; that it has proved, and will ever prove, an obstacle to the attainment of those very ends which it is professedly intended to promote; that, in fact, the conditions on which it is held, will be better fulfilled without it: then—I do not hesitate to think, that it has the right—the legal and moral right—to annihilate it all, by devoting it to other objects of public utility.

'On these principles some persons have advocated the application of Church property to the payment of the national debt. To me this appears to be a premature and violent proposition. I admit, that I think circumstances might authorize this; that is, *when* it should be completely proved to the intelligence and piety of the people, that this would be more for the glory of God, and the promotion of his cause, than putting it to any religious use. If, because property has been left to be employed in a certain way, it is to continue to be so employed in spite of all the lessons of experience to prove it an evil; this would not only be to consent to the continuance of the evil, but it would be to make the dead the legislators of the living,—to give the power of government to the grave,—to make the mistakes of the child imperative maxims for the man. I admit, therefore, the power of Government, or of the people speaking through their legitimate organs, to

make the proposed secular use of the funds of the Church ; but I dispute its policy and propriety. Grant that the present religious appropriation of ecclesiastical property has been proved to be an evil, it has not been proved that *all* such appropriation must be so. As yet, this property is "*corban* ;"—and so let it remain. It was once employed in a form different from the present, and failed : admit that it has failed again,—still, this does not forbid that some other mode should be tried, before the possibility of using it to any good purpose be given up as utterly hopeless.' *Fiat Justitia*, pp. 90—92.

We have now taken a hasty review of the fourfold controversy, with a view to shew the present aspect and position of polemical affairs between the Church 'as by law established' and the Dissenters, that the real objects of the contest may be a little better understood. Combatants are always more furious in the dark. Should we at all have succeeded in rectifying some prevailing mistakes, partly arising from the ambiguities of language, partly from unquestioned sophisms, we shall at least have subserved the cause of truth ; and the tendency of all truth is to union. On the other hand, the spirit of union would lead to the discovery of truth. To cite once more the pamphlet of "*Fiat Justitia*," (which we must again commend to the attention of all our readers,) 'Love in the heart would become light in the intellect. We should feel ourselves perpetually approaching to greater uniformity. In proportion as we have more of that visible oneness which will for ever be seen in the Church in heaven, we shall display less of that diversity of sentiment which hitherto has distinguished and often distracted the Church upon earth.' And contracted it too. '*O si animis nostris insideret hæc cogitatio, hæc legem nobis esse propositam, ut non magis dissidere inter se possint filii Dei, quam regnum cælorum dividi ! Quanto in colenda fraterna benevolentia essemus cautiores ?*' *

Art. II. *The History of Charlemagne ; with a Sketch of the State and History of France from the Fall of the Roman Empire, to the Rise of the Carolingian Dynasty.* By G. P. R. James, Esq. 8vo. pp. xviii. 510. London, 1832.

THE time is gone by, we hope for ever, when any passionate admiration could be awakened by the recital of the deeds of conquerors, the men who have "made the world as a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof." We are afraid that the present age is growing so over-wise as scarcely to admire any thing. There seems to be spreading through society, if we may so speak, an intellectual democracy, which is as unfavourable to the pro-

* Calvin. Com. on Eph. iv. 4.

duction of greatness as to the due influence of great men and great names. That the world have ceased to 'wonder after the 'beast and to worship the dragon', is a matter for rejoicing; but nothing admirable can be expected from an age that admires nothing. The *nil admirari* tone of feeling is allied to an indolence of mind and an insipidity of character, which give no promise of excellence.

Biography, whose proper office it is to hold up exemplars greater than ourselves, has become a mere gossip,—a state-mourner, hired out on funeral occasions when we wish the world to know how much we bewail our friends,—an antiquary, rummaging registers and tomb-stones for obscure dates of obscure transactions,—or a common slanderer, labouring to bring down all that passes for excellent to the level of the vulgar. This sort of literary portrait-painting has become so cheap, that we must needs have the likeness of every body; but in the mean time, *the art languishes*. True biography is a study from the model.

The present volume, however, cannot be considered as belonging to biography: it is, as to its subject at least, purely historical. The life of Charlemagne is the history of an empire, which, like that of Alexander, of Timour, and of Napoleon, was strictly personal, commencing and ending with the individual, and standing out alone, in the annals of the period, with the distinctness and singleness of one great event. Charlemagne was the heir of a monarchy and the father of monarchs; but, in his empire, he had neither predecessor nor successor. He was the first who united Germany under one sceptre; yet, he can scarcely be considered as the founder of the Germanic empire, which formed a part only of the dominions of the Frankish Conqueror, and was subsequently alienated from his family, till, after 'a vacancy of 'seventy-four years', the first German king who assumed the title of emperor, was Otho I. A.D. 962. With more propriety he might be considered as the real founder of the greatness of the French monarchy; in less than seventy years, however, the Normans precipitated the fall of his race. Under Charlemagne, the empire of the Franks extended from the Ebro to the Elbe or the Vistula, and from Beneventum to the Eyder, comprising two-thirds of the western empire of Rome; but, under his successor, the kingdoms of France and Germany were for ever separated.

Great empires would have been great blessings to mankind, could they have been rendered permanent; since they have almost uniformly succeeded to a state of enfeebling anarchy, that rendered conquest at once comparatively easy, and, amid all its horrors, to a certain degree beneficent. But all empires founded upon conquest, contain the seeds of dissolution, because, to employ a fine remark quoted by Gibbon with approbation, 'all conquest must be ineffectual, unless it could be universal, since the

'increasing circle must be involved in a larger sphere of hostility.' The reign of Charlemagne was a temporary combination of confused and jarring elements into one vast mass, which was afterwards to be separated into distinct portions and new modifications. Perhaps, we may apply the above remark to Christianity, and say, that *its* conquests proved ineffectual, because they were not, as they were intended to be, universal. No sooner did the propagation of Christianity stop, through the failure of the Divine energy at the heart of the Church, and the weakness and debility arising from moral corruption, than the paganism beyond the circle of its conquests, became a source of danger, and began to roll back as a hostile invasion upon that moral empire before which it might and ought to have given way.

Prior to the reign of Charlemagne, the north of Germany from the Rhine and beyond the Elbe, was still hostile and pagan; nor was it, we are told, 'till after a war of thirty-three years that the Saxons bowed under the yoke of Christ and of Charlemagne.*' The Franks were a portion of this same nation, whose first settlements in Gaul took place during the military government of the Emperor Julian, when they presented themselves on the Roman territory as refugees, driven from their native land by a more powerful tribe. Afterwards, they appear serving as foreign auxiliaries in the Roman armies; and at length, about the middle of the fifth century, as powerful allies led by their own king. Fresh bodies had poured in from Germany, as the Roman power declined, in small numbers, as agricultural emigrants or military mercenaries, but retaining, probably, that hereditary contempt for the dwellers in cities, which distinguishes all the nomadic nations, Arab, Kour, or Tatar. Hence, the conflict between the northern barbarians and the civilized communities of the south, was literally a warfare between paganism and civilization; between the barbarism of the field and the institutions of the city. Hordes destitute, if not incapable, of local attachment, but inveterately attached to their hereditary habits, and united by the bond of national consanguinity under their leaders, poured in upon territories occupied by communities united, not by blood, but by municipal laws, and identified less by a common origin, than as natives of the same country. A difference of religion exasperated the mutual antipathy between the barbarian invaders and the civilized nations thus brought into sudden contact; although too soon the corrupt Christianity of the times was found to assimilate so well with the rude notions of the pagans, that they submitted to the gaudier superstition. At first, however, the invaders came only as destroyers, not as settlers.

* Gibbon, c. xlix.

‘ They, in general, contented themselves with plunder and massacre, and neither strove for, nor desired a lengthened possession of the places they captured. Even those cities which were taken by the Vandals and the Huns, were generally abandoned by them as soon as they were pillaged ; so that such of the inhabitants as had effected their escape to any place of refuge, came back when the desolating force had passed by, and possibly resumed their habits as well as their dwellings. —p. 7.

The reader of oriental history will be able to recognize the precise counterpart which, in this respect, the inroads of the Moguls, Uzbegs, and other northern hordes present to the conduct of the Vandals and the Huns ; and in the same way, we find cities that have been pillaged and razed, speedily re peopled and rising from their ruins. In the East, the feud between the citizen and the noble of the plain and mountain, is still perpetuated.

The marriage of Clovis to the niece of the King of Burgundy, in whose dominions law and civilization still maintained their reign, followed by the Frankish king's conversion to the faith of his Christian wife, laid the foundation of the power of the Merovingian dynasty. The clergy of the Roman Church, who had already courted the Franks, even when governed by a heathen monarch, now spared neither exertions nor intrigues to facilitate the progress of his conquests. The general state of France, at the death of Clovis, Mr. James thus describes.

‘ The population which covered the face of Gaul, was now more mixed and confused than ever ; consisting, however, of two distinct bodies. One of these, the Franks, was indeed pure and separate from the alloy of any foreign blood ; and, already possessing all civil and military power, was gradually advancing to the appropriation of all lands and territorial privileges. The other consisted of a thousand different races,—the original Gauls forming a great proportion. With these were the descendants of the Romans, their conquerors ; the Leti, and other nations to whom the Romans had apportioned various parts of the Gallic province ; several tribes of Goths, such as the Taifali, who had submitted after the defeat of Alaric ; Saxons, Huns, Germans ; and, in short, portions of all the swarms of barbarians that had aided to dismember the falling empire of Rome. These, however, exclusive of the Armoricans, constituted but one class,—the conquered ; and for them, the choice of but two sorts of fate was open,—the church or slavery. There were exceptions, but exceptions prove nothing against a general rule.

‘ Even before their emigration from Germany, in company with the rest of the German tribes, each nation of Franks was distinguished by two grades, or classes, in their society. The common bulk of the nation formed the first ; but from these were selected a number of persons, called by the name of Leudes, or Fideles. Probably, in the first instance, they were but the voluntary warriors who accompanied the chief of their tribe upon any of his warlike expeditions. They

grew into more importance, however, as the nation acquired territorial possessions ; tracts of land were assigned them, as the recompense for their services ; and an oath was exacted from them, on their admission to the order, which, accompanied as it was by various solemn ceremonies, would seem the origin of feudal investiture.

‘ Although persons were no longer elevated to the station of *Leudes* by talents and courage alone, under the successors of Clovis the order still continued. It is very difficult to say, though we find them often mentioned in history, what were the duties, and what the privileges of these *Leudes*. Certain it is, that their prerogatives were not hereditary before the year 695 ; and whatever services they, by their oath, promised to the monarch, it appears that he, in return, gave them especial protection. The Salique law calls them *Homines qui sunt in truste regis* ; and the formula of Marculfus mentions, that six hundred sous, then an immense sum, was the penalty for killing one of the Anstrustions—a title I believe to have had the same signification with *Leudes*.

‘ At all events, it is clear that we have here an order of nobility ; and it is little less clear, that this order has proceeded gradually, with various changes, but without intermission, to the present day.’

pp. 50—53.

‘ In the meanwhile, language also naturally began to undergo a great change. The influx of so many northern nations, each bringing a dialect of its own, as may be well supposed, soon supplanted the Latin tongue, which the Romans—according to their wise policy of making their language and their institutions the chains wherewith they bound the nations they conquered—had rendered general in Gaul, by the constant habit of more than four centuries. The lower class of people could not be expected to speak the tongue of the Romans in its purity ; and the Latin generally used in Gaul at the fall of the empire, was necessarily adulterated with a great intermixture of Celtic terms. The Gothic, the Saxon, and the Vandal jargons, added each something to corrupt it as they passed. Then came the Franks, who, retaining the country they had conquered, gave more expressions than any other tribe to the dialect of the people, though the great men, and the court of their own nation, still affected to speak the tongue of their German fathers. Thus, the *langue rustique*, or *Romane*, became, after several centuries, the general medium of communication amongst the people ; while the Latin, in any degree of purity, was only found amongst the ecclesiastics ; and the *Franc-teutch*, or *Theotisque*, still remained the language of the monarch and his court ; which distinction continued long after the reign of Charlemagne himself.’ pp. 55—56.

The death of Clovis was followed by all the disorders and miseries of a divided and contested empire ; and from this period, with little intermission, to the fall of the Merovingian dynasty, the history of France exhibits, during more than two centuries, a dreadful picture of anarchy, blood, and the most revolting crime. When, at length, Charles Martel, had succeeded in making himself, as *Maire du Palais*, king in all but the name,

‘ he was king of a land which had lost all that makes a throne de-

sirable,—arts, sciences, peace, stability. The seas of blood which had been poured out in the intestine struggles of the French nobles, had washed away every tincture of literature which had been left by the Romans. The arts and the commerce which, even as late as the reign of Dagobert, had been seen flourishing in luxuriance, were now all crushed under the iron steps of civil war. Long arrears of hatred and vengeance had been accumulated between each family and each province of the land. No principle of law or justice remained to restrain the strong, or to protect the weak ; and no acknowledged power of legislation existed, except in the sword. Such was the state of the kingdom over which Charles Martel fixed his sway. Under his administration, order was in some degree restored by the sole vigour of the hand which held the reins of government ; but the sciences which had fled, and the arts which had been lost, remained unrecovered, till a brighter era opened, and a more comprehensive mind awoke, to recall the treasures of the former days.' p. 68.

Charles Martel, although the founder of the Carlovingian dynasty, does not appear in the line of French kings. His son Pepin, A.D. 752, first assumed the crown, having obtained the sanction of his title from the Church. The birth of Charlemagne dates about ten years before the coronation of his father. He is stated to have been scarcely twelve years of age when he was despatched by Pepin to welcome the Roman pontiff to the Frankish territory ; a circumstance which would seem to indicate a physical precocity in the youthful deputy. In 768, Pepin, on his death-bed, divided his whole dominions between his two sons, Charles, afterwards called Charlemagne, and Carloman. The opportune and sudden death of the latter, three years after, left him, by the choice of the nobles of Carloman's dominions, the master of the undivided French empire.

We shall not enter upon the life of Charlemagne, as a mere analysis would be uninteresting, and we have no leisure for entering into historical disquisition. Mr. James asserts, that no accurate life of Charlemagne has ever been written ; and it is now, perhaps, too late for accuracy. His correction of the errors to be found in former statements, entitles him, however, to our thanks ; and although we have not compared his work with M. Gaillard's "*Histoire de Charlemagne*", which Gibbon praises for its 'industry and elegance', we have no doubt that the palm of correctness and fidelity must be awarded to the present Writer. Where is the French historian that does not occasionally run into romance ? In several instances, Mr. James represents the learned Frenchman as substituting specious theory for historical fact, and as reversing the order of events, and then deducing a long series of false conclusions from his own blunder, owing to his not having, apparently, examined with attention the very works he cites. Dubot and De Buat, our Author has seldom been tempted to cite. 'Both', he says, 'were bigoted theorists ;

'and, notwithstanding their learning and research, it is almost as 'troublesome to sift the historical truths they have collected, 'from the loose hypotheses in which they have involved them, as 'to seek them out in the original authorities.' The latter is, at least, the only safe and workmanlike plan of proceeding. The most prominent fault in the present work, is the evident and almost amusing anxiety which its Author displays, to place the character of his hero in the most exalted light. The love of historical truth will scarcely account for the warmth with which he vindicates it on every occasion from what he styles 'the historical 'puritanism of the present age'. He is particularly angry against the French writers who have stigmatised the wars of Charlemagne against the Saxons as 'unjust', and 'his severity 'on one occasion, after many years of abused clemency, as iniquitous cruelty'. He complains, 'that a sickly affectation of 'humanity has blinded the eyes to a perception of justice; and 'historical truth has been concealed or distorted to favour a vain 'hypothesis.' (p. 235.) Now allowing his view of the matter to be the right one, this is not precisely the proper style of dealing with an historical question. It is true, that the Saxons were 'barbarians'; but what better were the Franks? Again, Mr. James says:

'Some of the French writers, I know not why, for they are unsupported by even a shadow of historical authority, have chosen to represent these (Saxon) wars as a struggle for independence on the part of the German tribes. (See Gaillard, p. 249, 340, &c.) It only requires to be remarked, that the German tribes were always the aggressors; that none of these wars in Germany were undertaken, but for the purpose of punishing some great predatory inroad into the territories of France, or of securing the frontier against a fresh attack; and that none of the German nations tributary to France, joined the Saxons in their wars.' p. 146, *note*.

Yet, a few pages onward, we meet with the following *theory* as to the motives which induced Charlemagne to undertake these wars; and our readers will judge whether the hypothesis which Mr. James represents to be unsupported by even a shadow of historical authority, is not countenanced by an authority which he cannot dispute,—his own language.

'Such was the state of the Saxons at the reunion of the French monarchy under Charlemagne; and it would seem, that the first step he proposed to himself, as an opening to all his great designs, was completely to subdue a people, which every day ravaged his frontier provinces, and continually threatened the very existence of the nations around.

'Against them, consequently, were turned the first efforts of his arms, as soon as he became the sole sovereign of France; but to overthrow and to subjugate was not alone his object. Doubtless, to de-

send his own infringed territory, and to punish the aggressors, formed a part of his design ; but beyond that, he aimed at civilizing a people whose barbarism had been for centuries the curse of the neighbouring countries, and, at the same time, communicating to the cruel savages, who shed the blood of their enemies less in the battle than in the sacrifice, the bland and mitigating spirit of the Christian religion.

‘ That in the pursuit of this object he should have ever committed, either on a principle of policy, or of fanaticism, or of necessity, a great and startling act of severity, is to be much lamented. But no inference can be drawn from a single fact in opposition to the whole tenor of a man’s conduct ; and Charlemagne proved incontestably, by every campaign against the Saxons, that his design was as much to civilize as to subdue.’ pp. 150—151.

In order to impress these ‘ cruel savages ’ with ‘ the bland and ‘ mitigating spirit of the Christian religion ’, which the Frankish Timour so well understood, ‘ entering the enemy’s territory, he ‘ laid waste the whole land with fire and sword.’ This was an admirable method of civilizing the idolaters ; the same that the Khalifs had practised with so much success, in order to propagate a religion scarcely less Christian ; the same that, in later ages, Cortes adopted in Mexico. Yet, as all nations have a reasonable objection against being either civilized or converted at the sword’s point, we do not see why the resistance of the Saxons against Charlemagne’s avowed plan of conquest, might not be fairly represented as a struggle for independence ; as much so as the wars of the Scotch against the English, in the reign of our Edwards, when the ambition of the English monarchs never wanted a pretext for invasion in the border forays.

Mr. James will have it, however, that Karl the Great was a philanthropist, who had nothing so much in view as ‘ the weal of ‘ human nature ’.

‘ The most pacific disposition, joined to the most benevolent mind, would never have won for Charlemagne the repose of his German frontier ; but, in fact, the disposition of that monarch, by the habits of his nation—by the circumstances of his country—by the character of his age—by the education of his youth—by the constitution of his body—by the very qualities of his mind—was warlike. His benevolence shewed itself continually in his government, in his laws, in his efforts to soften and to civilize, in his treatment of enemies, in his affection for his friends, in his placability after personal offence, and in his active intercession for the unhappy and the unfortunate. In all these points, the beneficence of his heart rose above the rudeness of his age, trampled on its prejudices, and cast away its passions ; but still, by nature he was a warrior, and he could not have remained a king unless he had been a conqueror.’ pp. 191—192.

‘ I have been led into this digression’, adds the Author (in a note), ‘ by some remarks tending to censure the French monarch ‘ for not sitting still, and suffering the Saxons to plunder his pro-

'vinces, with philosophical tranquillity.' It was hardly worth while to be tempted by such remarks to deviate from the proper line of the historian; but assuredly, the 'censure' is not to be turned aside by such—we beg Mr. James's pardon—mere *twaddle* as the above paragraph.

In a subsequent note, our Author enters the lists with Gibbon; and we must transcribe both the note and the passage to which it refers, containing a highly coloured panegyric upon the civil government of the Frankish Emperor.

'Ascending the throne in a barbarous period, when internal policy was perfectly in its infancy, and the whole mechanism of society rude and irregular, Charlemagne could not be expected to change, by the simple power of his own mind, the constitution of his whole race, rekindle in an instant the extinguished light of past ages, or hurry into maturity the whole fruits of coming years. The performance of such a task was not within the grasp of human faculties; but what he did do, when joined with the circumstances in which he was placed—surrounded on every side by darkness, superstition, and prejudices, and having to vanquish them all—shews him as great a conqueror in the moral as in the physical world; and raises him to the highest pitch of human grandeur, by evincing that he not only overcame the barbarians of his time, but also overcame the barbarism itself.

'Whatever were the warlike undertakings in which the monarch was engaged, and whatever were the immense demands upon his time and attention, no evil to his fellow creatures which was brought before him, ever passed without notice and correction,—no effort to purify and improve the state of society was forgotten.' pp. 238, 9.

'I have been led into this imperfect defence of Charlemagne's internal administration from a passage in Gibbon. "They (his laws) compose not a system, but a series of occasional and minute edicts, for the correction of abuses, the reformation of manners, the economy of his farms, the care of his poultry, and even the sale of his eggs, &c."—and again, in a note, "Yet Schmidt, from the best authorities, represents the interior disorders and oppressions of his reign." The portion of Mr. Gibbon's work in which this appears, does not reflect the greatest lustre upon his name as an historian. Had he really, on the present occasion, compared the garbled accounts of the modern historians whom he cites, with the original authorities, he would have found, that amidst misstatements and errors innumerable, the oppressions and disorders of the reign of Charlemagne do not amount to what the assizes of a petty county town in England can produce; and had he chosen to reason, rather than sneer, he would have perceived, that, though the mind of that monarch did not suffice at once to dispel the darkness of four hundred years, yet it enlightened all that it touched, corrected the abuses of his age, and cast back for a century the load of barbarism that was falling fast upon the world. The interior disorders and oppressions represented by Schmidt, upon careful perusal, I find to be derived, with scarcely an exception, not from the reign of Charlemagne, but from that of Louis le Debonnaire; and not, even then, from the earlier part of that reign.' p. 238, *note*.

The language of Gibbon is worth transcribing, as it is unusually cautious, and, we think, unexceptionably just. 'I touch with reverence the laws of Charlemagne, so highly applauded by a respectable judge. They compose not a system, but a series, of occasional and minute edicts, for the correction of abuses, the reformation of manners, the economy of his farms, the care of his poultry, and even the sale of his eggs. He wished to improve the laws and the character of the Franks; and his attempts, however feeble and imperfect, are deserving of praise: the inveterate evils of the times were suspended or mollified by his government; but in his institutions I can seldom discover the general views and the immortal spirit of a legislator, who survives himself for the benefit of posterity. The union and stability of his empire depended on the life of a single man: he imitated the dangerous practice of dividing his kingdom among his sons; and, after his numerous diets, the whole constitution was left to fluctuate between the disorders of anarchy and despotism.'

But, if Mr. James is indignant against Gibbon and his French authorities (Gaillard and Schmidt), what would he say to M. Thierry's unceremonious manner of dealing with this 'greatest man of the middle ages'? The following passage, which occurs in the first volume of his "History of the Norman Conquest", may perhaps in some measure explain why the great Frank is not more a favourite with French writers.

'The grandson of Karl' (Charles Martel, i. e. the Forgerhammer), 'called by the same name as his grandfather, was, like his father Pippinn, invited to march into Italy, and conquer more towns for the apostle Peter, whose ambition, once excited, was not easily allayed. Karl forced the barriers which closed the passes of the mountains; drove from Upper Italy the Germanic race of the Long-bard Kings, political rivals of the Lateran conclave; and, on Easter-day, in the year 801, the chief of that conclave placed a golden diadem on his head in the name of the senate and people of Rome, and saluted him by the name of *Emperor instituted by God, great, pious, happy, clement, triumphant, and ever august*. Karl carried with him these titles, new to a German, to the city of Aachen or Aix on the Meuse, which then became the imperial city of the West, as Byzantium was that of the East. The German soldiers called their chief *Kaiser*; and his flatterers never afterwards approached him without bending one knee to the earth.

'The recollections linked with a name, whose splendor was not yet extinct, caused the new Cæsar to be regarded as superior to all Kings. Karl, however, did not rely upon this moral influence alone; but, to help the nations to feel it more profoundly, passed his life in arms; going, at the head of his Teutonic

‘bands, through nearly all the south of Europe, uttering the sounds of the Teutonic dialect in the ears of the inhabitants of the Mediterranean shores, but never speaking their language, and only deigning sometimes to change his mother tongue for the classical idiom of the learned and the priests. He established schools for this latter language, even in his imperial city of Aix. But, in his too much boasted plans of literary cultivation, he never thought of the Gauls or of Gaul, which he regarded as a foreign country, whence he took neither generals nor warriors, and which he valued only for the forests in which he hunted in autumn, and the domains the revenues of which were conveyed every year to his residences beyond the Rhine at Munster and Paderborn. If he sometimes thought of the old Gaulish cities, it was with a view of carrying off by force good manufacturers of arms and stuffs, whom he attached as serfs to the soil of his domains.

‘So long as this first German Cæsar lived, whose sword never rested,—this favourite of the church, for whom, according to the legends, the angels themselves performed the offices of spies and guides in his campaigns; so long as he marched his vagabond armies from north to south and from east to west, receiving every where from the mouths of the priests the Latin title of *great*, which has ever since remained so oddly affixed to his name; so long as his sword was suspended over the nations of the western continent, these nations remained united, in spite of themselves, under his dominion, foreign as it was to all of them except one alone. But they broke this false union, the instant that the Conqueror, in his imperial robes, descended into the sepulchral vault of his basilisk at Aix. A spontaneous movement of insurrection against the new empire manifested itself among the nations of different origins and of various manners and languages thus forcibly associated. Gaul inclined to separate from Germany, and Italy to detach itself from both. Each of these great masses of men, thus put in motion, carried along with them the portion of the conquering people dwelling among them as masters of the soil, with Latin or Germanic titles of power and honour. Franks drew the sword against Franks; brothers against brothers, fathers against sons. Three of the grandsons of Karl surnamed the Great, gave battle to one another in the centre of Gaul: one at the head of an army of Gauls and Gallo-Franks; another with the men of Italy, of Latin or Teutonic origin; and a third with the purely Teutonic inhabitants of Germany. The domestic quarrel of the kings sprung from the Frank Cæsar, was but a reflection of the quarrel of the nations, which is the reason it was so long and obstinate.’

We have transcribed this passage, not as being altogether his-

torically just, but as containing a great deal of truth, and as furnishing a salutary correction of the false glare which Mr. James's style of colouring throws over the character of this magnanimous barbarian. The most exceptionable passage in the present volume, is that in which the Author attempts to palliate the atrocity of the attempt to force the religion of the Gospel—no, the religion of Rome—upon the pagan Saxons under pain of death. The Inquisition of Spain and the penal code of Ireland might be defended upon similar principles.

'Charlemagne had found by long and painful experience, that the only principle which could restrain the Saxons, was fear; and, accordingly, the code which he addresses to them is that of terror. Death is awarded for a thousand crimes, but especially for offering human sacrifices, and for refusing, or abandoning, or insulting the Christian religion.

'The Saxons during the last two or three campaigns had almost universally received baptism; but in many instances, they returned to the most hateful rites of idolatry, which was always the sure precursor of outrage and irruption. Both from political and religious motives, it had become the great object of the French monarch to force this the most obdurate race of Pagans in Europe, to listen to the voice of Christian teachers, which nothing but the fear of death could induce them to do: and for that purpose he used the terror of extreme punishment, as a means of enforcing attention to the doctrines of peace. But, at the same time, there cannot be a doubt, that he had no intention the severity of the law should have effect; for it was enacted by the self-same code, that the unbaptised who received baptism, and the relapsed who returned and underwent a religious penance, escaped the infliction of the punishment. By this means he forced the Saxons to *hear*, at least, the doctrines of the Christian church, and to become accustomed to its forms,—the first great step, without which conversion could never be obtained. By this means, also, he at once put a stop to the human sacrifices which continually disgraced the land; and he offered to all the power of escaping punishment and gaining security.

'It is true, as a general principle, that laws should never be enacted unless they are intended to be enforced; but this was an individual instance, where the object was but temporary. If he could compel the Saxons to hear the truths, and habituate them to the influence, of the Christian faith, Charlemagne never for a moment doubted that their sincere conversion must follow. That conversion once obtained, and the laws were not cruel, for they were ineffectual. In the meantime, however, their operation would be great before the Saxons discovered that they were not rigidly enforced. At all events, it is evident that Charlemagne believed that his object would be gained by terror, long ere the rude pagans, for whom he legislated, perceived that punishment was remote. For this great purpose, he framed the laws to which I refer, and made use of the only influence which he knew to be strong with the Saxons,—the influence of fear; while, at the same time, the natural benevolence of his own heart induced him

to guard severity by mercy ; and to add a law, which, while it offered the means of escape from the harshness of the others, tended to the same object.

‘ Such considerations shield the Saxon code from the bitter censures which have been directed against it by some writers ; but, at the same time, the lavish praises which it has received from others are equally inapplicable ; for, though it was intended in mercy, and directed with wisdom, it was arbitrary in character, and in principle unjust.’

pp. 248—250.

By whom praises have been lavished upon such a code, we know not ; but we regret that any Englishman in the nineteenth century should be found to palliate its anti-Christian and inhuman character. No doubt, the proceedings of the Holy Office were equally ‘intended in mercy.’

Mr. James announces his intention ‘to follow up this sketch ‘of the Life of Charlemagne by a series of volumes on the same ‘principle, illustrating the history of France by the lives of her ‘great men.’ If, by the same principle, he means that of canonizing his favourite heroes, we cannot encourage him to persevere. The time, as we have already remarked, is gone by for this sort of hero-worship. The Editor of the Family Library seems to be indeed of a different opinion, since, from the stores of biography, ancient and modern, he could select no lives more worthy of being studied by the young, than Alexander and Buonaparte, Julius Cæsar and Lord Nelson ! The selection is worthy of the taste of a school-boy ; but Charlemagne could hardly be made popular, except as the hero of romance. The genuine interest of history arises, not from the virtues or vices of the prominent actors, but from the development of the action, of the moral plot with its secret springs, and the scenery and costume of the times. Mr. James has evidently taken great pains in the preparation and collation of his materials ; and he has produced a volume which will impart much valuable information to those who have not access to his authorities, or leisure to study them. We shall be happy to give it a place in our library, and are sorry to have been compelled to take such exceptions to the execution, or rather the spirit, of the work. If not all that it ought to have been, still it is a highly respectable performance.

Art. III. *Angel Visits*: and other Poems. By James Riddall Wood. sm. 8vo. pp. 171. London. 1832.

WHEN the Author commenced this Poem, he says, ‘he ‘never dreamed that it would have exceeded a dozen or twenty stanzas’ ; but behold a poem in five cantos, comprising altogether 260 stanzas of no very easy measure. The theme led him onward, as ‘a way strewn with fragrant and enchanting

'flowers seemed spread before him'; and he now submits the whole to the public with the sincere desire that every reader may derive from it the same pleasure and profit that he enjoyed in the composition. This expectation is hardly reasonable, since an author's pleasures are not communicable to his readers, and

'None but an author knows an author's pains.'

He has produced, however, a very pleasing poem, and one which may be read with profit too. The general argument is taken from that part of the sacred history which relates to the Father of the Faithful. As '*Angel Visits*' were not confined to the days of Abraham, the title led us to expect a more comprehensive view of the nominal theme. According to this way of treating it, we might have a series of poems founded upon the sacred history, that should have as good a right to the same attractive title. As the Poet is at liberty, however, to choose his own subject, it may be pleaded, that he has a right to call it by any name he pleases. The point of most importance is, how he has treated his subject; and of this, there is but one fair way of enabling our readers to judge.

The first '*angel visit*' to Abraham took place 'when he was 'in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran', and consequently, before the death of Terah. We know not why Mr. Wood has taken the liberty of transposing these events. The death of Terah is described, with a redundance of sentimental embellishment, in the stanzas preceding the following.

' XXII.

' From holy services and works like these,
Abram retiring, sought his loved retreat,
At fall of ev'ning, when by faint degrees
Beyond the west the hues of daylight fleet,
And one by one night's countless legions meet,
Spangling with pearly light the blue concave,
Where angels cluster round the mercy-seat;—
And there, beside his father's recent grave,
He bow'd him in the dust, some heavenly boon to crave.

' XXIII.

' As to the living God the prophet speaks,
A gleam of light, that seems a new-born star,
In form angelic on his vision breaks,
Earthward his passage steering from afar;
No bolts of wrath, nor flaming scimitar,
Glare in his red right hand,—no lightning ire
Darts from his eye;—but meek as seraphs are,
When to the strains of love they strike the lyre,
With placid brow he comes,—and Abram's fears expire.

' XXIV.

' With lightning speed along ethereal space,
 Downward the bright celestial stranger flew ;
 Nor sigh'd to quit the exalted dwelling place,
 Where throned Deity around him threw
 His uncreated glory, to the view
 Of angel hosts, on mercy's errand bent ;
 He touch'd the ground, and gloomy night withdrew
 At his blest presence ; nature gazed intent,
 And earth received her guest with joy and wonderment.

' XXV.

' Then prone in dust the holy father hail'd
 The sent of God ;—and with adoring awe,
 Prostrate beheld, to mortal eyes unveil'd,
 The hues of immortality, and saw
 That hand, erst arm'd to avenge a broken law,
 Bearing from heaven to earth the sacred palm,
 Pluck'd from the tree of life, whence angels draw
 Their blest existence, midst perpetual calm ;
 Where odours ever sweet the tranquil air embalm.

' XXVI.

' Lo ! on the stillness of the evening broke
 The solemn accents of a world unknown ;
 And all were listeners when the Almighty spoke ;—
 All silent when the first ethereal tone
 Thrill'd on the ear from God's eternal throne ;—
 Strange sounds on earth,—though there has been a day,
 Ere Adam fell, or Eden's bloom was flown,
 When oft the angels, on their heavenward way,
 Were wont to turn aside, and make delightful stay.'

That part of the poem which is most ably conceived and vigorously executed, is the destruction of Sodom, which occupies the fifth canto, and forms the catastrophe. Had the Author formed a distinct idea of his plan, before he began the poem, he would have made this the principal subject, to which the other parts should have been subordinate. By rejecting much that is superfluous and foreign from the main theme, and by condensing the introductory cantos, which are injudiciously attenuated, he might have given to the whole a unity which it now wants, and greatly have heightened the interest. As it is, the action languishes through canto after canto, till at last we are taken by surprise at the unexpected issue of 'angel visits', and after witnessing the destruction of the guilty cities, find ourselves, like Lot, left alone. We transcribe the stanzas descriptive of the last night of Sodom, with which the fourth canto concludes.

' XXXIX.

'That night, that awful night, was wearing fast,
And eastward oft the watchers' eyes were bent,
In search of morning that should be their last ;
Reeling, inebriate, the drunkard went,
With songs obscene and blasphemous, that rent
The sullen calm around ; with reptile crawl
The sly adulterer, incontinent,
Crept from his neighbour's bed, ere night's dark pall
Withdrew, nor deem'd that One above beheld it all.

' XL.

'Some linger'd still around the midnight bowl,
Averse to part ; and ever and anon
The watch-dog's hollow bark, or stifled growl,
Betray'd the stranger as he hastened on,
Belated, to his home. There, haply, shone
From some abode afar a feeble ray,
Where worn, and mortal pale, and woe-begone,
The once adored form of beauty lay,
Wasting the heavy hours in sighs for that dread day.

' XLI.

'Amidst distracting visions of the night,
Some shrank appall'd beneath a cloud of woes,
Indefinite and dark, whose deadly blight
Fell withering all around ; with horrid throes
Convulsed, some grappled overwhelming foes ;
Some stricken fell and powerless in their gore ;
Some lay, unruffled still, in calm repose,
Dreaming of years,—long years of bliss in store:
Alas ! that vision done,—the dream of life is o'er.

' XLII.

'Noiseless and unperceived, as moments fly,
Along the east a mellow twilight crept,
The harbinger of dawn ; throned in the sky
The stars of night, that watch'd while nature slept,
Wax'd sickly, faint, and dim, as though they wept
Some sad catastrophe ; upborne aloft
The guardian angels, who had faithful kept
Till now their dangerous post, in hope forlorn,
Left Sodom to its fate on that disastrous morn.

' XLIII.

'And now, by two celestial strangers led,
Last to abandon that devoted ground,
Lot and his family, with hasty tread,
Forsook the place where ruin lurk'd around,

Of all within, he only righteous found.
 Thus their deliverers spake in accents kind:—
 "Flee for your lives, escape the doom profound;
 "Stay not in all the plain, nor look behind;
 "Nor pause, till on the hills a shelter ye shall find."

‘XLIV.

‘With benisons the angel guides took leave
 Of pious Lot, on high commission bent;
 And bore a mournful brow, as ’t were the eve
 Of some disaster vast and imminent:
 Swift to unloose the howling blasts they went;
 To roll the thunders from their dread abode;
 To pour the lightning storm with brimstone blent;
 To smite the city with destruction’s rod;
 And hurl upon their heads the thunderbolts of God.

‘XLV.

“Look not behind,” resounding in their ears,
 The trembling fugitives pursued their flight;
 But she, the partner of Lot’s hopes and fears,
 Presumptuous, turn’d to gaze upon the bright
 And burning storm of wrath; when lo! a blight
 Sudden as lightning burst upon her head,
 And statue-like she stood, a fearful sight!
 The breath and hue of life for ever fled;
 The apostate’s monument, a beacon from the dead!

‘XLVI.

‘Oh poor apostate! threaten’d oft and long,
 By tokens, providence, and conscience, deign
 To hear for once a poet’s simple song:
 Shall heaven thy pride and stubbornness arraign?
 Shall earth account them as her foulest stain?
 For vengeance still shall hell’s dark caverns cry
 And yet heaven, earth, and hell appeal in vain?
 Seas disappear; mountains as shadows fly;
 Rocks melt before the Lord;—Why wilt thou perish? Why?’

Passing over the intermediate stanzas, which, with considerable pathos, describe the catastrophe, we must make room for the following.

‘XXIX.

‘Noiseless and undisturb’d that night had pass’d
 O’er Abraham’s angel-shelter’d tenement;
 No ruthless hail, nor death-commission’d blast
 Awoke the dwellers in that peaceful tent;
 And if the thunder reach’d, its ire was spent,

Or seem'd a murmur lulling to repose ;
No shrill portentous shrieks the still air rent,
No sight, no sound, no sign of wrath arose,
No warning voice to tell of Sodom's dying throes.

‘ XXX.

‘ With anxious step, in melancholy haste,
Abraham ascended to a neighbouring height ;
The plain was now a blank and silent waste ;
All signs of life destroy'd from left to right ;
Fair Sodom wither'd by unnatural blight ;
Gomorrhah rased by that resistless flood ;
Admah and dark Zeboim sunk in night ;
Whose awful sentence justice wrote in blood,
And curst, for ever curst, the spot where once they stood.

‘ XXXI.

‘ The dwellings of the multitude were gone ;
Consumed to ashes were the stately domes
His friendly heart once lov'd to gaze upon ;
How solitary frown'd the desert homes
Of perish'd thousands, now become their tombs !
Herdmen and herds had shared a common fate,
And far around as sicken'd vision roams,
One reeking sepulchre, all life of late,
Pronounced the wrath of God, extreme and ultimate.

‘ XXXII.

‘ O'er what a host the eternal veil is drawn !
What various matter sleeps entombed there !
What hopes cut off from being in their dawn !
What phantom fears are vanish'd into air !
What sinful joys exchanged for endless care !
What sorrows lost in deeper, deadlier woes !
What loves reveal'd but to the tempest's glare,
Then quench'd for ever ! what tormenting throes
Of strong tumultuous passion, those dark wastes enclose !

‘ XXXIII.

‘ What proud imaginations overthrown !
What hell-conceived deeds of villany
Cut short in action, ere completely blown !
What acts of cruelty no eye might see,
Arraign'd and punish'd there by Heaven's decree !
What base desires to fulness satisfied !
What exquisite despair and misery !
What impious blasphemies, that once defied
The Thunderer in his power,—those gloomy ashes hide !

‘ XXXIV.

‘ The vainly warn'd perish at length unwarn'd !
Thus fell the guilty cities of the plain ;

The morn with beams of orient light adorn'd
 The temples and abodes of the profane ;
 But lo ! one shower of Heaven's avenging rain,
 And idols, with their retinue of slaves,
 Were smoking ruins ere it dawn'd again :
 And now, with dismal moan, the Dead Sea waves
 Have restless ages roll'd above those scoffers' graves.'

With great propriety a transition is made from this scene of awful desolation, the monument of the Divine judgements, to the predicted end of the world ; and with this the poem concludes.

From these extracts it will be seen, that the title of the poem is inappropriate ; and there is too much the appearance that the Poet did not know what he was going about, when he commenced his task. As he proceeded, he seems both to have warmed and to have gathered strength ; but he has not had the courage to blot. His first three cantos might have been advantageously compressed into one. These are, however, defects of judgement only, such as might be expected in a young writer. The poem itself discovers real genius and much genuine feeling as well as piety. Composed, as it has been, 'at intervals, during the bustle and anxiety of business, or amid the languor and depression of 'a sick chamber', it does the greatest credit to the Author's talents and energy of mind ; and we cordially recommend it to our readers, as a volume of genuine merit, which fully sustains its modest pretensions, and is entitled to the patronage of the public.

Art. IV.—1. *Illustrations of Political Economy.* By Harriet Martineau. Nos. VI. VII. and VIII. (*Weal and Woe in Garveloch. A Manchester Strike. Cousin Marshall.*) 18mo. 1832.

2. *Observations on the Law of Population ;* being an Attempt to trace its Effects from the conflicting Theories of Malthus and Sadler. By the Author of "Reflections on the present State of British India." 8vo. pp. 79. London, 1832.
3. *Sufferings of Factory Children.* Substance of the Speech of Michael Thomas Sadler, Esq. in the House of Commons, March 16, 1832, on moving the second Reading of the Bill to regulate the Labour of Children and young Persons in the Mills and Factories of the United Kingdom. Published by the Society for the Improvement of the Condition of Factory Children. 8vo. pp. 26. London, 1832.

MISS Martineau's Tales are far more lively and entertaining than any thing can be, that a reviewer may find occasion to say about them ; and most of her readers will be ready to think her Illustrations better than a thousand arguments. But the gifted Author herself would disdain to be complimented upon

her fertility of imagination, and her dexterity in managing to put her principles into dramatic action, at the expense of her more solid qualifications for the office she has assumed, of professor of Political Economy. We offer no apology, therefore, for proceeding at once to examine and discuss the doctrines propounded in the Parts before us.

In Part VI., we are introduced to the supposed origin of all political evil,—Increase of Population; and our female Malthus thus sums up the ‘principles’ illustrated in the *Weal and Woe of Garveloch*.

‘The increase of population is necessarily limited by the increase of the means of subsistence.

‘Since successive portions of capital yield a less and less return, and the human species produce at a constantly accelerated rate, there is a perpetual tendency in population to press upon the means of subsistence.

‘The ultimate checks by which population is kept down to the level of the means of subsistence are vice and misery.

‘Since the ends of life are virtue and happiness, these checks ought to be superseded by the milder methods which exist within man’s reach.

‘These evils may be delayed by promoting the increase of capital, and superseded by restraining the increase of population.

‘Towards the one object, a part of society may do a little; towards the other, all may do much.

‘By rendering property secure, expenditure frugal, and production easy, society may promote the growth of capital.

‘By bringing no more children into the world than there is a subsistence provided for, society may preserve itself from the miseries of want. In other words, the timely use of the mild preventive check may avert the sorrows of any positive check.

‘The preventive check becomes more, and the positive checks less powerful, as society advances.

‘The positive checks, having performed their office in stimulating the human faculties and originating social institutions, must be wholly superseded by the preventive check, before society can attain its ultimate aim—the greatest happiness of the greatest number.’

The advocates of the Malthusian doctrine constantly complain, that either it is not understood, or it is misrepresented. Here, however, it stands forward in plain language that can hardly be mistaken, displayed in all its native ugliness. Let us take the propositions *seriatim*.

I. ‘The increase of population is necessarily limited by the ‘means of subsistence.’ What are the means of subsistence? In one country, they consist of the ability to hunt, to fish, or to rear herds; in another, of the food which the soil can be made to yield; in a third, of trade and the employment of labour by the capitalist. In the rude state of nomadic nations, population is

apt to press actually upon the means of subsistence, so as to compel the hunter either to condescend to cultivate the soil, or else to divide his hordes, and seek for new pasture or hunting grounds, or to have recourse to a predatory life. Now here the tendency of mankind to multiply, is seen to be the cause at once of good and of evil ; leading some peacefully to cultivate the soil, and thus becoming the spring of industry and the parent of useful arts, while it drives others to prey upon their neighbours. The latter effect can scarcely be considered, however, as a natural or necessary consequence. The natural resources are cultivation and migration ; and without the strong stimulus supplied by the tendency to increase, we may reasonably question whether the primitive command to 'replenish the earth and subdue it,'—to occupy and cultivate it, would ever have been obeyed. Had the population not tended to increase, the means of subsistence for a larger population would not have been called into existence, and there would have been neither industry nor improvement. To speak, however, of a limit of the means of subsistence, in such a state of society, would be absurd, since the only limit of productive power would be the number of productive agents, and population would limit, and not be limited by, the means of maintaining its own increase.

Agreeably to this representation of the matter, Professor M'Culloch has ably and satisfactorily proved, that the law of population, of which Mr. Malthus has taken so 'one-sided' and perverse a view, is, in fact, the main-spring of social improvement. 'A deficiency of subsistence at home, leads to migrations to distant countries, and thus not only provides for the gradual occupation of the earth, but carries the languages, arts, and sciences of those who have made the furthest advances in civilization to those who are comparatively barbarous. It sometimes, no doubt, happens, that notwithstanding this resource, and the most strenuous efforts on the part of the industrious classes, population so far outruns production, that the condition of society is changed for the worse. But the evils thence arising bring with them their own cure.' Instead, therefore, of being subversive of human happiness, the law of population has increased it in no ordinary degree, by constantly urging to new efforts of skill and economy, prudence and foresight.

The law of increase renders necessary an augmentation of the quantity of food ; and the necessity for more food, acting as a spur to industry, creates the supply. But, as it is found that food can be raised in sufficient quantities for a whole community by a certain proportion of labourers, the labour of the rest is set at liberty for other necessary work. And now 'the means of subsistence' no longer implies, in this stage of society, the food that is or can be produced, but the command which the labour of each indi-

vidual gives him over the food and other necessities of life. Hence the necessity of defining what is intended by this equivocal phrase, 'means of subsistence.' Mr. Malthus's famous discovery is, that man has a tendency to increase in a geometrical progression, whereas his subsistence can be increased only in a concurrent arithmetical progression. This implies, if it means any thing, that food cannot be produced so fast as people, which is contrary to fact. The capacity of the earth to produce sustenance for mankind, is always in advance of the actual population, and waits only the labour and skill of producers; nor can any imaginable limits be assigned to this capacity. It is quite as easy and as rational to suppose a termination or retardation of the geometrical progression as of the arithmetical progression; and if, hitherto, they have kept pace with each other upon the whole, there seems no reasonableness in the apprehension that the latter will fall behind the former. The most rapid increase of population has always been attended by a proportionate increase in the supply of the means of subsistence, because an increase of population is an increase of productive labour, and, by leading to a division of labour, increases its productiveness. In fact, as it has been well remarked by an American writer, 'the increase of population, instead of being, as Mr. Malthus supposes, a cause of scarcity, is a cause—indeed almost the only real and permanent one—of abundance. In other words, it is followed by an increased abundance and cheapness of all the necessities and comforts of life. We find, accordingly, that the real price of provisions is everywhere uniformly lower and steadier in proportion to the density of the population, and not to the fertility of the soil.'

A constant pressure of population against the means of subsistence, would imply, a constant disproportion between the demand for food and the supply; and this as the result of the rapid increase of population and the slow increase of food. And according to Mr. Malthus's doctrine, there is a constant and universal tendency to this state of things. But what is the fact? A scanty population is generally found with scantier means of subsistence; while, in well-peopled countries, the means of subsistence are always abundant. The disproportion between the demand and the supply is found to exist only in the savage state, or in new and imperfectly formed colonies, or in seasons of extraordinary calamity. The fact is, that food naturally increases faster than population; and its abundance is an accelerating cause of 'the geometrical progression.' Mr. Malthus maintains that, 'at every period during the progress of cultivation, from the present moment to the time when the whole earth shall become like a garden, the distress for the want of food will be more or less constantly pressing upon mankind.' It is certainly true,

that every individual has an *appetite*, and the great question is daily returning upon him, 'What shall I have *for dinner?*' But that a scarcity of food is constantly pressing upon mankind, is as extravagant and untrue an assertion as theorist ever ventured to make in the teeth of facts. Mr. Malthus chooses to contend, that the means of subsistence at the disposal of any community, are limited to the produce of the territory it occupies; and this, he thinks, must be self-evident. It is so far from being either evident or true, that there have been flourishing communities who possessed no productive territory, and fertile territories the produce of which was not at the disposal of the community. Mr. Malthus's principles are unsound throughout, and it is high time that they were exploded. We are assured that they were never very generally adopted by the shrewd folk on the other side of the Atlantic; and even in the *Edinburgh Review*, the journal which has been chiefly instrumental in recommending them to the public, there is now a manifest disposition to give them up, in favour of Professor M'Culloch's, 'fair and novel,' and certainly more rational views. 'We may assert,' it is remarked, in a recent article, that, 'at some time or other, the arithmetical formula 'will outstrip in imagination the contingent growth of the reality; 'but we should only delude ourselves by attempting to draw any 'accurate conclusions from this necessary admission.'* Mr. Malthus's 'valuable work' is admitted to be 'incomplete:' but an incomplete statement is a fallacy.

We may then safely affirm, that Miss Martineau's first principle is altogether fallacious. As there is no assignable limit to the increase of the means of subsistence,—as that increase is always in advance of the increase of population,—the latter cannot be limited by any real deficiency in the produce of the earth, which is what must be here intended by 'the means of subsistence.'

Miss Martineau's second principle is as follows:

'Since successive portions of capital yield a less and less return, and the human species' (exquisitely philosophical phrase!) 'produce at a constantly accelerated rate, there is a perpetual tendency in population to press upon the means of subsistence.'

In a chain of principles, it may be expected that each successive proposition should depend in some measure upon that which precedes it; but no such connexion really subsists between the proposition before us, and its predecessor. So far from it, the phrase, 'means of subsistence,' would here seem to imply something very different from the proper sense of the words in the former sentence. If *quantity* of food be intended, then, indeed,

* *Edinb. Rev. CIV.* p. 342.

Miss Martineau is consistently wrong; and her second proposition is only a round-about repetition of the first, with an awkward and inaccurate attempt at explanation. But when distress actually ensues from the diminished productiveness of capital, (which is here supposed,) it arises from no deficiency of food, but from a deficiency of the means of earning it. But, in the Tale itself, we have the same principle somewhat more fully developed; and, in fairness to our Author, we shall transcribe the conversation which refers to the subject.

“It is absurd,” said Angus, “to doubt the rate at which the human race increases, on account of the decrease of numbers among savages. The whole question is concerning the proportion which capital and population bear to each other; and it cannot therefore be tried where no capital exists.”

“I suppose,” observed Ella, “that flocks and herds are the first capital which a tribe possesses in any large quantity. How do numbers increase among people who seek pasture but do not till the ground?”

“Such tribes are most numerous where pastures are fine, and weak where the natural produce of the earth is scanty. But each continues a tribe, and cannot become a nation while following a pastoral life. Their flocks cannot multiply beyond a certain point unless the food of the flocks is increased; and they who subsist upon the flocks cannot, in like manner, multiply beyond a certain point, unless the flocks on which they feed are multiplied.”

“But they not only do not increase,” observed Mr. Mackenzie, “they are lessened perpetually by one or another of the unfortunate accidents to which their condition subjects them. Pastoral tribes are particularly prone to war. Instead of keeping possession of a certain territory on which they always dwell, they rove about from one tract of country to another, leaving undefended some which they call their own;—another tribe takes possession; and then comes a struggle and a destructive war, which reduces their numbers. Many of these tribes live in a state of constant hostility, and therefore dwindle away.”

“But when they begin to settle and till the ground,” said Ella, “I suppose their numbers increase again.”

“Yes; the Jews, after they were established in Canaan, became an agricultural nation, and multiplied very rapidly. It was made, both by their laws and customs, a point of duty to marry, and to marry young; and when the check of war was removed, their small territory became very thickly peopled.” pp. 45, 46.

* * * * *

“Where then,” inquired Ella, “does capital act the most freely? Where in the world may we see an example of the natural proportions in which men and subsistence increase?”

“There has never been an age or country known,” replied Mr. Mackenzie, “where at once the people have been so intelligent, their manners so pure, and their resources so abundant, as to give the principle of increase an unobstructed trial. Savage life will not do, be-

cause the people are not intelligent. Colonies will not do, because they are not free from vicious customs. An old empire will not do, because the means of subsistence are restricted."

"A new colony of free and intelligent people in a fertile country, affords the nearest approach to a fair trial," observed Angus. "In some of the best settlements I saw in America, the increase of capital and of people went on at a rate that would scarcely be believed in an old country."

"And that of the people the fastest, I suppose?"

"Of course: but still capital was far a-head, though the population is gaining upon it every year. When the people first went, they found nothing but capital—all means of production and no consumers but themselves. They raised corn in the same quantity from certain fields every year. There was too much corn at first in one field for a hundred mouths; but this hundred became two, four, eight, sixteen hundred, and so on, till more and more land was tilled, the people still spreading over it, and multiplying perpetually."

"And when all is tilled, and they still multiply," said Ella, "they must improve their land more and more."

"And still," said Angus, "the produce will fall behind more and more, as every improvement, every outlay of capital yields a less return. Then they will be in the condition of an old country, like England, where many are but half fed, where many prudent determine not to marry, and where the imprudent must see their children pine in hunger, or waste under disease till they are ready to be carried off by the first attack of illness." pp. 48—50.

We hope that our readers understand Angus: we are not sure that we do. To our somewhat dim apprehensions, he seems to assert that, in England, *all* the cultivable land is tilled, and that the produce of the land is lessening every year, or is requiring more and more capital to be employed upon it; and further, that the distress of the 'half-fed English', is owing to this exhaustion of the physical resources of the British territory, or of the capacity of the soil to produce sustenance for the population. The extreme absurdity of this representation makes us hesitate in supposing that we rightly understand our Author; but we are unable to put any other sense upon the words. Yet, what is the fact? We have, in England, millions of acres of fertile land yet uncultivated;—and one cause of distress is, that too much has been already taken into cultivation at the expense of the poorer classes, to whom our commons belonged as their birthright. The soil of England is capable of maintaining a population many times as dense; and the only question is, whether we could not import corn cheaper than we can raise it. Is there any deficiency of supply in our markets? Is there any deficiency of capital in this country? Can either cause be alleged in explanation of the circumstance, that many are but half fed? The questions answer themselves. The real state of the case is fairly explained by the

Author of the "Observations on the conflicting Theories of Malthus and Sadler"; although he strangely confounds the Malthusian theory itself with an exposition of the fact perfectly at variance with the abstract hypothesis.

'As the labour of a very few, comparatively speaking, is required to supply the wants of the many, competition for labour must increase more rapidly than population itself; and thus, the difficulty of procuring food must constantly be greater, notwithstanding the additional quantity of it which is produced. In this point of view, the *means of subsistence* are compounded with *the quantity of food attainable and the difficulty of attaining it*. Not that labour in itself becomes less efficient, but that it becomes too plentiful, and consequently too valueless to be taken in exchange for more than a bare subsistence. And further, the available supply is so great in proportion to the demand, that numbers are unable to find purchasers for it even at that low rate of remuneration.' p. 28.

We do not now stop to inquire how far this deplorable state of things is an inevitable consequence of either the law of population, or the progress of national wealth;—how far it is certain that, 'as a nation advances in riches and refinement, an *increasing* proportion of the inhabitants becomes poor and destitute'. (p. 67.) We now speak simply of the fact, that the distress of the lower orders is occasioned, as this Writer admits, 'not so much by the deficiency of food, as by the deficiency of the *means of earning it*.' Were there any real deficiency of food, what could exceed the folly and wickedness of corn-laws to restrict its importation?

We now proceed to proposition the third.

'The ultimate checks by which population is kept down to the level of the means of subsistence, are vice and misery.'

We shall not spend many words in exposing the objectionable nature of this frightful position. Disguise it as you will, it comes to this; that unless the law of nature be *counteracted*, the redundancy of the human species will necessarily lead to famine and crime, to misery and vice;—that, although the effects of the ill-contrived laws of nature may be slightly palliated, they are in the main irremediable;—that all attempts to keep up the means of subsistence to the numbers of the population must be unavailing;—hence, 'the pressure of the population on the food makes the problem of their secure and permanent comfort, baffling and *hopeless*.* The only way to prevent the increase of vice, is, to discourage marriage. The only feasible plan in the whole round of expedients to obviate misery, is to prevent the formation of a redundancy. Or, as Miss Martineau phrases it, 'by bringing

* Chalmers. See our Number for July, p. 51.

‘no more children into the world than there is a subsistence provided for, society may preserve itself from the miseries of want’!!

And pray, Miss Martineau, who is to know whether there is subsistence provided for *his* children? By what criterion is each labourer to know how many men and women in his parish ought to marry, and when his turn should take place? Will you have the goodness, in your next tale, to furnish the lower classes with some rules for the application of ‘the mild preventive check’, that may enable them to regulate the proper correspondence between the numbers of the next generation and the subsistence that shall be provided for them? As ‘the will of Providence’ is not to be learned, in this matter, from that old-fashioned book the Bible, they will still stand in need of some further revelation to enlighten them, even after listening to the very philosophical colloquy between Ella and Katie.

“How slow we are”, said Ella, “to learn *the will of Providence* in this case, when it is the very same that we understand in other cases! Providence gave us strength of limbs and of passions; yet these we restrain for the sake of living in society. If a man used his hands to pull down his neighbour’s house, or his passion of anger to disturb the society in which he lives, we should think it no excuse, that Providence had given him his natural powers or made him enjoy their exercise. *How is it more excusable for a man to bring children into the world, when there are so many to be fed, that every one that is born, must help to starve one that is already living?*”

This is a comfortable announcement, assuredly. And we cannot but admire how ingeniously an argument hitherto used to shew the unreasonableness of a licentious indulgence of the passions, *which marriage was instituted to restrain*, is here turned against the expediency of marrying at all. Providence and patriotism forbid the lower classes to marry. This will be clear from what follows.

“Since Providence *has not made food increase as men increase*”, said Katie, “it is plain that Providence wills restraint here, as in the case of other passions.”

“And awful are the tokens of its pleasure, Katie. The tears of mothers over their dead children, that shrunk under poverty like blossoms withering before the frosts, the fading of the weak, the wasting of the strong, thefts in the streets, sickness in the houses, funerals by the wayside—these are the tokens that unlimited increase is not God’s will.”

“These tell us where we are wrong, Ella. How shall we learn how we may be right?”

“By doing as you have done through life, Katie: by using our judgement, and such power as we have. We have not the power of increasing food as fast as our numbers may increase; but we have the

power of limiting our numbers to agree with the supply of food. This is the gentle check which is put into our own hands; and if we will not use it, we must not repine if harsher checks follow. If the passionate man will not restrain his anger, he must expect punishment at the hands of him whom he has injured; and if he imprudently indulges his love, he must not complain when poverty, disease, and death lay waste his family."

"Do not you think, Ella, that there are more parties to a marriage than is commonly supposed?"

"There is a party," replied Ella, smiling, "that, if it could be present, would often forbid the banns; and it is this party that Ronald has now consulted."

"You mean society?"

"Yes. In savage life, marriage may be a contract between a man and woman only, for their mutual pleasure; but, if they lay claim to the protection and advantages of society, they are responsible to society. They have no right to provide for a diminution of its resources; and therefore, when they marry, they form a tacit contract with society to bring no members into it who shall not be provided for, by their own labour or that of their parents. No man is a good citizen who runs the risk of throwing the maintenance of his children on others."

"Ah, Ella! did you consider this before your ten children were born?"

"Indeed, Katie, there seemed no doubt to my husband and me, that our children would be well provided for. There were then few labourers in Garveloch, and a prospect of abundant provision; and even now we are not in poverty. We have money, clothes, and furniture; and that we have not food enough, is owing to those who, having saved nothing, are now far more distressed than we are. Let us hope that all will take warning. My husband and I shall be careful to teach those of our children who are spared to us how much easier it is to prevent want than to endure it."

"You and I will do what we can, Ella, to make our children prudent in marriage; and if all our neighbours would do the same, we might look forward cheerfully. But so few take warning! And it is so discouraging to the prudent to find themselves left almost alone!"

"Nay, Katie; it is not as if all must work together to do any good. Every prudent man, like Ronald, not only prevents a large increase of mischief, but, by increasing capital, does a positive good. Every such act of restraint tells; every such wise resolution stops one drain on the resources of society. Surely this knowledge affords grounds for a conscientious man to act upon, without doubt and discouragement."

"How differently is honour imputed in different times!" said Katie, smiling. "The times have been when they who had brought the most children into the world were thought the greatest benefactors of society; and now we are honouring those most who have none. Yet both may have been right in their time."

"A change of place serves the same purpose as a change of time," replied Ella. "If Ronald were in a new colony, where labour was

more in request than any thing else, he would be honoured for having ten children, and doubly honoured for having twenty. And reasonably too; for, in such a case, children would be a gift, and not a burden, to society."

"It is a pity, Ella, that all should not go there, who are too poor to marry properly, and have no relish for the honour of a single life. Dan and his wife would be a treasure to a new colony."

"If they and their children would work, Katie; not otherwise. But the poor little things would have a better chance of life there. If Noreen stays here, she may be too like many a Highland mother;—she may tell of her twenty children, and leave but one or two behind her."

"My heart aches for those poor infants," said Katie. "One would almost as soon hear that they were put out of the way at their birth, as see them dwindle away and drop into their little graves, one after another, before they are four years old. I have often heard that neither the very rich nor the very poor leave such large families behind them as the middling classes; and if the reason is known, it seems to me very like murder not to prevent it."

"The reasons are well known, Katie. Those who live in luxury and dissipation have fewer children born to them than any class; but those that are born are guarded from the wants and diseases which cut off the families of the very poor. The middling classes are more prudent than the lowest, and have therefore fewer children than they, though more than the luxurious; and they rear a much larger proportion than either."

"One might look far, Ella, among the lords and ladies in London, or among the poor Paisley weavers, before one would find such a healthy, hearty tribe——"

"As yours," Katie would have said; but seeing Ella look upon her little Jamie with a deep sigh, she stopped short, but presently went on—

"It seems to me that a lady of fashion, who gives up her natural rest for feasting and playing cards all night long in a hot room, and lets herself be driven about in a close carriage instead of taking the air on her own limbs, can have no more wish to rear a large healthy family than Noreen, who lets her babe dangle as if she meant to break its back, and gives the poor thing nothing but potatoes, when it ought to be nourished with the best of milk and wholesome bread. Both are little better than the mothers in China. O Ella! did your husband ever tell you of the children in China?"

"Yes, but I scarcely believed even his word for it. Who told you?"

"I have read it in more books than one; and I know that the same thing is done in India; so I am afraid it is all too true. In India, it is a very common thing for female children to be destroyed as soon as born."

"The temptation is strong, Katie, where the people are so poor that many hundred thousand at a time die of famine. But child-murder is yet more common in China, where no punishment follows,

and nothing can exceed the distress for food. In great cities, new-born babes are nightly laid in the streets to perish, and many more are thrown into the river, and carried away before their parents' eyes."

"It is even said, Ella, that there are persons whose regular business it is to drown infants like puppies."

"O horrible! And how far must people be corrupted before they would bear children to meet such a fate!"

"There is nothing so corrupting as poverty, Ella; and there is no poverty like that of the Chinese."

"And yet China is called the richest country in the world."

"And so it may be. It may produce more food in proportion to its bounds; it may contain more wealth of every sort than any country in the world, and may at the same time contain more paupers. We call newly-settled countries poor countries, because they contain comparatively little capital; but the happiness of the people does not depend on the total amount of wealth, but on its proportion to those who are to enjoy it. What country was ever poorer than Garveloch twenty years ago? Yet nobody was in want. What country is so rich as China at this day? Yet there multitudes eat putrid dogs and cats, and live in boats for want of a house, and follow the English ships, to pick up and devour the most disgusting garbage that they throw overboard."

"Suppose such should be the lot of our native kingdom," said Ella, shuddering. "Such is the natural course of things when a nation multiplies its numbers without a corresponding increase of food. May it be given to all to see this before we reach the pass of the Chinese!—and even if we never reach it—if, as is more likely, the evil is palliated by the caution of the prudent, by the emigration of the enterprising, and by other means which may yet remain, may we learn to use them before we are driven to it by famine and disease!"

"It is fearful enough, Ella, to witness what is daily before our eyes. God forbid that the whole kingdom should be in the state that Garveloch is in now!"

"In very many towns, Katie, there is always distress as great as our neighbours' now; and so there will be, till they that hold the power in their own hands—not the king, not the parliament, not the rich only, but the body of the people—understand those natural laws by which and under which they subsist."

Many would be of Ella's opinion if they could, like her, see the operation of the principle of increase within narrow bounds; for nothing can be plainer, nothing more indisputable, when fully understood. In large societies, the mind of the observer is perplexed by the movements around him. The comings and goings, the births, deaths, and accidents, defy his calculations; and there are always persons at hand who help to delude him by talking in a strain which would have suited the olden time, but which is very inappropriate to the present state of things. In every city, however crowded with a half-starved population, there are many more who do their utmost to encourage population, than can give a sound reason for their doing so; and while their advice is ringing in the ears, and their example is before the eyes, and there is no lack of inaccurate explanations why our workhouses are

overflowing, our hospitals thronged, and our funeral bells for ever tolling, it is difficult to ascertain the real state of the case. But when the observation is exercised within a narrow range, the truth becomes immediately apparent;—it becomes evident that, since capital increases in a slower ratio than population, there will be sooner or later a deficiency of food, unless the more vigorous principle of increase be controlled." pp. 96—104.

We feel reluctant to deal with all this as it deserves. Miss Martineau ought not, indeed, to bear the blame of the miserable philosophizing into which she has been initiated. We thank her for putting into so plain language the jargon of the school. She ought not, however, to have talked such nonsense about China and India. That any female children in India are put to death because of an apprehended scarcity of food, is, we conceive, an assertion without the slightest foundation; and it may be justly questioned whether poverty is the real cause of infanticide in China, any more than in the Polynesian isles, where its true origin is not equivocal. Miss Martineau's statement is certainly the best *apology* for infanticide, though not designed as such, that ingenuity could possibly frame. Near akin to the virtue 'of limiting our numbers to agree with the supply of food,' would seem to be the duty of preventing the superfluous children that may happen to be born, from living to 'help starve' those who were already too numerous for nature's niggard feast. Besides which, as people have no right to marry without the consent of Society, they ought to be punished for it, as the wise Chinese have provided. It appears too, that to bring forth more children than are wanted, is '*very like murder*'; and '*one would almost as soon hear that they were put out of the way at their birth*'; so that, all things considered, letting them live to starve, and drowning them like puppies, come to nearly the same thing. There can be no great harm, then, where the crime and evil of either alternative are so nicely balanced, in making our choice; for the great sin is not infanticide, but marriage! 'We have the 'power of limiting our numbers', and we must use it for self-preservation, at all events. Providence has given 'awful tokens 'of its pleasure' in this matter, and has sent political economists into the world to interpret them. Such is the gospel of Malthus to the poor, of which Miss Martineau is the commentator! Can any doctrine be more pernicious, more immoral in its tendency, than that which may be fairly gathered from the expressions we have cited?

'The preventive check' is nonsense, pure nonsense and delusion; because, as we remarked in a former article, it can afford no remedy under an existing pressure, which must be felt, before it can operate as a motive; and it would then operate as such, only upon those who are the fittest to become parents, and whose

children would be the least likely to become burdens. 'It is hard,' Katie innocently remarks, 'that the honest, prudent man must deny himself because his neighbours are imprudent.' Hard indeed; and it would be difficult to prove that he benefits society by so doing. And what is the preventive check to accomplish? The possible rise of wages, from a diminution of labour, some twenty years hence! How can the prospect of so happy a consummation fail to reconcile the labourer to all the privations of celibacy, especially when supported under them by the approbation of Society!

But, after all, Katie's mother wit is more than a match for Ella's philosophy. If there are other countries where children would be 'a gift, not a burden to society,' 'it is a pity that all should not go there, who are too poor to marry properly, and have no *relish* for a single life.' Possibly, it may be the will of Providence, that the earth should be peopled; and if a population is really redundant in one country, and the superfluous labour would procure abundance in another, there seems no good reason that the supernumeraries should not be transported to the unoccupied country,—except that it would spoil Mr. Malthus's theory. We are not prepared to go to the full extent of a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, upon this point; yet we cannot but give the preference to his view of the subject, when he says: 'Until not only the whole of our own empire, but the *whole earth* is fully peopled, up to the extent of its powers of nourishment,—until we have exhausted the means we unquestionably possess at present, of raising subsistence from any of the myriads of acres of fertile land yet uncultivated,—until every corner of the globe is tilled, like a garden, with all the appliances which science has yet brought, or may be expected hereafter to bring, to the assistance of industry;—all intentional prevention of the natural increase of population is a CRIME against society, of the same character as infanticide or the procuring abortion. It is voluntarily and unnecessarily to impede the increase of the sum of human happiness, which the Deity seems beneficently to have intended by his law of multiplication. In that process, let us leave Nature to do her best, or, as the Malthusians would say, her worst; and apply all *our* efforts to make the increase of the means of subsistence keep pace with—we may easily make it exceed—that of population.'

We need pursue no further our examination of the 'Principles' laid down in Miss Martineau's '*Weal and Woe of Garveloch*,' having anticipated the remarks which the remaining propositions would suggest; and shall now pass on to notice some of those practical deductions which form the subject of illustration in

'Cousin Marshall.' Of course, our fair Philosopher thinks all poor-laws a great evil, and private charity equally to be deprecated. 'Charity must be directed to the enlightenment of the mind, instead of to the relief of bodily wants.' O sweet philanthropist! If you meet with a starving family, send them—to the *schoolmaster*!

'Charity, public or private, or an arbitrary distribution of the subsistence-fund, has hitherto failed to effect this object, (the greatest possible reduction of the number of the indigent,) the proportion of the indigent to the rest of the population having increased from age to age.

'This is not surprising, since an arbitrary distribution of the subsistence-fund, besides rendering consumption unproductive, and encouraging a multitude of consumers, does not meet the difficulty arising from a disproportion of numbers to the means of subsistence.

'The small unproductive consumption occasioned by the relief of sudden accidents and rare infirmities, is necessary, and may be justifiably provided for by charity, since such charity does not tend to the increase of numbers; but, with this exception, all arbitrary distribution of the necessaries of life is injurious to society, whether in the form of private alms-giving, public charitable institutions, or a legal pauper system.

'The tendency of all such modes of distribution having been found to be, to encourage improvidence with all its attendant evils,—to injure the good while relieving the bad,—to extinguish the spirit of independence on one side, and *of charity on the other*,—to encourage speculation, tyranny, and fraud,—and to increase perpetually the evil they are meant to remedy,—but one plea is now commonly urged in favour of a legal provision for the indigent.

'The plea is, that every individual born into a state, has a right to subsistence from the state. This plea, in its general application, is grounded on a false analogy between a state and its members, and a parent and his family.'

We must be rude enough to give the most explicit contradiction to the assertion, that this plea is the only one now commonly urged, and that the plea is grounded on any such false analogy. Indeed, the Author subsequently refers to other grounds of the alleged plea,—'the faults of national institutions.' But she does not understand the plea itself. It is this: That every individual born into a state, claims the protection of the state, and ought not to be treated as a criminal, till he has violated some law. Miss Martineau regards every pauper as a felon; every man who cannot obtain work for the support of himself and family, as a criminal: he ought not to have married,—or his parents before him. Our plea, however, proceeds thus. Every man having a claim to the protection of the State, no one ought to be debarred from any honest means of procuring his subsistence, without receiving an equivalent for the restrictions laid upon him.

Now, in this country, the laws of property and manorial rights forbid a poor man to appropriate any unoccupied land for cultivation by his own labour,—forbid him to hunt, shoot, or fish for his subsistence,—forbid him, in some cases, to seek or to retain employment in a parish to which he does not belong,—and lastly, forbid him to beg, on pain of being committed as a vagrant. The laws which forbid all this, may be wise and necessary for the protection of property, and ultimately beneficial to the lower classes themselves; but, in the first instance, their aspect on the condition of the poor man is not protective, but simply restrictive, depriving him of those rights which nature unquestionably bestowed upon him. Is he then to have no compensation for this deprivation? Barred from so many of the natural means of subsistence, has he no claim for an equivalent in the institutions of society, which reduce him to this state of dependency on the uncertain wages of labour? What is the character of the reasoning—putting all feeling aside—which would deny the justice of the claim?

But there is a law of nature, anterior to all social laws, and stronger than all statutes,—the law of self-preservation, which our philosopho-political economists do not take into their account; but the legislators of Elizabeth's reign fortunately did not overlook it. They reasoned, that before men will consent to starve, they will not merely beg, but rob; and that banditti might cost the State more than even paupers. A great expense was found to be incurred by hanging the hundreds and thousands of 'great thieves, petty thieves, and vagabonds' which infested the country in the reign of Henry VIII. For a century preceding the memorable 43d of Elizabeth, the country had been overwhelmed with mendicity and all its most frightful attendants of crime and misery. The effect of very severe laws, not only against vagrancy and begging, but against *alms-giving*, had been tried, without success. The instinct of self-preservation could not be mastered by these cruel and iniquitous enactments, though strictly in accordance with Miss Martineau's 'Principles.' At length, it was determined to try a new method; that of accompanying the prohibition to beg, with a provision which took away its only plea, necessity. The principle of the law of Elizabeth is at once wise and equitable, and does immortal honour to her ministers. As it established a local provision for impotent indigence, the legislature had a right to enforce the suppression of vagrancy and mendicity. The principle of the poor-law system is, that necessary relief shall be given to the aged, blind, or impotent poor, who are unable to maintain themselves; and, that those who are able to labour, and cannot find work, shall neither be left to starve, nor be suffered to beg or steal, nor be maintained in idleness, but have employment provided for them.

And the system succeeded; it worked well as long as the principle was adhered to; and the best proof of its wisdom is, that all the philosophy and experience of this wisest of all generations have proved insufficient to devise a substitute.

What Ireland *is*, England *was*, before the poor-laws were enacted. It is not denied, however, that the mal-administration of those laws, which has grown up within the last forty years, has been productive of enormous evils; not only acting as a bounty upon pauperism, but confounding almost the whole mass of the labouring population with the indigent poor. The practice of defraying the wages of labour in part out of the poor's rate, which is entirely of modern growth, so far as it prevails, practically annuls the law of Elizabeth, and fraudulently substitutes a new law, unwritten and indefensible. Miss Martineau tells us, that 'the lowest point to which wages can be permanently reduced, is that which affords a bare subsistence to the labourer.' If she means to include the poor's rate in wages, this is true: if not, it is contrary to fact. The legal provision for the indigent and unemployed, has been, in many parts of the kingdom, so long used to assist the farmer in paying his labourers, that the poor no longer look to wages as the only means of subsistence. Parish relief has been converted into wages; and the farmer, while grumbling at the amount of the rate, is blind to the fact, that a considerable portion of what is ostensibly paid as charity, is but the due reward of service; that, but for the rate, he must pay more for labour, since 'the lowest point to which wages could be reduced', were there no other fund for the support of the labourer, 'would be that which affords him a bare subsistence.'

Our opinions upon this subject have been for many years before the public, and were long held in defiance of overbearing authorities. It is with no small satisfaction that we can now refer to writers of the first authority who, in opposition to views formerly entertained and avowed, are now disposed to acquiesce in the wisdom and necessity of a legal provision for the poor. Among these is Professor M'Culloch; and the facts upon which he grounds his present convictions, are these. He observes, that a statutory provision has now been established in England for about 230 years;—that no considerable increase in the population was consequent upon it;—that the labouring population have been, till very recently, eminently distinguished for forethought and consideration,—which character has been formed *since* the institution of the law of relief;—that they will still bear an advantageous comparison, in these respects, with the people of any other country; in proof of which he observes, that, in 1815, there were 925,439 individuals (about one-eleventh of the existing population) members of friendly societies, and that the deposits in the Savings Banks amount at present to upwards of fourteen millions;—that

extensive and adventitious causes are to be assigned for the degradation of the poor in some districts,—in particular, the influx of paupers from Ireland, *where there are no poor laws*;—that down to 1795, the universal complaint was, not that the poor-laws had increased population, and lowered wages, but that they had diminished it and raised wages; that Arthur Young, having laid it down as an axiom, that the strength of a state consists in the numbers of the labouring poor, complains of the obstructions thrown by the law of settlement in the way of their marrying;—and that the allowance-system, which had its birth in the year 1795, and was originally designed to meet the distress occasioned by the high price of corn, has produced a total change in the administration of the poor laws, and is the true source of the evils erroneously charged upon the law of relief. It is *this* system which has acted as a bounty upon marriage, as a premium upon idleness and profligacy; which has depressed the rate of wages, mingling wages with relief; which has discouraged working by the piece, and all efforts for extraordinary earnings that might endanger the allowance; and through which the labouring population in the districts subject to it, have been reduced to the condition of paupers and helots. To get rid of this system at all events, a vigorous effort must be made. At the same time, any attempts to render the administration of the poor-laws more severe, unattended by wise precautions, and by the application of specific remedies for the local excess of population, would, it has been justly remarked, be hazardous to the peace of the country, as well as both inequitable and ineffectual.

We cannot for a moment suppose Miss Martineau to be unacquainted with Mr. M'Culloch's work; and of the facts above referred to, she is not ignorant. We must therefore conclude, that she has prepared "*Cousin Marshall*" as an answer. Once or twice, however, we have been tempted to suspect that a deeper design was concealed in these Tales; that their 'talented' Author wished, by pushing the Malthusian doctrines to their fair results, to expose their erroneousness and heartless selfishness. We sometimes meet with assertions in the conversations, which look as if meant in irony. For instance:

"And what do you think of alms-houses for the aged?"

"That they are very bad things. Only consider the numbers of young people that marry under the expectation of getting their helpless parents maintained by the public." *Cousin Marshall*, p. 42.

This *must* be meant *en badinage*. Again:

"The question is, whether I am not doing more harm than good by officiating at the Dispensary and Lying in Hospital, while it is clear

to me, that the absence of these charities would be an absence of evil to society." *Ib.* p. 35.

Schools are another evil, 'where maintenance is given as well 'as education'; and gratuitous instruction is to be continued only till the poor have 'learned to consider' education as indispensable. The Workhouse Infirmary is worse than all. All this looks like Malthus burlesqued; and still more the extravagance of the following.

"The wonder is, how the pauper system has failed to swallow up all our resources, and make us a nation of paupers. . . . This is the condition we shall infallibly be brought to, Louisa, unless we take speedy means to stop ourselves. We are rolling down faster and faster towards the gulf; and two of our three estates, Lords and Commons, have declared that we shall soon be in it;—that, in a *few more years*, the profits of all kinds of property will be absorbed by the increasing rates, and capital will therefore cease to be invested; land will be let out of cultivation, manufactures will be discontinued, commerce will cease, and the nation become a vast congregation of paupers."

"DREADFUL! brother. How can we all go quietly about our daily business with such a prospect before us?"

"A large proportion of the nation knows little about the matter"

"But how long has there been so much cause for alarm?"

"Only *within a few years*."

This can be meant, we said to ourselves, only as satire. Besides, would any woman, any cultivated, clever, tender-hearted woman, volunteer in the ungracious service of ridiculing and running down charities for her own sex, alms-houses for the aged, infirmaries and dispensaries for the sick poor, private alms-giving, as well as parish relief,—the duties which the Scripture most peremptorily enjoins as the very test of pure and undefiled religion;—and all this on the self-contradictory and absurd pretext, that such charity 'is found to extinguish charity,' and 'to injure the good while relieving only the bad'—the bad being the indigent, and the good those who can help themselves?—The thing is utterly incredible. We will not believe it. And yet, it is hard to say how far philosophical fanaticism may transport even an amiable and intelligent mind, which, entrenched and frozen up within its own opinions, may be led to make a virtue of defying the clamours of the sentimental, and to argue as Miss Martineau makes her spokesman, Mr. Burke.

"And then what a hard-hearted, brutal fellow I shall be thought," said her brother, smiling.

"No, no: *only an oddity*."—p. 44.

Willingly would we claim—if possible, *reclaim* so exceedingly

clever and accomplished a personage, as a coadjutor. If not,—if she is really ‘downright earnest’ in advocating these blunders of selfishness, our public duty compels us to say, in her own words, ‘the system is execrable, however well-meaning its authors.’

The Author of the Observations on the Law of Population is, in the main, a Malthusian; and he controverts Mr. Sadler’s theory, that *prolificness* diminishes in proportion to the condensation of the population, as the consequence of a recondite law of nature,—not by denying the fact, but by contending that density of population has an undoubted tendency to lessen the mean duration of life.

‘That the human race advances more rapidly in the earlier stages of society, and that its increase is gradually retarded as population becomes more dense, is a fact which Mr. Malthus acknowledges as readily as Mr. Sadler himself,—they differ only as to the cause; and it may, perhaps be admitted, that if the latter be not warranted in announcing the special interposition of the Supreme Being, the former is somewhat too exclusive, in attributing the effect in question to the pressure of population upon food. It is true, indeed, that a desire to procure food is the ultimate cause of all that tension of mind and overstrained exertion, by which the vast and complicated system of a highly civilized society is distinguished. Where there are most people collected together, there the human mind, as a matter of necessity, is in the greatest activity—improvement in the arts of life is desired and sought after with the utmost eagerness; but this is only to be attained by exposure to the many dangerous accidents which intense competition entails upon those who start together in pursuit of one common object. Hence, those baneful rivalries and contentions—those jealousies and heartburnings—the arrogant ambition of the prosperous—the pining and despair of the unfortunate,—tending, in various degrees, to the abridgement of human existence, and leading to that continual temptation to crime and violence, which amply justify the satirist’s remark, that man alone preys upon his fellow-creature:—

“—————*Parcit*
Cognatis maculis similis fera;
Ast homini ferrum lethale incude nefanda
Produxisse parum est.” pp. 62, 63.

It is, however, an admitted fact, that a very material improvement in the duration of life has been observed, in this country, within the last half century; and at this moment, the average duration of life in England, is much higher than in countries where the population is far less dense, and the climate is deemed more genial. The Writer very ingeniously labours to shew, that this fact is not incompatible with his theory; arguing that the tendency of condensation to shorten the duration of life, has been counteracted by favourable circumstances, but not less really exists;—that one effect has concealed and moderated the other,

but they may nevertheless both continue to be in operation at the same moment. This, however, is mere theory. The fact is, that the average duration of life in this country has not been shortened in consequence of the increase of population; whereas the rapid increase must be ascribed, in part, to the extended duration of life, and to the improvements in the medical treatment of the poor.

But, if the longevity of the inhabitants of this country generally, has been raised, the more frightful are the exceptions which are concealed within the average estimate. Calculating the mean duration of life from mortuary registers, it is, in London, about 32 years; in Paris, 31; in Manchester, where *the Factory system prevails*, $24\frac{1}{10}$; in Stockport, 22. Among the operative spinners, few, it is said, survive forty. Infantile labour, leading to premature marriage, crowds the generations one upon another, and contributes to swell the numbers of the people; while it frightfully diminishes the number of the athletic and active, raising up, in their stead, a puny, stunted, vicious race, precocious in vice, and old before they are aged. The regulation of the system which is chargeable with this complication of physical and moral evil, is an imperative duty of the Legislature. We shall take some future opportunity of recurring to this subject, but can, at present, only recommend Mr. Sadler's speech to the attention of our readers; and shall conclude our article with an extract much to the point from 'The Manchester Strike.'

' "How is Martha?" was Allen's first inquiry on meeting his wife at the head of the stairs. Martha had been asleep when he had returned in the middle of the day; for it was now her turn for night-work at the factory, and what rest she had, must be taken in the day. Her mother said that her lameness was much the same; that she had seen Mr. Dawson, the apothecary, who pronounced that rest was what her weak limbs most required; and that as perfect rest was out of the question, her mother must bandage the joints while the child was at her work, and keep her laid on her bed at home. Here was the difficulty, her mother said, especially while Hannah was with her, for they were both fond of play when poor Martha was not too tired to stir. She was now gone to her work for the night.

'The little girl repaired to the factory, sighing at the thought of the long hours that must pass before she could sit down or breathe the fresh air again. She had been as willing a child at her work as could be, till lately; but since she had grown sickly, a sense of hardship had come over her, and she was seldom happy. She was very industrious, and disposed to be silent at her occupation; so that she was liked by her employers, and had nothing more to complain of than the necessary fatigue and disagreeableness of the work. She would not have minded it for a few hours of the day; but to be shut up all day, or else all night, without any time to nurse the baby or play with her companions, was too much for a little girl of eight years old. She had never been so sensible of this as since her renewed acquaintance with Hannah.

This night, when the dust from the cotton made her cough, when the smell and the heat brought on sickness and faintness, and the incessant whizzing and whirling of the wheels gave her the feeling of being in a dream, she remembered that a part of Hannah's business was to walk on broad roads or through green fields by her father's side, listening to the stories he amused her with, and to sit on a stile or under a tree to practice a new tune, or get a better dinner than poor Martha often saw. She forgot that Hannah was sometimes wet through, or scorched by the sun, as her complexion, brown as a gipsy's, showed; and that Hannah had no home and no mother, and very hard and unpleasant work to do at fairs, and on particular occasions. About midnight, when Martha remembered that all at home were probably sound asleep, she could not resist the temptation of resting her aching limbs, and sat down, trusting to make up afterwards for lost time, and taking care to be on her feet when the overlooker passed, or when any one else was likely to watch her. It is a dangerous thing, however, to take rest with the intention of rousing oneself from time to time; and so Martha found. She fairly fell asleep after a time, and dreamed that she was attending very diligently to her work; and so many things besides passed through her mind during the two minutes that she slept, that when the overlooker laid his hand upon her shoulder, she started and was afraid she was going to be scolded for a long fit of idleness. But she was not harshly spoken to.

"Come, come, child; how long have you been asleep?"

"I don't know. I thought I was awake all the time." And Martha began to cry.

"Well, don't cry. I was past just now, and you were busy enough; but don't sit down; better not, for fear you should drop asleep again."

Martha thought she had escaped very well; and winking and rubbing her eyes, she began to limp forwards and use her trembling hands.
pp. 63—67.

Art. V. *The Destinies of Man*. By Robert Millhouse. 12mo. pp. 88. Price 4s. London, 1832.

THE man who could produce this poem, how humble soever his origin or occupation, is not to be ranked with the John Joneses and Ann Yearsleys, the Ducks and Taylors, who rank among the illiterate wonders of poetic literature. Wherever he picked up his education, Mr. Millhouse is not illiterate; and although we are informed that he composes his verses, like poor Bloomfield, in the midst of a family of six persons, whose daily bread he has to earn in the humble capacity of a Nottingham operative,—poetry like his stands in no need of such apology. The public can require no editorial patron or panegyrist to inform them that Robert Millhouse is a poet,—that he has received from nature a spark of that innate, irrepressible genius which ennobles its possessor in any circumstances, and stamps him, though a peasant, an *hidalgo* in right of mind. Where is the Nottingham operative to be detected in this vivid picture of the Deluge?

' XXI.

' The world was filled with violence ; and Heaven
 Has wisely kept its history from our view.
 Vainly had Adam, Seth, and Enoch striven
 To wake repentance in the sinful crew ;
 Repentance knew them not, and ages flew,
 Till righteous Noah forewarned them of their doom ;
 In vain he told their fate, while onward drew
 The days of retribution and of gloom,
 In which the impious race should find an ocean-tomb.

' XXII.

' Unheeded as the voiceless foot of Time,
 The terrors of their destinies drew nigh ;
 The Earth, unconscious, smiled as in its prime,
 And the glad sun illumed the cloudless sky ;
 The gentlest gales o'er new-born flowers passed by,
 And choral birds were shouting forth their lays ;
 The eagle left his cliff and soared on high ;
 The forest beasts pursued their trackless maze,
 Nor pointed out to man that eve of dreadful days.

' XXIII.

' In human haunts that day like others past ;
 No fear of judgment checked their vicious schemes ;
 Mirth danced along, nor thought that dance his last ;
 No dark forebodings broke the conqueror's dreams :
 The earth was stained with blood's accustomed streams,
 Till jaded carnage panted on the plain ;
 And, in sequestered shades, while evening beams
 Led wantonness to riot with her train,
 Their harp of lawless joys sent forth its dying strain.

' XXIV.

' The sun was setting : from the east arose
 Black threatening clouds in terrible array ;
 The face of heaven was blotted, save where flows
 The fading crimson of expiring day :
 On came the tempest with impetuous sway ;
 A pitchy mantle o'er the earth was hurled ;
 And that bright space where sank the western ray,
 In awful contrast marked how first unfurled
 The winding-sheet of clouds, which wrapped a guilty world.

' XXV.

' The night began with earthquakes and with storms ;
 The winds went raging in their dreadful sweep ;
 The playful shafts of lightning shewed the forms
 Of direful objects, leading not to sleep ;

Beasts howled within their dens, and from the steep
Of craggy rocks, the birds with screaming cries,
Sent their complainings to the ocean deep :
While guilty Man, o'ercome in wild surmise,
Clung to the rocking earth, and trembled at the skies.

' XXVI.

' At length, in terrors, came the doubtful morn !
Then, in its strength, the incroaching flood began ;
And the sealed fountains of the deeps were torn,
While, from the rending clouds, the torrents ran :
Awe seized the boldest, for the homes of man,
Regal, or mean, to rushing streams gave way ;
And on the uplands, in a narrower span,
Tribe, following Tribe, beneath the tempest's sway,
Joined with the thunder's voice their wailing of dismay.

' XXVII.

' What congregated multitudes were there !—
Men of five centuries, still fierce in crime ;
Those giants of their race, unused to fear,
With looks majestic, but not sublime :
There matrons old, in nothing grave but time ;
And warriors, ardent in the bloom of years ;
And virgin beauty, fading in its prime ;
And youthful brides, sad wasting in their tears ;
And wild despair, and madness, scowling towards the spheres.

' XXVIII.

' And there came on, in restless love of life,
Domestic flocks and herds, with hurrying pace ;
And beasts of prey, not yet subdued from strife ;—
The antelope, and roebuck of the chase,
Bounding to 'scape from death : and in that space,
The reptiles crept along the slippery ground ;
Or clung to man, with horrible embrace :
The vulture, over-head, in wheeling round,
Screamed ; or alighting fierce, his dying victim found.

' XXIX.

' Not yet was nature vanquished : hunger, still,
Impelled the lion to devour his prey ;
The tiger sprang the wild roe's blood to spill,
Or, midst the flocks, pursued his desperate way ;
Or seized the helpless infant, where it lay
Cradled, unconscious, in its mother's arms ;
Man too was hunger-stung : a wild display
Of dire confusion vexed the mingled swarms
Of beast and human kind—familiar in alarms.

' XXX.

' Night came—not sleep—unspeakable in woes ;
 No light appeared, save that which lightnings gave
 At whose keen fires the wolf's hoarse howling rose,
 While thunder-peals made cowards of the brave.
 No rest was there for monarch, or for slave,
 For all were slaves to one tremendous doom :
 No power the hand of friendship had to save ;
 The waves rolled on, relentless, to consume
 The fondest kindred ties—the flush of beauty's bloom.

' XXXI.

' The morning dawned—more awful than the night—
 The ruthless clouds let fall their whelming store :
 A few, sad groupes remained, and there the might
 Of the wild forest beasts was felt no more,
 O'ercome with restless watching ;—on the shore,
 The wrecks of buildings floated to their view ;
 And there the struggling swimmer came, and bore
 The infant of his love ; brief hope he knew,
 For then the billows rose, his efforts to subdue.

' XXXII.

' A few terrific days and nights were past ;
 And the vast waters rose on every side ;
 And still the sheet-like rains were falling fast,
 While, from the mountains, rushed the eddying tide :
 And yet they sought those mountains—far, and wide.
 Death had reduced the multitude to few ;—
 Famine had wrought his deeds, in scorn of pride,
 And the devouring flood still onward drew ;
 While, to the shelving rocks, the trembling remnant flew.

' XXXIII.

' Then came the extreme of horrors—hope, in vain,
 Looked out, bewildered, o'er the vast profound ;
 The famished mother, reckless of her pain,
 Hung o'er her dying babes, and clasped them round ;
 The fainting father, stretched upon the ground,
 Shared with the serpent and the wolf his bed ;
 There, tame with dread, the lion ceased to bound ;
 And, couchant, sought a pillow for his head,
 And trembled with affright, and rested on the dead.

' XXXIV.

' Still swelled the mighty waters—and they swept
 A portion of the lingering band away ;
 Some towards the topmost mountain-summits crept,
 Where flocks of birds were screaming in dismay ;

Those summits mocked their efforts, and they lay
Where the forced torrent, foaming, sunk below ;
The sun, through broken clouds, sent forth a ray,
Which led their sight to lengthening scenes of woe,
And tipt with light the waves, and marked their overthrow.

‘ XXXV.

‘ Then o’er them closed the congregated seas ;
And the Ark rode in safety on their breast ;
For Deity was moving on the breeze,
And spake the raging of the storm to rest :
Lost were all traces of a world unblest,
In the rotundity of shoreless deeps ;
Which, in fulfilment of high Heaven’s behest,
Rose o’er the utmost of the mountain-steeps ;
Till backward rolled by Him whose hand their boundary keeps.

‘ XXXVI.

‘ O thou ! astonishing, unresting main !
Whence are the fountains of thy stores supplied ?
Chief of created elements ! in vain
We trace the ceaseless motions of thy tide ;
Philosophy, arrested in her pride,
Darts fruitless glances to thy desert caves ;
Whose deep recesses human search deride.—
Call now to man ! and bid him count thy waves ;
Or gauge thy rampant billows, when the tempest raves.

‘ XLI.

‘ Thou art not of the things that feel decay !
We look upon thee, in our youthful morn,
When the glad hours flee joyfully away ;
And buoyant smiles our careless brows adorn :
Again we mark thee, when old age forlorn
Bears deep-trenched wrinkles, and the frost of time ;
When life hath shed its fruit, but kept the thorn ;
And thou art rolling on thy course sublime ;
Unshrinking in thy strength, and bounding in thy prime !’

Egyptian Thebes, Sparta, Athens, are made to appear before
us, in this cosmoramic view of the destinies of man. We must
give a stanza or two from the second canto.

‘ XIV.

‘ The overflowing Nile is rolling still ;—
The crocodile is there, but not adored ;—
There other tribes obey a tyrant’s will,
Though gone the wealth with which that land was stored.
Sunk is the nurse of science ! for the sword

Has chased her arts and sciences away ;
 Yet, in despite of each succeeding horde
 That bore destruction in its fierce array,
 Wrecks of gigantic skill still wrestle with decay.

‘ XVI.

‘ Spectre of ancient Thebes ! whose temples vast
 Clasp with colossal strides the banks of Nile ;
 Whose ruins strike the pilgrim’s heart aghast,
 As wandering he beholds each massy pile.
 City of unknown times ! what dark defile
 Enfolds the wondrous details of thy fate ?
 Are yonder tombs their shrine ? alas ! meanwhile,
 Perhaps some jackall, in the vault of state,
 Sleeps o’er thy history, laws, catastrophe, and date.

* * * * *

‘ XXXII.

‘ Here are the priesthood ! who misled mankind ;
 Embalmed and coffined, with superior skill ;
 Those men of knowledge, who kept others blind,
 Shackling, with mystery, the human will,
 Which bowed their monstrous doctrines to fulfil.—
 Death trampled on their doctrines ;—his command
 Went forth in truth—and falsehood’s tongue was still !
 Not one comes forth of all the learned band,
 To charm the ear with words, or wave the graceful hand.

‘ XXXIII.

‘ Dare we the sacred chambers to explore ?
 These vaults of majesty ! these tombs of kings !
 There, where the artist wasted all his store,
 With loathsome clasp, the bat tenacious clings.
 Lo ! where the taper, its faint glimmering flings
 To yon sarcophagus, of plan sublime ;
 Framed by a mind of rare imaginings ;—
 Was there Sesostris laid ? when mightier time
 Relaxed the warrior’s arm—whose valour led to crime !

‘ XXXIV.

‘ The air is stagnant—let us quit the tombs.—
 Oh ! what a field the studious mind has here !
 Where are thy streets, O Thebes ? yon mighty domes
 Seem reared, by magic, to make man despair !
 Yet thou wast once a city great, and fair ;
 Thronged with the bustle, and the cares of life ;
 Here mustering armies issued forth, and there
 Unthinking multitudes have joined in strife,
 To aid contending chiefs, when tyranny was rife.

' XXXV.

' Adieu thou city of mysterious fate !
Ruins of hundred-gated Thebes—farewell ;
Thou dost convey a moral, though thy date,
And awful doom, historians cannot tell ;—
Thou speak'st of human vanities—the spell
Of wealth, and pomp, from thee has past away ;
And future states shall fall, as others fell ;
For greedy time doth still on greatness prey,
And taunts at feeble man, who tumbles to decay.'

If we have any readers who can be insensible to the picturesque and moral beauty of these stanzas, to them any poetry must speak in vain ; but we cannot refrain from giving insertion to the noble Hallelujah with which the fourth canto concludes.

' XXI.

' Wherefore to God sincerest praise be given !—
Ye Orbs ! enlightening Systems with your rays ;—
Comets ! that course eccentric tracts of heaven,
Trailing, oblique, your longitude of blaze ;
Ye gem-like Planets ! wheeling through your maze ;
Thou Sun ! untired in thine exhaustless beams,
Ruler of Time ! and chief of glorious days ;
Though man forget, bowed down to trivial schemes,
Still shall your praises flow, in pure unceasing streams.

' XXVI.

' Earth ! lift thy thousand voices in His praise !—
Mountains ! whose crests are seen in distant lands,
While the dire, unyoked, Avalanche displays
Such terrors, that no human force withstands,—
To Him pour out your anthems !—His commands
Threw up your monstrous battlements on high ;
Where storms ferment contention, and the bands
That hold the lightnings—loose them through the sky ;
Which, with their awful touch, the thunder-peals untie !

' XXVII.

' Thou Ocean, speak His praises !—when thy form
Looks beautiful, as is a child at play ;
While the big waves are resting from the storm,
And gentlest breezes kiss thy curling spray :—
And praise Him in thy terrors !—in the fray,
When warring tempests ravage thy domain,—
Waking the dormant billows on their way ;
For He prescribed the limits of thy reign !
And bound thee, with His Word, those limits to maintain.

‘ XXVIII.

‘ Ye Forests, of interminable gloom !
 Where prowl the wild beasts, in your depths profound ;
 Ye Deserts ! where the burning sands consume
 The panting reptiles, parching on the ground ;—
 Ye Rivers ! while your cataracts, unbound,
 Leap, joyous as the new-born flocks of spring ;
 Let all your confines with His name resound ;
 Who called you forth from nothingness ! to bring
 The offering of your songs, to hail Jehovah King !

‘ XXIX.

‘ Oh, Spring ! adorned with flowers, refreshed with dews ;
 Thou Summer ! beaming with a bridegroom's smile ;
 Thou Autumn ! while the full ripe fruits diffuse
 Redundant stores, in many a swelling pile ;—
 And thou, stern Winter ! though thy frowns defile
 The landscape, pouring tempests, floods, and snows,
 Be mingled all your voices, to compile
 A song of praise to Him ! from whom arose
 The bounty, and the charms your changeful round bestows.

‘ XXX.

‘ Praise Him, while here, oh Man !—the very grave
 Shall send up gratulations to His name ;
 He, whom His potent mercy sent to save,
 Will touch the dead with His immortal flame !
 Then, when no more oppressed by earthly shame,
 With soul of fire, of ecstasy, and love ;
 When flesh no longer shall the spirit tame,—
 The vital particle will upwards move,
 And praise Him, evermore, with Seraphim above !’

pp. 77—80.

‘ Say the Diffusers of Useful Knowledge what they choose,
 ‘ the literature most serviceable, and most acceptable too, to hard-
 ‘ working men, will ever be that which tends to elevate and hu-
 ‘ manize the heart, through its appeals to the imagination.’ This
 is snarlingly said by the *Quarterly Review* ; but we incline to
 think it is not far from the truth. We have not just now the
 leisure, however, to discuss the point, or to balance the account
 between poetry and science. Poetry like this, unquestionably,
has a tendency to elevate and better the heart. We rejoice to be
 assured that the moral character of the Author offers no contra-
 diction to this sentiment. ‘ His conduct’, writes a friend and
 townsman, ‘ has always been of that orderly and moral character
 ‘ which we have too fondly hoped to see more generally produced
 ‘ by reading, among the working class ; and his sentiments of

'temperate liberty, social order, and virtue are such as it is peculiarly desirable to see diffused among his fellows.' Such a man deserves—not degrading patronage—but encouragement, assistance, and esteem. To our readers, we have only to say, Do not grudge 4s. for his book. To the Author, we wish 'health to resume the subject,' and His blessing from whom

—'is all that soothes the life of man,
His high endeavour and his glad success,
His strength to suffer and his will to serve.'

Art. VI. *Natural History of Religion*, or Youth armed against Infidelity and Religious Errors. By the Rev. R. Taylor, Curate of Hart, in the County of Durham, and Author of the *Key to the Knowledge of Nature*. 12mo. pp. 218. Price 4s. London. 1832.

VERY original are the general views contained in this not very 'natural history of religion', as the following luminous specimens will sufficiently shew.

'What have you to say of the freedom of the will and predestination?'

'When a man is deeply involved in a sinful course, to talk of turning to God by prayer and repentance of his own strength, would be like attempting to stop himself in the midst of his descent in leaping from a precipice. And as to predestination, in the Calvinistic sense, it altogether contradicts the whole of the divine economy of this world, the divine justice, mercy, and righteousness, and is entirely without other foundation than the *instinct* of self-supremacy.

'When and how did the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination originate?'

'It first appeared in the family of Ham, immediately after the Deluge, chiefly in the line of Cush. Then it was they began to call themselves the heaven-born, the sons of God, the chosen seed, and so forth, in opposition to the rest of Noah's posterity, whom they represented as earth-born, plebeian, and reprobate. And it has prevailed among mankind ever since, under various forms. But it is best known to us in the doctrines of Calvin; for when, at the Reformation, men began to shake off the trammels of the Popish priesthood, they arrogated to themselves this distinction, on which the priestly power was originally founded.

'What effect has this unbridled spirit of self-supremacy had on the destinies of mankind?'

'It has been a powerful instrument in the divine hand for modelling the human race. Among the heathens, according to Mr. Faber, the party have been the corrupters, civilizers, and enslavers of mankind. And among Christians, they have performed such exploits as the pure spirit of Christianity would have shrunk from. To our Saxon ancestors, the supposed Cushite race, we owe this spirit, which animated the Puritanical reformers of our free and happy constitution. So that

the Calvinistic spirit is perhaps only the manifestation of the true Saxon blood, of which Britons have good cause to be proud. A Calvinist persuading himself that he is a chosen vessel of God, is the one, as going forth in the strength of the Lord God, who will resist the most violent temptations, bear up against the laugh and sneers of dissolute companions, and will make the greatest sacrifice of worldly interest to the glory of God, counting all things but loss so that he gain Christ.' pp. 201, 2.

To Pilate's question, 'What is truth?' Mr. Taylor returns for answer :

'The agreement between words and things, or the sign and thing professed to be signified.

'How does Truth apply to the Deity ; or how do you shew it to be a divine attribute ?'

'In various ways. *First*, the question has been agitated, whether the visible world is a true index of the divine mind, or whether the Deity has not exhibited in it delusive appearances ;—and, *secondly*, whether he was honest enough to make man's senses so as to give him right notions of sensible or material things,—to see them, for instance, as they are.

'And how do you prove that he has ?'

'By that perfect agreement which there is among all mankind as to the appearance of things ; and the harmony among these things themselves, so that we see no strife in nature causing at any time even the least momentary suspension of its process. If there was such a lie in men's faculties, they could not exist, at least as social creatures. God, therefore, is not only true in all his ways, but is Truth itself—inasmuch as he is all in all.' pp. 17, 18.

As a further illustration of Mr. Taylor's metaphysics, we select the following. It will be observed, that, according to the Author's definition of self-existence, any thing that can will and act, is 'a little deity.' Now a dog can will and act ; *ergo*.—

'What do you mean by the word power which mental philosophers dwell so much upon ?'

'It is that portion of self-existence which the Deity has imparted to man, so that he is a little deity :—to a certain degree a self-sufficient being, insomuch that he can will and act. It is his personality. It is that which must for ever extinguish all pretensions about life being the result of organization.

'What do you mean by mind ?'

'The whole business of the soul in this world is by instrumentality ; and it may therefore not unaptly be compared to a mechanic employed in his shop, with all his tools and materials about him. The materials are to the workman what knowledge is to the intellect. Mind, then, is the intellect busy with the materials—its knowledge.'

pp. 59, 60.

'What is your inference from memory, or the power of recalling past thoughts ?'

'That all our thoughts are somehow registered in the soul, or may be, as it were, the elementary particles of its composition; and that when we are in the light of the divine glory in the future state, the soul may appear such a compound medley as our thoughts have been through life. Virtue and vice, then, will need no other judge or condemnation than *self*. And here may be the foundation for the healing powers of the Great Physician of souls.' p. 64.

But it is in the account given of the natural history of the heathen world, that the Author's originality is most strikingly conspicuous. We shall give an instance or two. No comment can be necessary.

' "Where were the sacred mysteries celebrated?"

'The temple was a copy of the ark internally, and, externally, of the mountain Ararat. But the ark was also one form of the internal, or womb of the Great Father, and therefore was mythologically identical with the *world* or visible creation. Mount Ararat was the external person of the Great Father; as was also the external part of the temple, as well as every hill, when consecrated. Its top (the Olympus) being the abode of the gods, the High Place of the Bible, while the deep recesses of the sacred groves, the adytum of the temples, and even the tops of Olympus, were the places of the sacred mysteries. But, generally, the centre of the hill was supposed to be the real and true paunch of the Deity, and therefore a cave at its foot was usually made use of. The first artificial Ararat was the Tower of Babel. It was never finished, but enough remained to declare its plan. The pyramids of Egypt, and the pagodas of the East, are copies, as well as many antient temples of the West.

' "Had they any other mythological dwellings of the chief deities?"

'Yes; in the triplicate form of the Great Father, they had Jupiter's residence on Olympus, hence the celestial deities; Neptune's at the centre of the ocean, with all the sea deities down to water kelpies and mermaids; and Pluto's, the gloomy Dis of the Celts, and Odin of the Scandinavian nations; with all the varieties of sprites down to the fairies, which had their residence at the earth's centre.

' "What have you to say of the four Paradisiacal rivers mentioned by Moses?"

'They were each separately, and all united, considered as forms of the Deluge, contemplated as the Great Father; and these were the origin of all sacred rivers.' pp. 119—121.

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' "What have you to say of the idolatry peculiar to each nation?"

'That it was according, not only to the tenets held by the sect before the dispersion, but also to the climate, productions, and other adventitious circumstances.

' "Did not all embrace the above principles?"

'No: it cannot be supposed that all these absurdities were concocted at once. Some tribes, especially of the unblended Cushites, are supposed to have been offended at others going beyond them in their philosophizing, when the female deity or the worship of the Great Mother was introduced; and withdrew themselves from Nimrod

and his party. These tribes retired northward to the Caucasus, (the mountain of Cush,) and thence spread themselves eastward and westward. They paid divine honours to Noah as the incarnate God, the Lord of the universe, under the image and similitude of a contemplative old man in a sitting posture. The golden image of Nebuchadnezzar is an instance, but the more common symbol was a rough stone pillar or a log of wood. Those who went eastward are, to this day in their posterity, known as the sect of the Buddhists: Budd being the name of their god; while he is called Brahma, by the other sect. Juggernaut is a union of both sects, the priests of both combining under one form all the sects and parties. Those who went westward passed into Europe; and were the fierce warriors who, from behind the Danube, annoyed the Roman empire till in the end they overthrew it. Our Saxon ancestors were of this race. They were always opposed to image worship. They gave in the Christian world the cast of character to the Greek Church, in opposition to the church of Rome with her images and the female deity, the Virgin Mary, or Great Mother. To their blood we owe the Reformation. They were always opposed to *castes* and slavery. Too proud to work, where unblended, they are a half-starved race of marauding hunters. But where mixed with the Celtic tribes, their offspring are the most enterprising and industrious of the human race; as witness the inhabitants of western Europe.' pp. 126, 7.

Should any of our readers feel a curiosity to see more of this marvellously absurd production, they will of course send for the book.

NOTICES.

Art. VII. *An Outline of the First Principles of Horticulture.* By John Lindley, F.R.S. &c. &c. Professor of Botany in the University of London. 18mo. Price 2s. London, 1832.

THE object of Professor Lindley, in this valuable manual of horticultural physiology, is, to point out in the briefest manner, what the fundamental principles of that branch of natural philosophy have been ascertained to be. The work consists of 369 axioms or principles, stated with the greatest conciseness, so as to require, in the first instance, an exercise of the reasoning powers; in fact, constituting a system to be studied as a whole, before it can be clearly understood or appreciated as a guide to practice. When the *reasons* of familiar operations in horticulture are understood, the mental interest of watching the results must be greatly heightened. Rules of cultivation are not, indeed, Mr. Lindley remarks, to be neglected, because they cannot be physiologically explained; for the reasons of important facts may long remain undiscoverable, or be mistaken; but more success may be expected in acting upon scientific principles,—in other words, understanding and consulting the laws of nature,—than in following empirical prescriptions, the reasons of which are not understood. These

Outlines, we think, will deserve the attentive study of every young horticulturist, amateur or professional. The following may serve as a specimen.

‘ XI. AIR AND LIGHT.

‘ 277. When an embryo plant (242.) is formed within its integuments, it is usually colourless, or nearly so; but, as soon as it begins to grow, that part which approaches the light (the stem) becomes coloured, while the opposite extremity (the root) remains colourless.

‘ 278. The parts exposed to the air absorb oxygen at night, absorb carbonic acid and part with oxygen again in daylight; and thus in the day-time purify the air, and render it fit for the respiration of man.

‘ 279. The intensity of this latter phenomenon is in proportion to the intensity of solar light to which leaves are directly exposed.

‘ 280. Its cause is the decomposition of carbonic acid, the extrication of oxygen, and the acquisition by the plant of carbon in a solid state; from which, modified by the peculiar vital actions of species, colour and secretions are supposed to result.

‘ 281. For it is found that the intensity of colour and the quantity of secretions are in proportion to the exposure to light and air, as is shown by the deeper colour of the upper side of leaves, &c.

‘ 282. And by the fact, that if plants be grown in air from which light is excluded, neither colour nor secretions are formed, as is exemplified in blanched vegetables; which, if even naturally poisonous, may, from want of exposure to light, become wholesome, as Celery.

‘ 283. When any colour appears in parts developed in the dark, it is generally caused by the absorption of such colouring matter as pre-existed in the root or other body from which the blanched shoot proceeds, as in some kinds of Rhubarb when forced.

‘ 284. Or by the deposition of colouring matter formed by parts developed in light, as in the subterranean roots of Beet, Carrots, &c.

‘ 285. What is true of colour is also true of flavour, which equally depends upon light for its existence; because flavour is produced by chemical alterations in the sap caused by exposure to light. (229.)

‘ 286. The same thing occurs in regard to nutritive matter, which in like manner is formed by the exposure of leaves to light. Thus the Potato when forced in dark houses contains no more amylaceous matter than previously existed in the original tuber; but acquires it in proportion as it is influenced by light and air. Thus, also, if Peaches are grown in wooden houses, at a distance from the light, they will form so little nutritive matter as to be unable to support a crop of fruit, the greater part of which will fall off. And for a similar reason it is only the outside shoots of standard fruit trees that bear fruit. Considerations of this kind form in part the basis of pruning and training.’ pp. 54–57.

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‘ 229. The flavour of fruit depends upon the existence of certain secretions, especially of acid and sugar; flavour will, consequently, be regulated by the circumstances under which fruit is ripened.

‘ 230. The ripening of fruit is the conversion of acid and other substances into sugar.

‘ 231. As the latter substance cannot be obtained at all in the dark, is less abundant in fruit ripened in diffused light, and most abundant in fruit exposed to the direct rays of the sun, the conversion of matter into sugar occurs under the same circumstances as the decomposition of carbonic acid. (141. and 279.)

‘ 232. Therefore, if fruit be produced in situations much exposed to the sun, its sweetness will be augmented.

‘ 233. And in proportion as it is deprived of the sun's direct rays that quality will diminish.

‘ 234. So that a fruit which when exposed to the sun is sweet, when grown where no direct light will reach it will be acid ; as Pears, Cherries, &c.

‘ 235. Hence acidity may be corrected by exposure to light ; and excessive sweetness, or insipidity, by removal from light.

‘ 236. It is the property of succulent fruits which are acid when wild to acquire sweetness when cultivated, losing a part of their acid.

‘ 237. This probably arises from the augmentation of the cellular tissue, which possibly has a greater power than woody or vascular tissue of assisting in the formation of sugar.

‘ 238. As a certain quantity of acid is essential to render fruit agreeable to the palate, and as it is the property of cultivated fruits to add to their saccharine matter, but not to form more acid than when wild, it follows that, in selecting wild fruits for domestication, those which are acid should be preferred, and those which are sweet or insipid rejected.

‘ 239. Unless recourse is had to hybridism ; when a wild insipid fruit may be possibly improved (204.), or may be the means of improving something else.

‘ 240. It is very much upon such considerations as the foregoing that the rules of training must depend.’ pp. 46—48.

Art. VIII. *Fourteen Reasons* why Dissenters should not submit to have their Marriages celebrated at the Altar of a Consecrated Building, before Clergymen belonging to a Church to which they cannot conscientiously conform. 6d. per doz.

CAN there be fourteen reasons for any reasonable thing? This may be doubted. Yet, one good reason may be put in fourteen ways ; and those who elude it in one shape, may possibly admit it in another. It is sometimes however impolitic, to give too many reasons for a good thing, because men are apt to *deduct* the weaker reasons from the strength of the more forcible ones. So obviously reasonable is it that all classes of Dissenters should enjoy the same privilege that the Quakers have long enjoyed in respect to the celebration of marriage, that we should less fear a difference of opinion as to the conclusion here set forth, than as to some of the premises. These fourteen reasons may be summarily stated thus :

1. Because marriage is, properly, a civil transaction.

2. Because to convert it into a religious ceremony, savours of the Romish superstition.

3. Because the imposition of a religious ceremony on Nonconformists, is an infringement on the rights of conscience.

4. Because a compliance with the requisition of human authority, in the outward observance of any religious service, is a mockery of the Object of worship.

5. Because such compliance on the part of Dissenters, tends to nullify their testimony against the corruptions of the Established Church.

6. Because the present state of the marriage law fixes an unmerited stigma on Protestant Dissenting ministers in this country.

7. Because the marriage fees go to the clergy.

8. Because the marriage service was borrowed from the Romish ritual, and is founded on Romish tenets.

9. Because many persons feel conscientious objections to the formula they are required to repeat: 'With this ring,' &c.

10. Because the repeal of the marriage-law will wipe off a reproach from the body of Dissenters; that of having compromised their rights of conscience.

11. Because the Society of Friends, so long ago as 1752, procured a recognition of the validity of their marriages.

12. Because the times demand that Dissenters should exhibit 'proper feeling and becoming energy.'

13. Because the subject has been brought before the Legislature by the Unitarians, and after full discussion in both houses, the *principle* has been conceded, on which an efficient measure of relief may be founded.

14. Because, the way having been thus prepared by others, Orthodox Dissenters will be inexcusable, if they do not take the necessary steps to obtain a redress of the 'intolerable' grievance.

These reasons, it will be seen, are exclusively addressed to Dissenters. They are reasons why *they* 'should not submit', &c.; not reasons why they should be relieved. We should have liked better to see the reasons for an alteration of the law, stated in a form adapted to weigh with the Legislature. The first four might be used for this purpose, as a fair ground of argument. Nos. 8 and 9 are substantially the same as 2 and 3. Nos. 11 and 13 are considerations which might be fairly pleaded; although not direct arguments. But Nos. 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, and 14, being merely *ad homines*, are better adapted to excite, than to convince.

Art. IX. *The Parents' Cabinet of Amusement and Instruction*. No. I. 18mo. 6d. London, 1832.

A PLEASING tale of animal biography, a 'walk in the garden after a shower', (comprising a dialogue on natural history,) and a fable in verse, form the contents of this first Number of a periodical supply of reading for the juvenile members of the family. *Ours* report very

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favourably of the attractive and 'interesting' quality of this specimen. We shall watch the progress of the work, which, if competently conducted, will deserve success. There are wood-cuts.

Art. X. *Useful Geometry, practically exemplified by a Series of Diagrams*, with clear and concise Directions; showing the construction, division, inscribing, circumscribing, and proportions of Plane Figures; calculated to assist the young beginner, and every one who uses the Rule, the Square, and the Compasses. With a Vocabulary, explaining in familiar words the scientific meaning of Technical Terms. By Charles Taylor, 12mo, pp. 174. Price 5s. London, 1832.

'To the adept,' remarks the author, 'already conversant with the principles of mathematical investigation, this volume will offer few attractions;' and at the same time that we subscribe to this modest disclaimer, we feel bound to recommend this little work to that class for which it is intended. Although an A.M. of Cambridge or a professor of the Mathematics scorns all rules but such as he can himself arrive at by regular steps, the practical mechanic, heedless of the ratiocinative parts of Geometry, looks only to working his problems by the simplest rules, of which he is often so far from understanding the *rationale*, that he is not able to define them. To such men as these, Mr. Taylor's book will be a valuable acquisition, since his rules, at the same time that they can be regularly proved, are adapted to the comprehension of the artificer.

Some of the rules are exceedingly neat; in particular, the 26th, (the 22d of the first book,) which is one of those towards which lazy school boys entertain no slight aversion. The rules are principally derived from Euclid, but are interspersed with some from the French mathematicians, and some which are given at Cambridge. The vocabulary is by no means the inferior part of the work. Occasionally, there may be need to turn to two or three different pages in order to make out one explanation; but this, the only fault, is almost impossible to be avoided, and will be overcome as soon as the student has made himself master of a few of the most essential terms.

For the sake, then, as well of the mechanic as of the author, we hope that this work will meet with extensive circulation, since to those who cannot compass Euclid and Legendre, we cannot recommend a more suitable instructor than 'Useful Geometry.'

Art. XI. *Landscape Illustrations of the Prose and Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* With Portraits of the principal Female Characters. Sm. 8vo. Parts I. to III. 2s. 6d. each. London, 1832.

We have already noticed with the commendation it deserves, the quarto series of these Landscape Illustrations, containing views of some of the most romantic and interesting scenery in the north country

and the border. The attractive novelty of this edition, is the series of characteristic portraits of the principal female characters of the novels and poems. New plates also are to be given, illustrative of the poetical works of the great Magician, whose wand, alas ! is now broken. The work is extremely well got up ; and five such plates for 2s. 6d. is a cheap bargain for the public. If the series fulfils the promise of the early Numbers, it will form one of the prettiest works for the drawing-room or boudoir that we have lately seen. Flora Macdonald is a lofty, commanding, beautiful creature ; but Rose will be the favourite with most persons :—her only fault is, the upper lip is somewhat too pointed. The character of ingenuousness is very happily expressed.

ART. XII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

A letter from a Correspondent in China, to the Editor of the Asiatic Journal, inserted in the last Number, thus refers to the results of Mr. Gutzlaff's voyage referred to at page 198 of our Sept. No.—“ I particularly wished to call your attention to a growing desire, among the commercial community at Canton, to open some intercourse with the regions to the north and eastward of us. The voyage of Mr. Charles Gutzlaff, in a Siamese junk, up to Teën-tsin and Kinchow, on the eastern side of the Great Wall, has been the occasion of calling people's attention to the subject. He is learned chiefly in the Fuk-keën dialect of the Chinese Language ; and the native traders from Singapore to Pekin, Corea, and Japan, &c., are almost exclusively Fuk-keën men. It seems greatly desirable that Christian merchants should persevere in annually sending one or more ships to the northward.”

The Colombo Journal of Feb. 6, announces that a *mail-coach* has been started between Colombo and Candy ; the first scheme of the kind that has been attempted in our Indian possessions. (*Asiatic Journal, Sept.*)

The Cabinet Annual Register for the present year is in its progress, with very considerable improvements.

In the press, Practical Treatise on the Growth of Cucumbers. By John Weeden, upwards of Twenty-one Years Gardener, &c. to R. H. Cox, Esq. of Hillingdon House, Uxbridge.

In the press, “ New Gil Blas ;” or, “ Pedro of Penafior.” In 3 vols. post 8vo. By the Author of “ Spain in 1830.”

In the press, History of the Revolution in England, in 1688. By the Rt. Hon. Sir James Mackintosh. 1 Vol. 4to.

The Second Volume of the Friends' Library, now in the press, will consist of the Life and Travels of Thomas Chalkley. The Journals, or Extracts from them, of Edmundson, Ellwood, Fox, Richardson, Gough, &c. &c. are to follow in succession.

Mr. Prout proposes to publish by subscription one volume, super-

royal folio, containing fifty Architectural and Picturesque Subjects, in Flanders and Germany, to be drawn on stone by himself, and printed on grey paper, touched with white, as Fac-Similes of his Sketches made on the Spot. The size, sixteen inches by eleven inches. A few copies will be printed on India paper. The volume to be completed by Christmas next, and delivered neatly half-bound, interleaved, and lettered.

Preparing for publication, the *Epistle to the Hebrews: a new Translation with Marginal References and Notes.*

Mr. Harrison, Author of "*Tales of a Physician*", "*The Humourist*", &c. is preparing for publication a new Annual, entitled "*Christmas Tales, Historical and Domestic*;" illustrated with engravings executed by Charles Heath, Bacon, Engleheart, and Rolls. The volume, aiming at the amusement of the social circle and the inculcation of moral and religious truth, will consist of a series of Original Tales, in prose, some of which, founded on historical fact, are designed to illustrate the characters of persons who have played prominent parts in the great theatre of the world, while others attempt to depict feelings and events which spring out of domestic life.

Lord and Lady Nugent will shortly publish a work under the title of "*Legends of the Library at Lilies.*"

The following Annuals will appear early in October:—

Heath's Picturesque Annual for 1833; containing twenty-six beautifully finished plates, executed by the first engravers, under the exclusive direction of Mr. Charles Heath, from drawings by Clarkson Stanfield, Esq.; with Travelling Sketches on the Rhine, in Belgium, and in Holland, by Leitch Ritchie, Esq. In rose-coloured morocco.

The Keepsake for 1833. In crimson silk. 250 Copies only will be printed on large paper.

The Literary Souvenir for 1833. Edited by Alaric A. Watts. Embellished with highly finished line-engravings by eminent artists. In Turkey morocco.

The New Year's Gift and Juvenile Souvenir for 1833. Edited by Mrs. Alaric A. Watts. Containing a variety of highly finished line-engravings.

On October 31st will be published, in quarto, elegantly bound, Fisher's Drawing-Room Scrap-Book for 1833, with Poetical Illustrations by L. E. L.; containing thirty-six highly finished plates.

Early in November will be published, The Missionary Annual for 1833. Edited by the Rev. W. Ellis. The Missionary Annual will comprise original contributions, in prose and verse, on subjects connected with the highest interests of religion; accounts, either original or selected from authentic sources, of the progress of Christianity in the world, with illustrations of its influence on individuals and communities; geographical and other notices of existing Missionary Stations; and descriptions of the manners, customs, superstitions, ceremonies, idols, &c. of the various tribes among which Christian

Missions have been established. The volume will be embellished with sixteen engravings on wood, the execution of which, it is presumed, will be found equal to any specimens of the art on behalf of which the patronage of the public has yet been solicited.

Early in October will be published, *The Landscape Annual for 1833*, being the Fourth Volume of the *Tourist in Italy*, illustrated with twenty-six engravings, from drawings by J. D. Harding, Esq.; the literary department by Thomas Roscoe, Esq. The fourth volume of the *Landscape Annual* will conclude the *Tour of Italy*, forming a separate work complete in itself, as well as an integral portion in the general series of this publication. The ingenious and talented illustrator, Mr. J. D. Harding, after traversing the eastern frontiers, from the Garigliano to the wilder coasts of Genoa, and, crossing the *Magra* at *La Spezia*, next proceeded to explore the magnificent mountain scenery round *Aösta*, which has supplied views as sublime and imposing as are to be found in any other part of this classic country; and no pains or expense have been spared to display, by the magic powers of the pencil and the graver, the same scenery before the eye of a discerning British public.

Shortly will be published, *The Emigrant's Tale*, with other Poems; by James Bird, Author of "*Framlingham*", &c.

Proposals are issued for publishing by subscription, *Notitiæ Ludæ*, or *Notices of Louth*, *agro Linc.* To be embellished with engravings.

Nearly ready, in one volume 8vo, with engravings, *The History of the Scottish Church*, Rotterdam; to which are subjoined, *Notices of the other British Churches in the Netherlands*, and a *Brief View of the Dutch Ecclesiastical Establishment*. By the Rev. W. Stevens, M.A., Junior Minister of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam. This work, drawn up from original and hitherto unpublished documents, will be found to contain several interesting memorials of our continental churches, and also a chronological catalogue of all the stated British ministers in Holland from the sixteenth century to the present time.

Dr. Adam Clarke.—We are given to understand, that the late Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke had written an account of his own Life, with the design of its being published after his decease, and that it will immediately be put to press, with a continuation to the time of his decease by a member of his own family.

Capt. Head's *Overland Journey from India* is now nearly ready for publication, in large folio, with elegant Plates illustrative of India, Arabian and Egyptian Scenery, and accompanied by accurate Plans and Maps. This work will not only form a complete and highly interesting Guide-book to the Traveller from Bombay to Alexandria, but will gratify the Merchant and the Politician by showing the practicability and expediency of having, by the Red Sea, a steam communication with our Eastern possessions, and the consequent means of defending them from Russian Invasion to which they are at present exposed.

Mr. Taylor has a *Life of Cowper* nearly ready for publication, which will contain a more complete view of the Poet's religious character than has hitherto been given to the public; together with a variety of interesting Information respecting some parts of his personal history, not before generally known or correctly appreciated. To be comprised in one volume, demy 8vo.

The First Number of the Parents' Cabinet of Amusement and Instruction, forming a monthly series of highly useful and interesting reading for young people, will appear in a few days. This attractive work will be published at such a moderate price, as to be within the reach of all classes of the community.

Friendship's Offering (the oldest but *one* of the English Annuals) has this season added the talent and interest of the Winter's Wreath to its other attractions,—the latter work being now combined with it. It will appear on the 1st of November in its usual style of elegant binding, and with a grand array of highly finished Engravings by the first Artists, while its carefully selected literature will comprise Contributions from the most popular and eminent writers, thus maintaining the high character of excellence for which this Annual has always been distinguished.

The Comic Offering, edited by Miss Sheridan, will be published at the same time, bound in its uniquely Embossed Morocco Cover, and Embellished with upwards of sixty most humorous designs by various Comic Artists, and enriched with facetious Contributions by the principal Female and other talented writers of the day.

We understand that the new volume of the Continental Annual is in a state of forwardness, and will this season appear with attractions which no other Annual can possibly exceed, not only in the superiority of its embellishments, which are being engraved in the highest style of the art, from Original Drawings and Paintings by Roberts and Parris, but in its Literature, which is exclusively contributed by the talented Author of "*Pelham*," "*Eugene Aram*," &c. &c. The new and beautiful style of the binding will also be in accordance with its other attractions.

ART. XIII. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

THEOLOGY.

The Edifying Preacher, a Sermon, preached at Broadmead, Bristol, on Thursday, June 28th, 1832, to the Students of the Bristol Education Society, at the Anniversary of the Institution, by James Simmons, of Olney. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

The Death of Useful Members of Society lamented and improved; a Sermon, occasioned by the death of Joseph Thackeray, Esq., M.D., preached on the Lord's Day, July 15th, 1832, at the Old Meeting House, Bedford, by Samuel Hillyard, 8vo, 1s.

Family Lecturer, consisting of short Expositions of Scripture; principally designed for the use of Families. By the Rev. Frederick Russell, A.M., of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, and Assistant Preacher at St. Michael's Church, Southampton. Part I. 8vo. 1s. 6d. To be continued every three months.

Counsels to the Young, by the Rev. John Morrison, D.D. 32mo. 1s. cloth.

The whole works of the Rev. John Howe carefully revised. With Life by Dr. Calamy. In one volume, royal 8vo. Price 2l. 2s. cloth.

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR NOVEMBER, 1832.

Art. I. *The Life and Pontificate of Gregory the Seventh.* By Sir Roger Greisley, Bart. F.A.S. 8vo. pp. xvi. 372. Price 12s. London, 1832.

TO Gregory the Seventh, 'the Apostolic Lord Hildebrand', is ascribed the first conception of the ambitious design of reciprocally converting a mere fief of the empire into a universal sovereignty, and the western empire itself into a fief of the Church. This ambitious monk, Gibbon remarks, in his oracular way, 'may be adored or detested as the founder of the Papal monarchy'; and Sir Roger Greisley has been induced to select the life and pontificate of Gregory VII. as the subject of biographical illustration, by regarding it as the true era of the papal usurpation.

'A simple monk, emerging from his cloister, and assuming the direction of the public affairs of the Roman Catholic Church, surmounted every obstacle, and opened a way to his successors, by which they might place themselves in the sphere of angels and of gods. It was Gregory who taught the Leos, and Sixtuses, and Piuses, how to govern people without the force of arms; a lesson hitherto neither forgotten nor abandoned. A sound but subtle policy, inflexible constancy, unshaken courage, placed the popes upon that throne from which they have never, but for a feverish moment, been deposed. Since their restoration, the blind and idle credulity of the people, which served them as a footstool, has increased; (?) and had the French nation yielded to that yoke which the Jesuits would have imposed upon it, the days of excommunication and dethronements would have been revived.'

p. xiv.

In this view of Hildebrand's aim and achievements, it seems to us, that not a little romance has blended itself with genuine history. M. Sismondi, in his recent sketch of the History of the Italian Republics, has drawn a fancy portrait of this Pontiff in the same dramatic costume; representing him as having con-

ceived in his solitude at Clugni, 'the plan of revolution by which 'he proposed to himself the subjugation of the world to the sacerdotal power. In the universe he saw but God, the priest his 'sole minister, and mankind obedient. He designed that the 'whole priesthood should be moved by one single will, should 'know only one passion,—that of establishing the power of Heaven. Hildebrand accomplished, at least for a time, the 'immense revolution which he had undertaken: he changed the 'spirit of the popedom, of the clergy, and the people; and he 'enslaved kings.'—This is the very poetry of biography, and soars far above the sobriety of narrative. Too much is referred to the individual, too little to the circumstances upon which he was thrown, and the chain of causes in which he was but a link; and religion, which was but the accident, is made to appear as the mainspring of conduct, dictated by an ambition purely secular.

The long contest between the emperors and the popes was, in great measure, a national quarrel. Occasionally it assumed the form of a personal struggle for empire, as between Hildebrand and Henry; but its original and permanent character was that of a war between nations,—Germany and Lombardy against Italy and Rome. In seeking to free spiritual offices from lay influence, the Popes were, in other words, striving to emancipate domestic institutions from foreign influence,—the Italian Church from German supremacy; and not only so, but, whether designedly or not, they were maintaining the cause of municipal freedom against the Gothic feudalism.

'The pope and the clergy', Sir Roger Greisley remarks, 'being considered as the source and support of the Roman institutions, acquired thereby a great ascendancy in those cities where popular governments prevailed; and when the emperor became opposed to the pope, he was *of course* supported by the Lombard counts and marquesses. Such, in my opinion, were the causes which prolonged the struggle between the empire and the papacy, and which have been hitherto but superficially considered.' p. xiii.

This statement is quite correct; and we only regret that our Author has not made more use of that which he acknowledges to be the true key to the history of this period. Strangely will it sound to Protestant ears, to hear the Papal theocracy spoken of as the ally of civil liberty. No two characters may seem more incompatible, than the Pope and the Patriot. And yet, how often has the champion of public liberty proved to be the domestic oppressor! It is, however, undeniable, that the Romish Church, with all its corruptions and iniquities, was, at one time, the only power that could counterbalance the despotism of the sword; the only check upon the tyranny of kings and nobles; the only bul-

wark against the tide of barbarism that was constantly flowing in from the north. 'The cause of the Church was, under such circumstances, the cause of the people. Coleridge has justly remarked, that 'under the fostering wings of the Church, the class 'of free citizens and burghers were reared; and that to the feudal 'system we owe the forms, to the Church the *substance* of our 'liberty.'* The feudal barons of King John, to whom we are indebted for Magna Charta, were as great tyrants in their petty spheres, as the prelates and pontiffs who extorted concessions equally favourable to municipal rights from barbarian kings and emperors; and if to the former we owe the limitation of monarchical prerogative, to the latter we are not less indebted for the mitigation of the feudal yoke. In those dark times, as the present Writer acknowledges,

'The supreme secular authority was certainly, in some manner, so tempered by the ecclesiastical as to interfere between the oppressor and his victim; and religion became the refuge of the disconsolate and afflicted, who groaned under the insupportable yoke of tyrants: and if Gregory had been contented with endeavouring to extend the blessings of spiritual Christianity to the world, his memory would have been blessed by countless generations, and his immoderate ambition would in great part have been forgiven.' p. 240.

The historian of those times, (and the remark will almost apply to the reader of its history,) ought to be neither a Papist nor a Protestant, or (rare attainment!) an enlightened believer superior to the prejudices of either party. Gibbon possessed the *inferior* qualification of neutral belief; and it has rendered his work, upon the whole, the most impartial account of the dark ages, perhaps, that exists. In identifying Christianity with its corruptions, he fell into a common error; but, hating priestcraft, he was not solicitous to vindicate the honour of religion by palliating the enormities committed in its name; nor was he influenced by that Protestant zeal which has led many pious persons to resolve all forms of tyranny, civil and ecclesiastical, into one, and to call the hieroglyphic Popery. The fact is, that the idolatrous Church had bowed down at the altars of the Romish superstition, ages before the yoke of the papal power was fastened upon her neck. Popery is an enormous spiritual crime: it has been too exclusively regarded as a political tyrant or—bugbear. We are taught to shudder less at its corruptions than at its cruelties, and to rest our Protestant faith upon the book of martyrs. Nay, our feelings are led to take part with tyrants and barbarians, when we read of their being made to succumb to the power of the Church; and the Teutonic Emperor doing penance barefoot for

* Constitution of Church and State, p. 74.

three days in the open court of a castle, in the depth of winter, before he was admitted into the presence of the haughty pontiff, obtains honourable mention in the records of the martyrologist ! Yet, Henry rendered himself deserving of contempt, rather than of pity, by thus exposing himself to the insults of an ungenerous enemy ; and in the end, that proud Monk was shorn of his power, and died in exile. It is a notable mistake that identifies or confounds the Romish superstition with the secular power of the Papacy, which was but as it were the accident of Popery, and, in comparison of its spiritual usurpation, harmless. True it is, that ' the Catholic religion, as it exists in Italy, is nothing more than ' the triumph of fraud over ignorance and blindness ' ; and that ignorance and blindness, the Romish Church has been guilty of fostering in order to perpetuate its triumph. But it was originally a fraud practised, not upon mere passive ignorance, but upon savage ignorance and Gothic barbarism ; it was a spell of thralldom cast upon unbridled power, a fraud upon a maniac, a chain upon a beast of the forest ; the only expedient left for the safety of society, after the religion of Christ had with its purity lost its pristine energy, and the sword of the Spirit had fallen from the hands of the Church.

In fixing upon the pontificate of Gregory VII. as the era of the papal power, we must recollect that a thousand years had rolled away from the birth of Christianity, when Hildebrand first conceived the bold project ascribed to him, of establishing a sacerdotal monarchy. What then was the previous state of the civilized world, and what causes had brought it into a condition which made that monstrous evil, sacerdotal power, a temporary and partial good, as the antagonist of greater evils ? The power of the Popes could not be the cause of a state of things that preceded its own existence, and out of which it sprang. If we trace back its origin to the grant of the Carlovingian princes, or even to the edict of Justinian, we have still to push back the inquiry into antecedent history, in order to judge of the real character of those transactions ; and we have only gained an earlier date, without arriving at any thing that can be called a cause of the papal usurpation. We can trace, with tolerable distinctness, the stages of declension in the history of the great Christian apostacy, and can assign the causes of the corruption of Christianity ; but the temporal monarchy of the Popes, is little more than an historic phantom, which scarcely appears on the contracted stage of Western empire, than it vanishes again with equal suddenness. The date of its rise and its true origin rank among the most debateable and warmly contested points of history. The Romanists are solicitous to antedate it, in order to magnify the pre-scriptive claims and honours of their Church ; and the Protestants have credulously adopted their representations, because they seemed

to tally with their own schemes of interpreting prophecy. But historic fact will not bear out the hypotheses of either. Up to the eleventh century, the papal supremacy was purely ecclesiastical, as well as confined within very narrow boundaries; and the Romish bishop was, at most, only the lord mayor of the city of Rome, which had sunk into the capital of a duchy of the Byzantine empire. Hildebrand, who seemed to have succeeded, at one time, in establishing the sovereignty of Rome, and in converting the German kingdom into a fief of the Church, lived to see his excommunications despised and his throne subverted. His successors, availing themselves of the weakness and embarrassments of the Saxon emperors of Germany, prosecuted the schemes of sacerdotal ambition; and towards the close of the twelfth century, the execrable Innocent III. raised the papal power to a height scarcely dreamed of by his predecessors. But in the following century, the Popes again appear as exiles and fugitives, driven from the throne by their Roman subjects, the victims of imperial persecution or popular insurrection, their authority disputed, their persons often endangered. For more than seventy years, Avignon offered an asylum to the expatriated heads of the Western Church. Thus, the ideal monarchy projected by Gregory VII. in the eleventh century, and, after a period of conflict and vicissitude, in some measure realized by Innocent III. in the twelfth, had ceased to exist in the fourteenth; and it was not till after a long interval, that Martin V., early in the fifteenth, again gave to Rome a pontifical sovereign. But already their spiritual power was beginning to decline, by the time they had made themselves absolute masters of the city of Rome; and the dream of universal empire melted away, as successive pontiffs turned their ambition to building mountains of marble and amassing the treasures of art. By degrees, the papal power has dwindled down to a small Italian lordship, comprising little more than two millions and a half of subjects, with a revenue of £1,200,000, and an army of 6000. And yet, we still talk of the throne of the popes! And Sir Roger Greisley has written his life of Pope Hildebrand, in 'the hope that it may confirm the British public in that Protestant belief which our enlightened fathers established to the happiness and glory of this kingdom'!

Although unable to perceive the direct tendency and adaptation of the volume to subserve this excellent purpose, we readily admit that the portion of history which it illustrates, is replete with important instruction; and we shall attempt a brief outline of the leading events.

Hildebrand, the son of a citizen of Orvieto, was born in the city of Soana about the year 1020. Being destined, contrary to his own inclination, for the Church, he was sent, when still young,

to the monastery of Saint Mark on Mount Aventine, of which his uncle is stated to have been abbot. At the age of sixteen, he was removed from Rome to the then celebrated monastery of Clugni, over which St. Odilo presided; where he passed seven years in the study of moral philosophy and the canon law, and established a high reputation for severe morals and great ecclesiastical learning. He was only 24 years of age, when Saint Odilo sent him to Rome, to reform the monks of St. Paul (without the walls). There he formed a close intimacy with Gratian, Arch-priest of St. John (*ante Portam Latinam*), who afterwards *bought* the popedom, and reigned for a short time under the title of Gregory VI. Of this 'intrusive and simoniacal Pope,' Hildebrand became the secretary and attached partizan; and upon the deposition of his patron by the Emperor (Henry II.), he accompanied him into exile. Of the monastery of Clugni, their chosen asylum, Hildebrand subsequently obtained the priorship; and the deposed Pope died shortly afterwards in this retreat, leaving Hildebrand 'the heir to his resentment and his wealth.' Clement II., who was raised to the papal chair by the Emperor in the place of Gregory VI., was carried off by poison in the following year. Damasus II., his successor, shared the same fate. And the death of each is attributed to an ex-pope of the Tusculan family, Benedict IX., the predecessor of Gratian, and who had been driven from the throne by the indignant Romans on account of his unbridled licentiousness and cruelty. Such were the supreme Pastors of the Latin Church in the eleventh century!

Of this same Benedict, Hildebrand was the friend and colleague; and we find him at a subsequent period entering into secret correspondence with the holy Poisoner, for the purpose of getting rid of a third Pope, Leo IX., by instigating him to undertake a military expedition against the Normans in the South of Italy, with whom they in the mean time entered into a secret treaty. The poor old Pontiff, deserted by his own troops, was beaten in the first encounter, and taken prisoner. His Roman subjects appear to have taken no steps to procure his liberty; and Hildebrand, who had been raised to the dignity of Cardinal by the man he had thus betrayed, is represented as affecting to disapprove of his warlike proceedings. The Normans, however, having made terms with their prisoner, escorted him back to Rome, where he died 'overwhelmed with sorrow and affliction,'—if, indeed, he escaped the fate of his predecessors. Benedict now for the third or fourth time reascended the pontifical throne from which he had been driven; but Hildebrand, whether disgusted with his vindictive and reckless proceedings, or deeming it impolitic to identify himself with a man obnoxious alike to the Emperor and to the Roman people, repaired to Germany, to

intrigue for the nomination of a new pontiff. He there succeeded in insinuating himself into the confidence of the Emperor, and returned to Rome with an imperial *congé d'élire*, conducting the prelate he had himself recommended, Gebeardus, Bishop of Aichstet, who, being canonically elected, was consecrated pope by the name of Victor II. in April 1055. In thus lending his influence to raise a German prelate to the Roman see, Hildebrand was acting in flagrant contradiction of his former principles of policy, but doubtless without any deviation from his ultimate purpose. His object was, in the first instance, to conciliate the Emperor, and to lay asleep his suspicions till his own plans were ripe.

Benedict IX. is reported to have died most opportunely at the same time that Gebeardus reached Rome. It was not long before the good German found it convenient to send Cardinal Hildebrand on a transalpine mission. During his absence, while Victor was residing at Florence, where he had been holding a council, an awkward circumstance occurred. The Pope, while celebrating mass, was by some means apprised that the holy chalice was poisoned; and the culprit, a sub-deacon, is moreover reported to have confessed his detected crime with bitter lamentations. According to Bishop Bennone, a declared enemy of Hildebrand, and therefore not an unexceptionable authority, 'the sub-deacon was a certain Bensutus, an intimate friend of the late Benedict IX. and of Hildebrand; and who, enjoying the confidence of the powerful men of his time, had already poisoned six popes almost consecutively, with the connivance of Hildebrand.' Victor 'pardoned the delinquent, out of respect to the power and influence of his friends'; and in the following year, recalled Hildebrand, and placed him about his person; on the same principle, perhaps, that travellers in some countries have been recommended to trust their fire-arms to guides of suspicious character, as the best security against being robbed by them. This reminds us of the conduct of Ali Bey (Badhia) towards the chief of the holy well at Mecca, the official poisoner of those whom the Shereef wishes to get rid of; for, as it was deemed impious not to accept the miraculous water at his hands, this person became the arbiter of the lives of his visitors. 'I myself treated this traitor,' says Ali Bey, 'with the greatest marks of confidence. I accepted his water and his entertainments with an unalterable serenity and coolness. I took the precaution, however, to keep always in my pocket three doses of vitriolated zinc, to take the instant I should perceive the least indication of treason.' This Traveller asserts, that 'from time immemorial, the sultan-shereefs had maintained a poisoner at their court'; and that this was so well known both at Cairo and at Constantinople, that the divan had repeatedly sent on pilgrimage to Mecca, pashas and other persons,

to be disposed of in this Italian manner. Mecca and Rome are both holy cities, and very much the same things are practised at both: the chief difference lies in names, dialect, and costume.

Soon after the recal of Hildebrand, Pope Victor was summoned by the request of the Emperor into Germany; and while he was there, Henry II. expired in his arms. Not long after his return, Victor himself died. 'The Romans, weary of a German Pope, 'had long prayed for his destruction'; but whether his life was shortened by violence, does not appear. Hildebrand was at Florence at the time,—his present Biographer says, 'under *surveil-lance*', but intriguing with his partisans at Rome. The time was not yet come, however, for his obtaining the object of his ambition. The brother of the Duke of Tuscany was unanimously proclaimed Pope, with great rejoicings, and assumed the title of Stephen IX. (X. ?) He died suddenly in the May of the following year, 1058. Hildebrand was absent on urgent business in Germany, and does not seem to have been prepared for the event. The Romans proceeded immediately to choose a pope for themselves, who was styled Benedict X. Hildebrand was met on his return with intelligence of this election; and immediately resolved upon the bold measure of assembling a council at Siena, in concert with Duke Godfrey, at which the Bishop of Florence was raised to the pontifical dignity. Supported by a Tuscan army, he then marched towards Rome with the pope elect; and having frightened the Roman pontiff into abdication and penitence, caused Nicholas II. to be consecrated as the true and legitimate successor to the throne of St. Peter. Benedict died, of course, the next year, of grief or some other cause; and his party, consisting of a powerful Roman faction which included many noble families, took refuge in the Campagna, in their respective strong-holds, where they were attacked in detail by the Papal troops, and almost exterminated. Of all these transactions, Archdeacon Hildebrand appears to have been the director. Nicholas II. expired in June 1061, making the tenth pontiff who had died within fifteen years. We shall now avail ourselves of Sir Roger Greisley's narrative.

'The turbulent spirit of the nobility and people was scarcely appeased in Rome, when the death of the pontiff was announced. Suddenly a great number of persons of all descriptions assembled, and agreed to send a deputation to the young king, Henry; charged with bearing him a crown of gold, and the dignity of Roman Patrician. The heads of this deputation were the Counts of Tusculum and Galeria, who then governed the political affairs of Rome. The knowledge of this deputation coming to Henry, he assembled a council of bishops at Basle, where he received it; and, by common consent, Cadolau, Bishop of Parma, and chancellor of the Empire, was elected pontiff, as Honorius II. He himself afterwards accepted the gifts and honours which had been sent him by the Roman people.

' Whilst these scenes were being acted in Germany, Hildebrand was not idle. He assembled all the cardinals and people who were favourable to him, and proclaimed Anselmo da Badagio, Bishop of Lucca, as pope. Thus there were already two rival popes, one attached to the imperial party, the other to that of Godfrey and Hildebrand; both of noble birth and moderate abilities: but Anselmo was destitute of that elevation of mind which is requisite for governing, and was only capable of executing the designs of others. Cadolaus, on the other hand, son of the Count of Sabulano, having been left an orphan, had learned to arrive at the highest ecclesiastical preferment by dexterity and boldness; and was, undoubtedly, one of the ablest men of his time.

' The two parties being thus separated, and Hildebrand having destroyed every remnant of popular government in the city, had now become the supreme regulator of spiritual and temporal matters in the Roman state; and no one dared to contradict his will. He sent an embassy to the imperial court, to acquaint Henry with the election of Anselmo at Rome under his auspices; and of his readiness to support him with the sword, if necessary. The cardinal deputy was not received by the emperor; and nothing was left but to have recourse to arms. Cadolaus got together an army of Germans and Italians, amongst whom were included all the Roman nobility, and departed for Italy. Hildebrand armed the lower orders at Rome, who seconded him wonderfully; sought allies in the Normans and from Tuscany; and lost no time in seating on the throne of St. Peter his beloved Anselmo, by the name of Alexander II.; a name worthy of a pope who had gained his dignity by conquest.

' Matters were at this point when Benzone, Bishop of Alba, presented himself at Rome on the part of Cadolaus, intimating to Alexander that he must descend from the throne which he had usurped. He reminded him of the ancient customs, and the decree of Nicholas himself, which required the approbation of the emperor for the legitimate inauguration of any pope. But Hildebrand silenced and compelled him to leave Rome. Cardinal Bennone here relates, that Alexander II., immediately on his enthronement, preached to the people, that he was willing to suspend the exercise of his functions until he had obtained the emperor's approbation; at which the enraged Hildebrand struck him, and shut him up in his apartments to repent and fast.

' Cadolaus now lost no time; but, informed of the unfavourable result of the Bishop of Alba's mission, marched straight to Rome, with an army full of enterprise and courage. On his arrival, he encamped in the neighbourhood of the city, and prepared for the most obstinate conflict. Hildebrand issued from the gates at the head of the infuriated multitude, and engaged with his rival on the plains of Nero, on the 14th of April, 1062. The battle was long and bloody; but the people, at length broken, sought safety in flight. The victorious Cadolaus entered Rome, occupied its fortified posts, and was on the point of enjoying the fruits of his victory, when he heard that Hildebrand and Duke Godfrey were advancing with a powerful army to renew the attack. He was not in a condition for a fresh encounter, after a day on which he had already lost the flower of his troops; but

he shut himself up in the city, with all his forces, with the determination to sustain a siege. Godfrey, then assaulting the city on all sides, overcame every obstacle; and Cadolaus, wishing to save himself, resolved to fly. The Tuscan army then invaded all the ancient Roman duchy, and conquered the hostile barons, amongst whom the Crescenzi and a certain Peter Leo, who, from a Jew, had become one of the most powerful lords, were distinguished. Many of their friends passed under the dominion of Godfrey; and the Dukes of Camerino and Spoleto were not exempt from his invasion. Rome, thus become the theatre of war, was a prey to all the horrors of civil contests. The populace, unloosed, forgave no one whom they met of an opposite faction; and Hildebrand could scarcely satisfy his thirst for blood. Alexander II. remained in possession of the throne, which he only nominally enjoyed.

'Hymns of glory and jubilee were offered up to Hildebrand after his victory, and his courtiers strove to exalt him to the skies.'

pp. 141—145.

Cadolaus was not yet subdued. Retiring to Parma, he collected a new army, by the assistance of the bishops of Lombardy, and in the following year, moved towards Rome, where he occupied the Leonine part of the city without opposition. Of the Roman nobility, the larger portion were in his favour; but Hildebrand had on his side a fanatical populace and the Tuscan army of Duke Godfrey. Cadolaus was defeated, and shut himself up with the son of the Prefect in the Castle of St. Angelo, where for two years he maintained himself. But at length, he escaped to Lombardy, leaving Hildebrand and Duke Godfrey masters of Rome. Meanwhile Pope Alexander, in whose name they ruled and ravaged, quietly remained at Lucca, far from the scene of war and violence. This Pope, a mere tool in the hands of the daring and ambitious Hildebrand, enjoyed an easy and indolent reign in the midst of public commotions, for the unusually long period of twelve years. Abandoning himself to pomp and pleasure, he surrendered the cares of government to those who had bestowed it upon him. Yet even *his* death, which took place in April 1073, is believed to have been unfairly hastened; and Bishop Benzone asserts, that it was brought about by means of Hildebrand and the above-mentioned deacon Benzuto, the Poisoner, who 'opened his veins.' It is at least certain, that, on the day after his death, in contempt of the canons which prohibited such hurried elections, Hildebrand was tumultuously elected Pope by the Roman populace, among whom he had distributed large sums of money; and, supported by the soldiers of the Countess Matilda, he accepted or assumed the pontifical dignity, taking the title of Gregory VII. in memory of Gregory VI., his early patron. To Henry, King of Germany, the self-made Pontiff represented, that he had been elected by the clergy and people against his own will, and that he should not have allowed

himself to be forced to undergo ordination, had he not been previously assured that the King and Princes of Germany had approved of it. With this monstrous falsehood, Henry was so far pacified that he sent an episcopal commissioner to assist, in the royal name, at the consecration of the papal usurper, which took place in June 1073. He is said to have been the last pope consecrated by the royal authority ; but this is clearly erroneous.

Gregory VII., as we must now call him, had not waited for this ratification of his title, to exercise the pontifical authority in its fullest extent. In fact, he had long held the reins of government as the actual minister of his predecessor. But no sooner had he become the legitimate Pope, than he began to develop his ambition, his energy, and his fanaticism or wickedness in all their force. He might now seem to have attained the object of all his intrigues, the summit of his hopes ; but his was no ordinary ambition that could content itself with the pageant of the papacy. The Pontiff of the Latin Church and Lord of Rome aspired to revive in another form the Roman empire ; and the pontifical dignity was, in his view, but the stepping-stone to the conquest he meditated. He had the example of Mohammed before him, and he did not scruple to have recourse to the same means—the sword : nay, he even called in the sword of the Saracen, for of Saracens the army of the great Norman brigand, Robert Guiscard, was in great measure composed.

But, high as was the aim, wide as was the range of this Great Monk's ambition, there was still a littleness in his project, arising from the pure selfishness of his object. He availed himself unscrupulously of all the instrumentality which the circumstances of the times supplied ; and knew how to turn to account, in prosecuting his schemes, the feuds of the Roman nobles, the Italian hatred of the German and the Lombard, the dread of the imperial power, the forged authority of St. Peter, the decrees of suborned councils, the hired support of a fanatical populace, the intrigues of the monk, and the sword of the Norman. But, in employing these various means of prosecuting his ever shifting policy, the only respect in which he was consistent, was in seeking his own personal advancement. The quarrel between the empire and the holy see, between Germany and Rome, he found already begun, and he left it unfinished, and only inflamed by more bitter animosity. It supplied him with materials to work with ; but he appears, if we may forestall history in using the terms, now as the Ghibelline, now as the Guelf, and true to neither party. He affected to reform the Church, and waged war against simonists and married priests ; yet, he procured his own election to the pontificate by the most corrupt means, and the Church was scandalized by his intimacy with 'the ambitious and dissolute woman,' the Countess Matilda, who participated with

him in the administration of the Church. It is said to have been his object to make Rome the capital of religion, and empire, and civilization; and yet, when he found he could no longer place any confidence in the Roman people, he invited Robert Guiscard to execute his vengeance upon the city, with fire and sword; when, from the Lateran to the Colosseum, Rome became a mass of flames and ruins, and subjected to all the excesses of a brutal and triumphant soldiery. He had previously destroyed the spirit of the Roman barons, and weakened all that was left of the national strength. Nor was he more true to the interests of his own body, as an ecclesiastic, or to the cause of the Church. Priests and bishops found as little favour at his hands, when they opposed his schemes, as any other class; and his biographers, to account for his caprice and violence, which had probably no other source than his impetuous and imperious disposition, no other object than the consolidation of his own power, are driven to invent motives of a more profound and far-sighted policy, than there is reason to give him credit for.

‘There was not a bishop in the whole Catholic world, whom, if he failed in obedience, he did not reprove, threaten, suspend, or degrade; not one whom, if he obeyed, he did not invite to Rome, and make an accomplice in his enterprises. He had his monks, who flew from one corner of Europe to another, intermeddling in the councils, condemning, persecuting, and destroying priests. On this account, all the cardinals and bishops promoted by Gregory had previously been monks; and not unfrequently, he made monks on purpose to promote and invest them. It may frankly and correctly be said, that the papacy of Gregory was a campaign between the regular and secular clergy, for the destruction and annihilation of the latter.’ p. 264.

Sir Roger Greisley elsewhere represents Hildebrand as, ‘in fact, only an active instrument in the hands of the monks of that period, who aimed at universal dominion over the church and the whole world.’ Hildebrand was not a man to be made the instrument of any party; nor is it supposable that the monks had formed any definite aim of the kind. But it is true, that the policy of the Popes led them to favour and to secure the support of the regulars, their favourite ecclesiastical militia, as a check upon the hierarchy. Our Author cites high authority in pointing out ‘how great an influence and power the monkish congregations of every denomination had acquired; and how they defended the rights of the Roman court, which had released them from the yoke of the bishops.’

‘The bishoprics, the abbeys, and prebends were all at the disposal of the monks, good or bad, learned or ignorant, as they might be; and, if any secular priest wished for promotion, it was requisite for him to assume the cowl for a certain time, and conform to the monastic life. The Roman pontiff, sustained by their influence, was omnipo-

tent; every monk being a faithful satellite, who traversed every region and city without suspicion of treachery. Paolo Sarpi has preceded me in this observation: "They considered (that is, the fathers of the church) that it had been the great secret of the Roman pontiffs from the oldest times to preserve the primacy given them by Christ, to separate the bishops from the archbishops, and thus to make every one bound to defend them. It is perfectly clear that, after the year 600, the primacy of the apostolic see was supported by the Benedictine monks, and by the congregations of Clugni, Certosa, and others, until God raised up the mendicant orders, by which it has ever since been sustained till this day."

..... 'It was for Hildebrand, rising upon the spirit of the times, to place himself at the head of the people, and proclaim its liberties against the nobles, to open the monasteries and colleges to the inexhaustible phalanx of the multitude,—monks being always more servicable than slaves,—and to make the churches an asylum for malefactors.' pp. 183—185.

Hildebrand was the creature of the times: he did not create them. He was the quintessence of the spirit of the age; but he gave no new direction to the course of events. He was never at the head of the people: the multitude were never with him, except as swayed by fear or by bribery. He was not the first who insisted upon the celibacy of the priesthood: and though it formed part of the policy by which he worked, it can hardly be said with propriety, that 'it was his main object.' Upon this subject, the following paragraph is instructive.

'If we wish to ascertain the advantages which the Roman church derived from enforcing celibacy, we may refer to the discourse of Cardinal Rodolph Pius, in the Consistory of 1561, in presence of Paul IV., on the question of conceding to the French the use of the chalice in the Lord's Supper. "It is clear," said he, "if this point be yielded, there will be no end to the demands of the French in matters of religion. They will require matrimony for the priests, and the use of the vulgar tongue in administering the Sacrament. From the right of matrimony it will follow that, having houses, wives, and children, they will no longer depend on the pope, but on their prince; and love for their offspring will induce them to act prejudicially to the church. They will seek to make benefices hereditary; and in a short time the Holy See will be within the limits of Rome. Before celibacy was established, the Roman see drew no fruits from the other cities or districts: by that she became the patron of so many benefices, of which matrimony would soon deprive her. From the use of the vulgar tongue, every body would suppose that he was a theologian; the authority of the priests would be degraded, and heresy would attack every one."' pp. 322, 3.

Of Gregory's long contest with Henry IV., we shall not enter into the particulars, but refer our readers to the volume before us. Henry's abject humiliation was that of a fallen and desperate monarch, deserted by his own subjects; and it indicated less the

ascendancy of the Romish see, than the weakness of the divided empire. But Gregory's haughty conduct was as impolitic as it was the reverse of magnanimous; and it excited the greatest indignation among the bishops and nobles of Lombardy. It was a political error as well as an indecency, that he should

'have erected his tribunal in a fort that did not belong to him, in the company of a lady who gave employment to his detractors, and resolved, under such circumstances, to annul the sentence of one hundred and ten bishops recorded in the Lateran. Had he returned to his capital, and given audience to Henry before his synod, he might have forwarded his ambitious operations more skilfully,—have humbled his opponents, encouraged his friends, and spared, perhaps, a great subsequent effusion of blood.' p. 302.

As it was, it led to no result. 'The ascendancy of Gregory was on the wane, at the very time when he congratulated himself on having achieved a triumph; and the fortress of Canossa was as fatal to his ambition, as Cannæ had before been to that of Hannibal.' Henry re-assumed the ensigns of royalty; and notwithstanding his subsequent excommunication and deposition by the enraged Pontiff, three years after, his cause gained supporters. He assembled a council at Brixen in the Tyrol, at which Gregory was deposed, and Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, elected pontiff in his stead. The Antipope was joined, on his descent into Italy, by all the Lombard bishops with an army; and a large part of the nobility took the same side. The defeat and death of Rodolph, Henry's rival in the empire, left him at liberty to unite his troops with those of Guibert. From Ravenna, they marched together upon Rome, laying waste the patrimony of St. Peter; and Gregory's dominion was once more confined to his capital. Lucca and Siena declared for Henry; and in 1083, Rome itself, besieged by the army of the Emperor, began to waver in its allegiance to Gregory. Henry had already made himself master of the Leonine city and the Vatican, when a deputation invited him peaceably to enter the gates, while Gregory shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo. On the following day, Guibert was elected by the Roman people, and being duly consecrated, assumed the name of Clement III. 'In the holy temple of the Apostle, Henry received the imperial crown and the title of Augustus, from the new Pontiff and the people. The Emperor then ascended the capitol, and took up his residence as in his own capital.' The approach of Robert Guiscard at the head of his Norman banditti, induced him, however, to withdraw from Rome; and the new Pope retired to Siena. Henry's conduct on this occasion has been stigmatised as pusillanimous; but we have not the means of fairly estimating his reasons. He had gained his great object, by the act which ratified his imperial title; and he was probably anxious to make the best of his way to Germany. Gregory, liberated by the Norman army, sum-

moned his last council, from which, amid the ruins of the smoking city, and the curses of its inhabitants, he fulminated afresh his impotent excommunications against Henry and Guibert. He then retired, under the protection of Guiscard, to Salerno. There, in melancholy exile, his mind seems to have preyed upon itself. A famine had added pestilence to the horrors of civil war; and of that pestilence Gregory was among the first victims. He closed his career of crime on the 25th of May 1085, in the twelfth year of his pontificate and the 65th or 66th of his age. On the 17th of July, his atrocious ally, Robert Guiscard, expired before Cephalonia, ridding the earth of a brigand only less execrable than the Great Monk whose career we have been retracing.

And now where shall we look for the temporal sovereignty of the Popes,—for the Papal monarchy of which Gregory is represented to have been the founder? It cannot be said to have died with him, for it had melted away in his hands. Rome still acknowledged as its sovereign the German Cæsar, who received the crown of Italy at the hands of the Roman bishop, not in virtue of his pretended power to bestow crowns at his pleasure, but as ratifying the election of the Roman people, which was still deemed a requisite formality. As monarch of Germany and Lombardy, the title of the emperor was previously complete; but he was not the legitimate sovereign of the Roman empire, till he had been crowned by the primate in the old metropolis of the world. On this rested the Papal supremacy. But the temporal sovereignty of the Popes was not at this period established in Rome itself. Six and thirty of Gregory's successors, Gibbon tells us, 'maintained an unequal contest with the Romans: their age and dignity were often violated; and the churches, in the solemn rites of religion, were polluted with sedition and murder. The vanity of sacerdotal ambition is revealed in the involuntary confession, that one emperor was more tolerable than twenty.' Nor was even the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Roman bishop at this time universally admitted. The clergy of Milan, who had for two centuries contested the supremacy of Italy with the Roman pontiff and the archbishop of Ravenna, still maintained their independence; and in England, and even France, the papal supremacy was of a very equivocal description. William the Conqueror, although he invaded this country with the sanction of Pope Alexander and Hildebrand, peremptorily refused to let any of his bishops obey the summons to attend a synod at Rome, and openly contemned the papal decrees. The following is given as a letter which he addressed to the Pontiff*.

* This letter, Mosheim refers to as extant in the *Miscellanea* of Baluzius, and given by Collier, in the documents of his *Ecclesiastical History*.

“To the most excellent Pastor of the Church, the King of the Angles and Duke of Normandy sends greeting.—Hubert, thy legate, O religious father ! on thy behalf, has admonished me to remain faithful, not only to thyself, but thy successors, and to think better about the money which my predecessors used to pay to St. Peter. I have granted the second, but not the first. I have never sworn allegiance, nor will I ; because I do not find that my predecessors ever promised it. The money was negligently collected, whilst I was three years in France ; and now that I am returned to my kingdom, I send it you : the rest will be communicated to you by Lanfranc, through your legates. Pray for us, and for our kingdom ; for we have loved your predecessors, and we love you above all love, and desire to obey you.” This letter was far from being satisfactory to Gregory, who cared less for money than for homage.’ pp. 328–9.

With regard to the famous ‘Dictates of Hildebrand,’ which are supposed to exhibit the universal authority and supremacy of the Popes at this period, they may have been substantially the pretensions which Gregory put forth at the height of his power and in the intoxication of apparent success ; but nothing can be more absurd than to suppose them ever to have been received by the Romish Church, or to regard them as an authentic exposition of the sentiments of the times. For instance, the XIth, ‘There is only one power in the world,—that of the pope,’ could never have been propounded by Hildebrand himself as true in any sense ; and that the Pope alone could ‘ordain a clerk of any ‘Church,’ is a maxim too ridiculous to have been put forth by any one. The whole bears the marks of being either an ignorant misrepresentation of Hildebrand’s pretensions, or a stupid forgery of after times. That the *matter* of the greater part of these sentences may be found, as Mosheim remarks, in Gregory’s epistles, is saying nothing in favour of their authenticity ; since every fiction of the kind must have some portion of truth to give it plausibility ; but, as an historical document, it has no pretensions to genuineness, and receives a sufficient confutation from subsequent history.

Protestants, as well as Romanists, from opposite motives, have prodigiously magnified the power of the Popes, estimating it by the wild and inordinate pretensions of some two or three individual pontiffs, rather than by any historic evidence of their actual supremacy. This was at no time completely established in the Latin world, and was always rejected by the kingdoms of the Eastern Church. What is it now ? Sacerdotal power, by whomsoever exercised, is an intolerable and degrading tyranny, for it assumes to domineer over the consciences of men. But priests have not always been tyrants and persecutors ; and on the other hand, the blood of martyrs has not been shed by Papists alone. The Court of Rome never claimed more or other power than did the English Star Chamber ; nor did the crusade against the

Albigenses exceed in horrible injustice and cruelty the treatment of the Irish by the Protestant English. The Presbyterians of Geneva have in recent times exhibited a spirit as intolerant as the Papists of a darker age; and Infidelity is not less disposed to persecute the Church of God, than is fanatical Bigotry. Arbitrary power, be it that of monarch, or pope, or republican oligarchy,—to whatever church or creed it may ally itself, Pagan, Christian, or Mussulman,—is the same hateful evil; and it only requires to come into combination with religious enthusiasm or fanatical superstition, to kindle into the character of a persecutor. Liberty, which otherwise is treated simply as a rebel, is then proceeded against as a heretic.

Of the volume before us, the extracts we have given, preclude the necessity of our adding much. Using the word in its proper sense, and not by way of disparagement, we may characterize it as a highly respectable performance; not distinguished by any peculiar critical acumen or felicities of composition, but exhibiting much careful investigation, extensive reading, and correct sentiment. If not the work of a practised author or of a profound politician, it yet displays a scholarship graceful in the gentleman.

- Art. II. 1. *Report of the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society.* With an Introduction and Appendix. 8vo. pp. 48. Price 1s. 6d. Philadelphia and London, 1831.
2. *Report of the Proceedings of the African Education Society:* instituted at Washington, Dec. 28, 1829. With an Address. 8vo. pp. 16. Washington, 1830.
3. *Liberia Herald.* July 6, 1830. Vol. I. No. 5. Monrovia.
4. *North American Review.* No. lxxvi. July, 1832. Art. *American Colonization Society.*
5. *Four Essays on Colonial Slavery.* By John Jeremie, Esq. Late first President of the Royal Court of St. Lucia. 8vo. pp. 124. London, 1831.
6. *The Anti-Slavery Record.* No. 5. Sept. 1, 1832. Price 1d.

IN our Number for January last, we gave some account of the Africo-American Colony on the Windward Coast of Western Africa, which has received the name of Liberia. We have now before us what is something better than a mere curiosity, the fifth Number of a Liberia weekly newspaper *. In the article referred to, we took occasion to advert to the object and principles of the

* The Editor of the paper is Mr. Russwurm, a coloured man of good education, who graduated at Bowdoin College (Me.), in 1826.

American Colonization Society; and we remarked, that there seemed to exist a much stronger wish to get rid of the free-coloured population, than to meliorate the condition of the slaves. While applauding, as we could not but do most sincerely, the philanthropic intentions of the Society, we asked, in all simplicity, What is to be the fate of the slave population of America? And we supplied the answer which, we imagined, the republicans of the Southern States would return to such an inquiry: 'Get rid of the free black population by all means, but talk of emancipation at your peril.'

These remarks were misconstrued, we regret to find, as implying an unkind suspicion with regard to the purity of the motives by which the friends of African colonization in America are actuated; or, at least, as casting blame upon them for the prudent course they have taken, in not mixing up the question of emancipation with that of emigration. This was not our meaning; for we were not unaware of the difficult path the Society had to tread, the political considerations which rendered it necessary to abstain from agitating, as a Society, the slavery question, and the consequent expediency of strictly confining their attention to their avowed object. Suspicions, alarms, and complaints have been raised in the slave-holding states by the very plan of colonization. On the other hand, some of the most efficient friends of the measure have been, and are, slave-owners and residents in the midst of a slave population. Under these circumstances, it would have been unwise and improper to make any article of faith on the subject of slavery the ostensible basis of their proceedings, or to exact any test from those who were disposed to cooperate in the specific scheme. Whatever dissatisfaction we may feel with the state of the law and of public morality, in reference to slaves and slavery, in America, we have no fault to find with the Colonization Society; we have no particle of remaining doubt as to the sincere desire of its projectors and principal supporters to eradicate slavery itself from the American soil; and we 'esteem them very highly in love for their works' sake.'

In the last Number of the North American Review, we find a long article advocating the object of the Society, and defending its policy; from which, as an authentic exposition of the principles of its supporters, we shall, in justice, extract so much as will enable our readers to understand the true state of the case.

'In the first place, then, the Society, as a society, recognizes no principles in reference to the slave system. It says nothing, and proposes to do nothing, respecting it. The object to which their attention is to be *exclusively* directed is, to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of colour.

'But though the Society, as such, recognize no principles, they do recognize opinions upon the subject in question; and these opinions

they do not seek to conceal. They have invariably disclosed, though never urged them, on all suitable occasions.

‘So far as we can ascertain, the supporters of the Colonization policy generally believe, 1. That Slavery is a moral and political evil. 2. That it is in this country a constitutional and legitimate system, which they have neither inclination, interest, nor ability to disturb. 3. That neither the commencement nor the continuance of this system is generally chargeable to (on) the Slave-holders or the slave-holding states. 4. That the Governments and the individuals immediately and personally concerned in the system, and they alone, have the *right* to manage and modify it as they choose. 5. That it is their *interest*, and also peculiarly in their *power*, in reference to slavery, to promote the Society’s design.’

Each of these propositions will require a brief comment, in order to shew what is the actual state of the law, and of opinion, in America, and wherein they differ from the state of things in this country and its colonies.

That slavery ‘is a moral and political evil,’ may be admitted in terms, by many who still regard it as a necessary evil, or an evil to be tolerated, or not a greater evil than pauperism and other inevitable concomitants of certain stages of society. The language is tame and equivocal. Those persons only will feel that slavery is such an evil as ought not to be suffered to exist, who regard the holding of men in bondage as not simply an evil, but a wrong. In all moral evil, criminality must be involved; if, therefore, slavery is a moral evil, it is, on the part of those who tolerate it, a crime. We will not go so far as to say, that every slave-holder is to be regarded as criminal, for the sin does not lie at his door; and he may be doing his part to mitigate the injustice, and to pave the way for the abolition of the evil. Laws which are essentially unjust, which inflict political grievances, or actual oppression, must be morally wrong; but personal criminality does not attach to the individual who is the involuntary instrument of executing such laws, or whose conduct is necessarily governed by them; who, therefore, acts legitimately. Bad laws cannot legitimate themselves, but, by legitimating the acts committed under them, they assuredly preclude, to a certain degree, blame in the individual. Unjust wars are criminal, but we do not blame the soldier, the pay-master, or the contractor. The English game-laws are detestable; but the crime does not attach to the magistrate.

The case is altogether changed, when the slave-holder, or when any one becomes the abettor of laws that perpetuate injustice and oppression, and the opponent of measures of redress. By his own act, he then becomes a transgressor of those moral obligations which are prior and superior to all human legislation. In the former case, the slave-holder finds himself involved,

x x 2

without any original fault on his part, in what we shall not hesitate to term a national crime; a crime to which all the constituted authorities under which he lives are accessaries. But if he could himself be properly regarded as personally criminal, he ought to be punished. Now no one has gone so far as to maintain, that the holding of slaves according to law, is a crime that ought to be punitively dealt with, or that the Divine punishment is to be invoked upon all persons holding such property. The opinion that slavery involves national guilt, implies no such sentiment as this; nor does any thing of a vindictive feeling become the genuine philanthropist. It is a possible thing, that some of the sincerest friends to the emancipation of the slaves, may be found among the proprietors of estates worked by slave labour.

We will make a further concession;—for the cause we have at heart is too good, and the case of the friends of abolition too strong, to be endangered or weakened by the amplest concessions that candour requires. We have on a former occasion cited the forcible language of Fox, that ‘personal freedom is a right, of which he who deprives a fellow-creature is absolutely criminal in so depriving him; and which he who withholds when it is in his power to restore, is not less criminal in withholding.’ This was said in reference to that ‘system of rapine, robbery, and murder’ as the right honourable Speaker justly characterized it, the slave-trade. In extending its application to slavery, we must not overlook the wide difference between refusing to restore liberty to one who has been piratically deprived of its actual possession, and withholding liberty from those who have never been possessed of it,—to whom it may be given, but not restored. The difference does not affect the natural right, the moral claim of the slave to personal freedom, which is as clear and complete in the born slave as in the kidnapped African; but it makes a material difference as regards the guilt and cruelty of detaining him in slavery. Considering social rights as the creature of law, it must also be admitted, that the kidnapping of a free man and the holding of a born slave, are wrongs differing at least very widely in the degree of criminality. The depriving of an innocent fellow-creature of personal freedom by an overt act, is a crime which no one can involuntarily commit, which nothing can justify, which calls for immediate reparation or punishment. But, for the withholding of freedom from the slave, it may be pleaded, that the owners have not the absolute power to reverse the condition of the slave. The validity of this plea, we shall examine hereafter.

With these qualifications, we hold, that slavery is not merely a moral evil in its consequences, but, in its very nature, a moral wrong, and therefore involves a crime. This we are prepared to maintain of slavery in the abstract; but we are not fond of dwelling

in the region of abstractions. We will not speak of abstract slavery, but, of that definite, palpable, monstrous outrage upon humanity, West India slavery; and of this we say, that it is a moral and political evil that reflects deep disgrace upon the civilized Legislature that tolerates its continuance for an hour. Not to insist upon immediate abolition, is to plead for the continued license of moral and political wickedness. It is not simply holding men in slavery—this does not describe the system: it is holding them, using them, deeming of them *as beasts*. It is a system incapable of legislative regulation; melioration is out of the question; it must be left as it is, a horrid nuisance and crime, to wear itself out by ruining the planter and extirpating the slave-breed,—or, abolished.

We speak of Jamaica slavery. How far American Slavery deserves to be described in the same terms, we do not at present stop to inquire; but we must grant, in passing, that a state of things which admits of the natural increase of the negro population, cannot in fairness be identified with a system under which the race is slowly perishing; and that all that is advanced in condemnation of American slavery, applies not equally, but *à fortiori* to the British colonial system. We are glad to learn that, even with regard to the former, there prevails much less 'abstract diversity of opinion' among the citizens of the United States, than might have been feared. 'Our countrymen,' says the Reviewer, 'including those of the Southern States, are much 'more unanimous in considering Slavery as *an evil*, than may be 'generally supposed.

'Distinguished and highly respected individuals have indeed held otherwise. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, for example, several years ago, described the South Carolinian slavery as "no greater nor more unusual evil than befalls the poor in general." He also said, that its extinction would be calamitous to the country; and that the system is sanctioned by the Mosaic, and at least tolerated by the Christian dispensation. Governor Miller, of the same State, in one of his messages to the Legislature, says: "Slavery is not a national evil: on the contrary, it is a national benefit. Slavery exists in some form every where; and it is not of much consequence, in a *philosophical* view, whether it be voluntary or not." These are certainly not the sentiments of the Colonization Society; and they do not hesitate to express their confidence, that even the Southern public are generally of *their* opinion. Many of their own number, indeed, belong to that section, and still more are, or have been, slave-holders. And they appeal to the authority of the greatest men whom the South has produced. The sentiments of Mr. Jefferson are too familiar to our readers, to be more than referred to. "As we ought with gratitude", said Patrick Henry, in the Debates of the Virginia Convention, "to admire that decree of Heaven which has numbered us among the free, we ought to lament and deplore the necessity of holding our fellow-

men in bondage." The expressions of Governor Randolph were, that he hoped no man would object to *their* discharge of their own duty, because there was some prospect "that those unfortunate men now held in bondage, might, by the operation of the General Government, be made free." Judge Tucker wrote, in 1798, that the introduction of slavery into this country was at that day "considered among its greatest misfortunes." The venerable Judge Washington many years since observed, that if the Colonization Society should lead to the slow but gradual abolition of slavery, "it will wipe from our political institutions the only blot which stains them." The declarations of many other of our illustrious fellow-citizens at the South and West, to the same effect, may be seen in the Society's official publication for January 1829.

All this is very well, *so far as it goes*. But the following facts are still more satisfactory. Of the twenty-four States of the American Union, nine are free from the curse of slavery. In the six New England States and in that of New York, slaves were never very numerous; in Ohio, they were never introduced; but in Pennsylvania, the abolition of slavery has been comparatively recent. So far back, however, as 1698, the Assembly of Pennsylvania, to put an end to the introduction of slaves, laid a duty of £10 per head upon their importation; 'but this benevolent law, together with about *fifty* of similar tenor, which were passed by the neighbouring colonies up to the period of their Revolution, were all refused the sanction of the mother country.' Shortly after the separation, the subject of slave-colonization was taken up by the Virginia Legislature, but without any important result.

'In 1796, the plan was again revived in a series of luminous Essays by Gerard T. Hopkins, a distinguished friend in Baltimore; and shortly afterwards, the Legislature of Virginia, a State containing nearly one third of the black population of the Union, pledged its faith to give up all their slaves, provided the United States could obtain a proper asylum for them. President Jefferson negotiated in vain for a territory either in Africa or Brazil; but that great State again renewed its pledge in 1816, by a vote of 190 to 9, (most of the members being slave-holders,) upon which Gen. C. F. Mercer, the Wilberforce of the American Congress, opened a correspondence with the philanthropists of the different States, which led to the formation of the American Colonization Society, on the 1st of January, 1817. The great objects of that Society were, the final and entire abolition of slavery, providing for the best interests of the blacks, by establishing them in independence upon the coast of Africa. . . . The disposition of Virginia has been already shewn. Delaware and Kentucky have also proved their anxiety to concur in so noble a cause; and Dr. Ayres, the earliest Governor of Liberia, now a resident of Maryland, asserts, that, "owing to the plans and principles of colonization being better understood, in less than 20 years, *there will be no more slaves born in that state*." A party in South Carolina is now

almost the only opponent that the Society has at home; and, as if to afford the most incontestable evidence that its plan will destroy the institution of slavery in the United States, they ground their opposition upon the *inevitable tendency* of colonization to *eradicate slave-holding*, and thereby deprive them of their *property*.—*Reports of the Pennsylvania Col. Soc.* pp. iii, iv.

There are some parties who view the proceedings of the Colonization Society with jealousy, because they imagine that the plan must have an opposite tendency;—that of perpetuating slavery in the American States. We incline to give the South Carolinians credit for seeing furthest on this point. Any plan which tends to encourage and facilitate manumission, must have a tendency to eradicate slavery. And let slavery be exterminated in New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, in which States it has ceased to be profitable, the non-slave-holding States will then be fourteen out of twenty-four; and as Indiana and Illinois have but few slaves, eight only would be left to contend for ‘the constitutional and legitimate system’. Now, in America, majorities are every thing.

But what hope is there, it may be asked, that slavery will by such means be exterminated even in Virginia and the Middle States; that American slave-holders will be induced to give up their slaves gratuitously, on the sole condition of their removal to Africa? The answer given us is, that ‘sugar, rice, and cotton’ are almost the only articles of profitable slave labour. Hence ‘it has become the dearest species where they cannot be produced.’ This conviction will induce many whose benevolence ‘revolts at the idea of selling, to manumit gratuitously.’*

* ‘In 1826, Mr. Minge, of Charles County, Virginia, not only emancipated *eighty* slaves, for the purpose of sending them to Hayti, but chartered a brig for their transportation, furnished them with supplies, and distributed a peck of dollars among them as a farewell present. Mr. Henshaw, near Richmond, liberated *sixty*, to be sent to Liberia. A year or two subsequently, a gentleman in Kentucky writes to the Society, that he will give up twelve or fifteen of his coloured people now, and so on gradually, till the whole (sixty) are given up, if means for their passage to Liberia can be provided. In January 1829, offers were pending to the Society of more than two hundred slaves, ready to be manumitted on the same conditions. At that time, 30 had just been sent out from Maryland, and 25 from South Carolina. In 1830, the Society of Friends belonging to North Carolina, had enabled 652 coloured persons under their care to emigrate, with an unknown number of children, husbands, and wives connected with them by consanguinity. Many of them are understood to have been slaves. Their generous benefactors had then expended nearly 13,000 dollars; and 402 persons remained, who were also to be removed... Hundreds are ready to be manumitted in all the Western States, whenever the means of sending them off shall be matured.’ *N. Amer. Rev.* lxxvi. p. 148.

'D. Murray, Esq. of Maryland, who sent thirty slaves to Liberia, thus writes: "I have never regretted parting with them, and would not have them back again on any consideration. *Three white men now do the work of the thirty*; and maintaining the women and children cost quite as much as the labour of the white men. Farming has now become a delightful employment; formerly it was a perfect drudgery; and my slaves would as willingly return from independence to slavery, as I would accept the ungrateful task of again becoming an overseer.' *Reports, &c.* p. ix.

In an Address delivered to the Kentucky Colonization Society by the Hon. Henry Clay, printed in the Appendix to the Pennsylvania Society's Report, it is stated, that the competition between free and slave labour, and *the preference for white labour*, are already discernible in parts of Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky; as was probably the case in Pennsylvania and other States north of Maryland, prior to the disappearance of slaves among them. And it is anticipated, that 'the march of the ascendancy of free labour over slave, will proceed from the North to the South, gradually entering first the States nearest to the free region. Its progress would be more rapid, if it were not impeded by the check resulting from the repugnance of the white man to work among slaves, or where slavery is tolerated.'

It is a little remarkable, however, that the possibility of substituting free black labour for slave-labour, does not appear to have occurred to the American statesman; but 'free labour' and 'white labour' seem to be used as convertible terms. This has an ugly look. The substitution of white labour for slave labour in the sugar and cotton plantations of the Southern States, can scarcely be dreamed of: it would only occasion a lamentable waste of human life. Now so long as slavery exists, we can easily believe that great, if not insuperable difficulties would attend the introduction of free black labour; difficulties created by slavery itself. The mixture of the two systems would be next to impracticable. The black freeman would as naturally resent working among slaves, as the white man; and would, perhaps, feel a still greater repugnance to that species of labour which has become identified with slavery. It is said, that no Spaniard will use a wheelbarrow, because it is fit only for beasts to draw a carriage; while the Portuguese has an equal aversion to carrying a burthen, because beasts only are fit to carry a load. No English labourer likes to carry the hod. Similar prejudices will naturally render the coloured free man averse to negro work, so long as a degraded slave-caste exists. But nothing can be more unfair or delusive than to infer from the inefficiency of free black labour in countries where slavery is tolerated, or from the degraded condition of the free blacks under such circumstances, that the free black

labourer would not become more profitable than the slave, were the emancipation general.

We receive with considerable suspicion the accounts of slaveholders respecting the indolence, profligacy, and utter worthlessness of free blacks. But, supposing such statements not to be overcharged *, it must be recollected, that their intermediate condition between their brethren in bondage and the privileged white-skin caste, is in the highest degree unfavourable to their moral improvement; nor is it surprising that they should too often be found mimicking the vices of the white, while sharing in the degradation of the enslaved race. Mr. Clay, while representing the free people of colour as the most corrupt and depraved class in the American community, admits that this is chiefly owing to their unfortunate predicament.

‘There are,’ he says, ‘many honourable exceptions among them; and I take pleasure in bearing testimony to some I know. It is not so much their fault, as the consequence of their anomalous condition. Place ourselves, place any man in the like predicament, and similar effects would follow. *They are not slaves, and yet, they are not free.* The laws, it is true, proclaim them free; but prejudices more powerful than any laws, deny them the privileges of freemen. They occupy a middle station between the free white population and the slaves of the United States; and the tendency of their habits is to corrupt both. They crowd our large cities, where those who will work can best procure suitable employment, and where those who addict themselves to vice can best practise and conceal their crimes. . . . The vices of the free blacks do not spring from any inherent depravity in their natural constitution, but from their unfortunate situation. Social intercourse is a want which we are prompted to gratify by all the properties of our nature. And as they cannot obtain it in the better circles of society, nor always among themselves, they resort to slaves, and to the most debased and worthless of the whites. Corruption and all the train of petty offences are the consequences. Proprietors of slaves, in whose neighbourhood any free coloured family is situated, know how infectious and pernicious this intercourse is.’

No doubt they do,—and how much the *danger* of slavery is increased by the presence of a free coloured community. More is here meant, than meets the ear; but, in a preceding paragraph, Mr. Clay is more explicit.

‘When we consider the cruelty of the origin of negro slavery, its nature, the character of the free institutions of the whites, and the ir-

* In 1820, of 10,729 free coloured persons in Philadelphia, there were living in the families of white persons as servants, 3110; (*viz.* 1028 male and 2082 female;) those who kept house, or lived in families of their own colour, were 7619, of whom 1970 were returned as taxable, and 229 owned real estate. Ten places of worship were occupied exclusively by persons of colour.

resistible progress of public opinion, throughout America as well as in Europe, it is impossible not to anticipate frequent insurrections among the blacks in the United States. *They are rational beings like ourselves, capable of feeling, of reflection, and of judging of what naturally belongs to them as a portion of the human race. By the very condition of the relation which subsists between us, we are enemies of each other.* They know well the wrongs which their ancestors suffered at the hands of our ancestors, and the wrongs which they believe they continue to endure, although they may be unable to avenge them. They are kept in subjection only by the superior intelligence and superior power of the predominant race. Their brethren have been liberated in every part of the continent of America, except in the United States and the Brazils. By an Act of the President of the Republic of the United Mexican States, (dated, Sept. 15, 1829,) the whole of them in that Republic have been emancipated. A great effort is now making in Great Britain, which tends to the same ultimate effect, in regard to the negro slaves in the British West India. Happily for us, no such insurrection can ever be attended with permanent success, as long as our Union endures. It would be speedily suppressed by the all-powerful means of the United States; and it would be the madness of despair in the blacks, that should attempt it. But, if attempted in some parts of the United States, what shocking scenes of carnage, rapine, and lawless violence might not be perpetrated, before the arrival at the theatre of action of a competent force to quell it! And, after it was put down, what other scenes of military rigour and bloody executions would not be indispensably necessary to punish the insurgents, and impress their whole race with the influence of a terrible example!

This forcible representation is not urged as an argument for emancipation, but simply for reducing, by colonization, the numbers of the black population. It is obvious, however, that it supplies reasons equally strong for the more effectual measure. The domestic danger may be lessened by drafting off the black population, but it cannot be wholly removed. So long as slavery remains, an element of combustion exists in the heart of the State, which, in a season of civil commotion or foreign danger, a spark might ignite. It has, indeed, been adduced as an objection to the plans of the Colonization Society by some zealous abolitionists on this side of the Atlantic, that, by diminishing the numbers of the bond and free coloured population, the motives of policy will be weakened, which would otherwise lead to the abolition of slavery. It is said, that the slave-owners are induced by their fears to concur in the scheme of the Society, only that the remaining sons of bondage may be held the more securely, and their chains and fetters be riveted the more firmly. By the removal of the free blacks, it is urged, their brethren in bondage will be cut off from their sympathies, and from the influence which, as freemen, they now exert on behalf of the more degraded slave.

And if their removal could be totally effected, and the redundant slave population likewise be sent to Africa, the last spark of hope for the remaining two millions of slaves* would be quenched, and the most distant expectation of their emancipation be extinguished.

The answer to this objection is, that the hypothesis requires a very extensive colonization of emancipated slaves to have been effected, in order to the consequence supposed—the riveting of the chains of the remainder. The object of the Colonization Society, is to facilitate and encourage manumission, by providing the means of emigration to the emancipated slave. Before this measure can render the slaves less formidable from their numbers, emancipation must have taken place to a considerable extent; and surely this were a positive good, not to be rejected because of any contingent evil. Besides, it may be questioned, whether the existence of the free black population is a circumstance of any benefit to the slave, seeing that they do not possess, and cannot exert, the genuine influence of free men. The existence of this caste is known to be a source of uneasiness to the slave-holder; but it only renders him the more indisposed to consent to the manumission of his slaves. It has also led several of the States to prohibit manumission. We say nothing as to the justice and humanity of such arbitrary enactments: but such is the fact. Some of the States, moreover, have passed, or are about to pass, ‘some *penal* enactments for the purpose of *expelling* their free ‘black population’ from their respective territories. Yes, in America, the land of liberty, the free blacks and the native Indians are treated quite as unceremoniously as we treat the Irish on their own soil. Very abominable and detestable are such arbitrary proceedings. Nevertheless, what should we think of the reasoning which would oppose the transfer of a million of starving Irish to Canada, if it could be effected, on the ground that it would place the remaining six millions more at the mercy of the Irish landlords? If our West India Planters had founded Sierra Leone with the express design of transporting thither the superfluous free coloured population of the islands, with their own consent, no compulsion being used, we would not have quarrelled with their policy. But we should have said to them, as we would now say to the American slave-holders—Go on colonizing; yet, do not flatter yourselves with the notion, that, by so doing, you will perpetuate the right or power to hold your fellow creatures in bondage. Colonization is like a pump to a leaky vessel;

* We cite the language of an objector. The total slave population of the United States is only 1,840,000; the free coloured, about 250,000.

you do well to empty out your black population by ship-fulls, but you would do still better to look in time to the leak. Slavery may by this means be kept under for a while, but, if not abolished, it will eventually sink the vessel of the State.

Colonization, if intended as a substitute for emancipation, will assuredly disappoint its projectors; but to charge the benevolent founders of the American Colonization Society with any intention of this kind, is in the highest degree illiberal and unjust. We regret that any such aspersions should have been cast upon their motives, or that they should have been blamed for not hazarding the success of their whole scheme, by proclaiming themselves, unequivocally, abolitionists. The language of Mr. Clay shews in what light slavery is viewed by the most enlightened men in America; and we must recollect that our American brethren have given the best practical demonstration of their conviction of its evil nature, by abolishing it in so many of the States. It is true, the Congress and Government of the United States have, by admitting Missouri into the Union as a slave-holding State, for the purpose of opening a slave-market for the Virginian and other slave-growers, and by allowing an internal slave-trade, drawn down upon themselves deep disgrace and guilt. But before we can with fairness impute the sins of the Legislature to the American nation, we must recollect how long our own parliament resisted the abolition even of the slave-trade, in defiance of the voice of the people. Nor are we yet in a condition that entitles us to talk to the Americans of abolishing slavery. No; let us first get rid of the blot, the crime, the curse of our own colonial system, and then—when slavery shall have been abolished, not only in Colombia, Peru, Mexico, and Hayti, but in the British Isles,—the time will not be very distant, when the Slave-states of the American Union shall feel themselves compelled to follow our example.

There is one important difference between American slavery and West India slavery, which, in justice to our Transatlantic brethren, must not be overlooked. The circumstance which recommends the expedient of colonization even to slave-holders in the United States, is, we are told, the rapid and alarming increase of the slave, as well as the free coloured population,—which has been calculated at 56,000 a year. And what is highly remarkable, notwithstanding the numerous manumissions, the slave population has increased faster than the free. Between 1820 and 1830, it had increased $19\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and the rate of increase was formerly still higher. Now this subject of alarm, this motive to plans of colonization, could not have arisen in Jamaica, where, instead of an increase of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, as in the American Slave-states, there was formerly a decrease of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and where, even now, the slave population is, in

point of numbers, stationary. In America, it is calculated that the importation of less than half a million of Africans has produced the present coloured population of two millions. In Jamaica, 850,000 slaves have been imported, and the present coloured population does not amount to half that number. We are aware, however, that we are not to set down this whole difference between a fourfold increase and a decrease of one half, to the superior humanity of the American slave-holders; although, in point of fact, the American slaves are generally better treated. Brother Jonathan has a notion, as we have already hinted, that it is more profitable to grow slaves for transportation, than to work them to death upon worn-out soils. We shall borrow a paragraph or two from Mr. Clay, in illustration of this mystery.

‘In proportion to the multiplication of the descendants of the European stock, and the consequent diminution of the value of slave labour, by the general diminution of wages, will there be an abatement in the force of motives to rear slaves. The master will not find an adequate indemnity in the price of the adult for the charges of maintaining and bringing up the offspring. His care and attention will relax; and he will be indifferent about incurring expenses when they are sick, and in providing for their general comfort, when he knows that he will not be ultimately compensated. There may not be numerous instances of positive violation of the duties of humanity, but every one knows the difference between a negligence, which is not criminal, and a watchful vigilance, stimulated by interest, which allows no want to be unsupplied. The effect of this relaxed attention to the offspring will be, to reduce the rates of general increase of the slave portion of our population, whilst that of the other race, not subject to the same neglect, will increase and fill up the void. A still greater effect, from the diminution of the value of labour, will be that of voluntary emancipations; the master being now anxious to relieve himself from a burthen, without profit, by renouncing his right of property. One or two facts will illustrate some of these principles. Prior to the annexation of Louisiana to the United States, the supply of slaves from Africa was abundant. The price of adults was generally about 100 dollars, a price less than the cost of raising an infant. Then it was believed that the climate of that province was unfavourable to the rearing of negro children, and comparatively few were raised. After the United States abolished the slave trade, the price of adults rose very considerably; greater attention was consequently bestowed on their children; and now, nowhere is the African female more prolific than she is in Louisiana, and the climate of no one of the Southern States is supposed to be more favourable to rearing the offspring. The serfs of Russia possess a market value inferior to that of the African slaves of the United States; and, although the lord is not believed to be bound to provide for the support of his dependent, as the American master is for his slave, voluntary manumissions of the serf are very frequent, influenced in some degree, no doubt, by his inconsiderable value.

'What has tended to sustain the price of slaves in the United States, has been, that very fact of the acquisition of Louisiana, but especially the increasing demand for cotton, and the consequent increase of its cultivation. The price of cotton, a much more extensive object of culture than the sugar-cane, regulates the price of slaves as unerringly as any one subject whatever is regulated by any standard. As it rises in price, they rise; as it falls, they fall. But the multiplication of slaves, by natural causes, must soon be much greater than the increase of the demand for them; to say nothing of the progressive decline which has taken place, in that great Southern staple, within a few years, and which there is no reason to believe will be permanently arrested. Whenever the demand for the cultivation of sugar and cotton comes to be fully supplied, the price of slaves will begin to decline; and as that demand cannot possibly keep pace with the supply, the price will decline more and more. Farming agriculture cannot sustain it; for it is believed that nowhere in the farming portion of the United States would slave labour be generally employed, if the proprietor were not tempted to raise slaves by the high price of the Southern market, which keeps it up in his own.

'But neither this nor any other conceivable cause can, for any length of time, check the fall in the value of slaves to which they are inevitably destined. We have seen that, as slaves diminish in price, the motive of the proprietors of them to rear the offspring will abate, that consequent neglect in providing for their wants will ensue, and consequent voluntary emancipation will take place. That adult slaves will, in process of time, sink in value even below a hundred dollars each, I have not a doubt. This result may not be brought about by the termination of the first period of their duplication, but that it will come, at some subsequent, and not distant period, I think perfectly clear. Whenever the price of the adult shall be less than the cost of raising him from infancy, what inducement will the proprietor of the parent have to incur that expense? In such a state of things, it will be in vain that the laws prohibit manumission. No laws can be enforced or will be respected, the effect of which is the ruin of those on whom they operate. In spite of all their penalties, the liberation or abandonment of slaves will take place.' pp. 38, 39.

We have transcribed this truly American piece of reasoning for two purposes; first, to let our readers into the secret of Virginia slave-breeding, that they may understand *why* the slave population has increased so rapidly in America, and what motives have led to the *cultivation* of the race; and secondly, that they may see in this revolting disclosure, a fresh and damning proof of the infernal malignity of the evil, moral and political,—bestial slavery. We scarcely know which is calculated to awaken the more melancholy reflections, the increase of the slave population in the United States, or its murderous decrease in Jamaica and Mauritius. Honour be to those Virginians whose 'benevolence revolts at the idea of selling', and who are therefore willing to manumit gratuitously: but these, alas! are the noble exceptions.

We have almost lost sight of the opinions which the American Reviewer ascribes to the supporters of the colonization policy. The first is, that slavery is a moral and political evil; the second, that it is, in America, 'a constitutional and legitimate system, which they have neither inclination, interest, nor ability to disturb.' Begging the Reviewer's pardon, this last clause is not an 'opinion', but a formal disclaimer of an 'inclination' to disturb a 'moral and political evil';—a declaration which, we are persuaded, the Reviewer was not authorized to put into the mouth of the Society. Not disturb it! This cannot be the sentiment of those States that have abolished slavery. But what, perhaps, is meant, is, that the Society do not seek to 'disturb the peace,' by interfering 'with the rights or the interest of the proprietors of slaves.' This principle we find no fault with: it is that by which our own Missionary Societies have been religiously governed, and to which their agents have conscientiously adhered, in labouring to communicate religious instruction to the slave population of the British Colonies. That slavery is, in America, a 'legitimate system', is undeniable: it is as legitimate as Popery in Italy, as the Inquisition in Spain, as polygamy in Turkey, as piracy in Algiers, as idolatry in India, as infanticide in China. Every thing is legitimate, which the laws of the country do not forbid. 'Constitutional' too;—yes, the American Constitution sanctions and protects slavery. 'The States wherein slavery exists, are alone regarded as possessing the right and power, under the Constitution of the country, to legislate upon it.' Congress has no power to interfere with the slave system; and the very attempt would endanger a dissolution of the Union, or a civil war,—a short one, indeed, if the slaves could find the means of arming themselves; still, no one would wish to see slavery abolished by such means.

But then, how can it be said with truth, that the '*continuance* of this system is not chargeable on the slave-holding States'? Who but they are chargeable with it, seeing that, according to the fourth proposition, the State 'governments and the individuals immediately and personally concerned in the system, and they alone, have the *right* to manage and modify it as they 'choose'? Having this right to manage or modify, they have also the right to abolish slavery, and not only the right, but the power. What but the want of inclination hinders Maryland and Virginia from following the example of New York and Pennsylvania? Although the question cannot be constitutionally agitated in Congress, it may constitutionally be brought forward in the State assemblies. There is nothing, we apprehend, in the Federal Constitution, that prevents the total abolition of slavery by each and every State of the Union, as the act of its own little legislature. What then forbids emancipation? *The determin-*

ation not to emancipate but on the condition of exclusion from the American soil.

Good Elliott Cresson and his friends must pardon us for stopping here to put to them a plain question. Is it the avowed principle of the American Colonization Society and its supporters, as this North American Reviewer asserts, 'that no slave ought to receive his liberty, except on condition of being excluded, not merely from the State which sets him loose, but from the whole country; that is, of being colonized'? Or is this the unauthorized construction which the Reviewer puts upon their proceedings? Had such a sentiment been attributed to them by an enemy, we should have regarded it as an impudent calumny. And as we cannot find that it has been really maintained by the Society, whose plan and object we have been anxious to rescue from unkind misrepresentation, we shall proceed to deal with it as the simple opinion of the Reviewer, who is very clearly a non-abolitionist.

'To come frankly to the point', says this Writer, 'they' (I?) 'hold, that it is not right that men should be free, when their liberty will prove injurious to themselves or others.' We admire the frankness of the declaration, and the impartial comprehensiveness of the proposition, which embraces alike the white and the black, *men* of all colours and all countries. Slaves are of course included—we are glad to find them included—under the term *men*;—but the axiom, if it has any truth, must of course be true of all men whose liberty would be injurious to others. And who is to be the judge of this? The Powers that be. Can this be *Boston* doctrine? So then, the right of men to be free, depends upon the opinion of those in power and authority as to the safety and expediency of trusting them with freedom. If this be the case as regards personal freedom, it must apply *à fortiori* to political freedom, of which Mr. Fox said, that 'when it came to be compared with personal freedom, it sank to nothing, and became no blessing in comparison.' Such doctrine as this would make an American Consul very popular at Madrid, St. Petersburg, or Constantinople. It should be preached to the Poles: it is too late to publish it among the Greeks. Their liberty has, alas! hitherto proved but too injurious to themselves; as did that of our revolted colonists in North America for many years after their undutiful separation from Great Britain. But other doctrines were then in vogue. We heard much of the Rights of Man, from those whose descendants have now discovered that they have no existence; for, if a man has not, as such, a right to personal freedom, not having violated any law or committed any injury, to what can he have a natural right? Yet, it is now maintained, the cant of humanity cloaking the insolence of republican despotism, that it is not right that men should be

free, when their liberty *will prove* injurious to themselves or others. And who are those others? Why those who, being themselves free, are making the most injurious use of their own liberty, by holding their fellow-creatures in bondage. How comes it to be right that *they* should be free?

'As to unqualified emancipation', says the Reviewer, 'they consider individual happiness and individual freedom as subordinate to the public good.' But what is the public good but the aggregate of individual good? The primary object of Government is to *protect* individual happiness and individual freedom; and that Government is radically defective and unjust, which suffers individual freedom and happiness to be infringed upon, on any pretence, except when forfeited by crimes against which society requires to be protected. The public good has been the standing plea of state-craft and priest-craft: heretics have been burned, patriots have been incarcerated, penal laws have been multiplied, all for the public good. It is for the public good that the Colonial Unionists of Jamaica are now endeavouring to drive Christianity out of their island. If the slave may rightfully be held in bondage, he may rightfully be held in ignorance—for the public good. Nay, the public good, the public safety, seems to render it necessary that he should be kept in a state of degradation, in order that he may be at once rendered 'unworthy of freedom' from his ignorance, and reconciled to slavery. If the slave has no right to his personal freedom, what right can he have to instruction—to knowledge—to the privileges of civilized man—to marriage—to all that would humanize and ennoble him, and thereby endanger the public good?

Cases may doubtless occur, in which the happiness of one must be sacrificed for the good of a million; but if the individual happiness and individual freedom of millions may be regarded as subordinate to the public good, where is this to stop? It may be worth while to compare numbers. The total population of the slave-holding States in America, is about five millions and a half, of which 1,820,000 are slaves; so that it would seem, the public good may demand the sacrifice of the individual happiness and freedom of *one third* of a population! This is a new way of securing the greatest happiness of the greatest number, worthy of the freest people and most philosophical government in the world. In Jamaica, the individual happiness and freedom of 331,000 slaves are subordinated to the public good of 15,000 Whites; a happy illustration of the same equitable principle!

By nothing, perhaps, is the true character of slavery more strikingly evinced, than by the pleas of its advocates or palliators, and by the sanctimonious garb in which it is sought to invest the most unprincipled injustice. If the slaves are as happy as some would represent them, why speak of subordinating their indi-

vidual happiness to the public good? But then it is pretended, in the same breath, that the happiness of the slave is consulted and promoted by retaining him in bondage. For thus argues this North-American anti-abolitionist.

‘Why are they (the slave-owners) unwilling to emancipate? Here is a plantation, stocked with a hundred slaves, of which one man was born the proprietor. Why not loose them forthwith, as the abolitionists would advise? To this question, he replies, perhaps, that, as to his own interest, though he is himself the best judge of that, *as he is also of his own rights*’, (And is not the slave to judge of *his* rights?) ‘yet, that is a subordinate point. Setting the public welfare aside, he too must regard the interest of the slave. Circumstances beyond his control have made it a duty which he cannot avoid, to provide for his sustenance and comfort. He looks around him, and observes the effect which emancipation has had upon others. This observation convinces him, that the slave is incapable of taking care of himself. To manumit him, will be to make him a felon or a pauper; and he does not believe that any abstract reasoning whatever upon slavery, or the slave-trade, or the rights of the original African in his own country, can justify him in doing either the one or the other.’

We will suppose this to be urged in all sincerity by a humane and Christian slave-holder, not unwilling to get rid of slaves that have ceased to reproduce what they consume, owing to the exhausted nature of the soil, but conscientiously objecting to sell them, and anxious to prevent their becoming a burden to the community, in consequence of being turned adrift upon society. To such a person, we should say: You appear to misconceive altogether the views and principles of the Emancipationists. They contend not so much for the manumission of the slave, as for the abolition of slavery. They are quite aware, that so long as slavery is tolerated, the benefit of manumission to the individual must, in many cases, be doubtful. The demand for free labour must, under such circumstances, be limited and precarious. The position of the manumitted slave is, therefore, an unnatural and disadvantageous one, if it must involve the forfeiture of employment. And if the slave population itself is redundant, there is the worse chance for the emancipated slaves. Moreover, so long as slavery exists, the free blacks, guilty of the same skin, will share in their social degradation,—will be regarded as outcasts,—and will receive contamination from intercourse with those who remain in bondage. If, then, they become felons or paupers, it is not because they are free, but because all are not so; because the consequences of slavery still cleave to them,—the brand and the mark of the fetters; because society is still their enemy. To the free coloured man in America, all the avenues to honourable distinction are closed; he is not permitted to worship the Father of all, in the same temple as his white fellow-subject; he is still a

pariah in the social system. Though personally free, he is politically enslaved.

Of this state of things, slavery is the originating cause; and it is its continued existence that prevents the improvement which must otherwise rapidly take place in the condition and character of the free coloured population. The total abolition of slavery by the simultaneous emancipation of the whole race, is the only remedy. Gradual abolition is, like most half measures, fraught with far more danger than the decisive expedient of a grand legislative act of justice, which should at once change the character of the relation between the owner and his slaves, yet without necessarily dissolving it; for, in ceasing to be a chattel, the negro would still be a dependent, looking to his employer for subsistence and protection. The experiment has been tried on a sufficiently large scale in Colombia and Mexico, to render all doubt on this point unreasonable.

In the mean time, whether manumission be a benefit or not, if the slave is in a condition to purchase his freedom, he is the best judge of his own interest; and to withhold it on any pretence, or to impose upon him as a condition of manumission, expulsion from his native country, is the height of injustice. Abolitionists have never, however, contended, so far as we are aware, that it is the bounden duty of all Christian slave-owners to anticipate the legislative abolition of slavery, by at once manumitting their own slaves. Not that these have not a complete right to immediate liberty, but they have a right to something more. They have been injured, and they have a right to reparation. If their manumission places them in a worse condition, this is but adding injury to injury. The least reparation which can be made, is to give them that instruction and assistance which shall qualify them to profit by the transition. Let not any slave-holder think, that, by loosing his superfluous slaves, or by turning the whole of his stock adrift upon society, he discharges himself of all further responsibility. He has to give account for his previous treatment of them; nor will their manumission terminate their claims upon his humanity, upon his justice. Manumission may be, on the part of the owner, a magnanimous and beneficent, or a mean, selfish act. Too frequently, there is reason to fear, it has been, in America, the latter. And as the motive, such has been the result. In most of the slave states, 'it is a prevailing sentiment,' we are told, 'that it is not safe to furnish slaves with the means of instruction'.* When these uninstructed slaves are suddenly

* Report of African Education Society, p. 9. The following paragraph appears in the *Liberia Herald*. We will not trust ourselves to comment on it.

'GEORGIA. We had only time to mention in our last, the passage by

'loosed' and disbanded, what can be expected, but that they should sink into a state more degraded and more miserable than that of bondage? What then is to be done? The existence of slavery requires the perpetuation of ignorance as a security—a miserable one—against danger; and that ignorance, which disqualifies the slave for freedom, perpetuates slavery. Never will a slave population be trained by slave-owners for liberty. The yoke must be broken, the chain must be snapped; and then the boon of instruction will no longer be withheld. Then, and not till then, will it become a national object to instruct the coloured race, when, from slaves, they shall have risen to the level of subjects.

The Jamaica people are proclaiming this in language that cannot be mistaken. They are telling us, what we have always believed; that Slavery and Christianity are incompatible, Slavery and Education are incompatible, Slavery and Morality are incompatible. They are telling us, that the notion of training up the slaves for emancipation, is chimerical and absurd. They tell us, their slaves shall *not* be instructed; for then they would refuse to remain slaves. While we cannot applaud their resolve, we entirely concur in their reasoning; and had we had any previous doubt on the subject, we should now be completely convinced, that the *first* step to be taken is emancipation, and education the second;—that the only way of dealing with slavery, is immediate, total abolition. We must come to this; and the sooner the better. Orders in Council, we have seen, are only laughed at by the infatuated colonists. Regulation, Melioration, Education—the time is gone by for these. Slavery must be extinguished, definitively and at once, by the Parent Legislature.

the Legislature, of the act to prevent the admission of free persons of colour into the ports of this State. We cannot procure a copy of the bill until its publication. It imposes, however, as we before stated, a quarantine of forty days upon vessels having on board persons of the class referred to; this clause to take effect upon vessels from ports of the United States, in three months; from all other ports, in six months. The act also prohibits all intercourse with such vessels by free persons of colour or slaves, and compels captains of vessels to convey back such persons on board; renders capital the circulation of pamphlets of evil tendency among our domestics; makes penal the teaching of free persons of colour or slaves to read or write; and prohibits the introduction of slaves into this State for sale. It is perhaps proper to state, that the act referred to was passed in its present form, (another having been previously on its passage,) in consequence of a message of Governor Gilmer, on the last day of the session, founded upon a pamphlet of an insidious character, introduced into, and detected in this city, a copy of which was forwarded to the Executive Department. Savannah, Geo.'

The Americans must legislate as they please; but we have no doubt that the abolition of slavery in the British Islands would make even the Carolinians begin to look about them. In the mean time, we cordially wish success to the Colony of Liberia, and to all plans of non-compulsive colonization, that may at once benefit Africa, and relieve the United States of their black paupers.

We had intended to advert to the other publications mentioned at the head of this article; but our limits forbid. Mr. Jeremie's 'Four Essays' ought long ago to have been brought under the notice of our readers; but we hope that most of our friends have already made themselves acquainted with their contents. If not, we earnestly recommend to their attention his full-length portrait of Colonial Slavery: it is from the life. No wonder that the people of the Mauritius were unwilling to receive Mr. Jeremie as their Attorney-General. The Anti-Slavery Record will be found an interesting summary of the latest intelligence relating to the Colonies; and we hope that it will not be overlooked among the crowd of penny periodicals. From Jamaica papers received to the 1st of August, it appears that the persecution against the Missionaries, instead of abating, becomes every day more general and outrageous. It remains with the first Reformed Parliament to decide, whether Jamaica is henceforth to be governed by the Colonial Union as an independent State, or to be treated as a colony in insurrection against the British Government, which it sets at defiance. 'If,' remarks Mr. Jeremie, 'the British Sovereignty is to be any thing more than a name, has it not a right to protect its own subjects from oppression, not only in its colonies, but throughout the known world;—by force of arms from equal to equal; by legislation where its authority is paramount? The colonies have their charters; but what is there in their charters to prevent Parliament from explaining its own meaning; what, to sever the tie between sovereign and subject; what, to prevent the Legislature's pronouncing that, wherever waves the British flag, man shall not murder his fellow?' What to prevent its declaring every subject of the British sceptre henceforth a freeman under the equal protection of the laws, and abolishing slavery for ever?

Art. III. 1. *The Book of Psalms, translated into English Verse, and illustrated with Practical and Explanatory Notes.* By Edward Garrard Marsh, M.A. 8vo. pp. 510. Price 12s. London, 1832.

2. *A Rhyme Version of the "Liturgy" Psalms.* By Henry Gahagan, Esq., M.A. Christ Church, Oxon; Barrister at Law. 12mo. pp. 226. Price 7s. London, 1832.

WE wish that we could compliment Mr. Marsh upon having produced a better metrical translation of the Psalms, than

Bishop Mant, whose volume was noticed in our former Series;* but this Work must, we imagine, be regarded as affording another instance of an author's mistaking the pleasures of composition for success. We can easily conceive that Mr. Marsh has found much pleasure and profit in studying the sacred compositions upon which he has exerted his ingenuity; and he may have so keenly felt the poetic beauty of the originals, as to fancy he had succeeded in transferring it to his own numbers. But we must candidly assure him that he is not a poet; and that whatever merit his Translation may have in other respects, it is sadly deficient in all those felicities of expression and melodious collocations which are usually considered as distinguishing prose from verse. The first requisite in a poetical translator is, a thorough mastery of the art of language, a taste capable of discriminating the shades and colours of words, with an ear that resents a discord. We know not why it should be imagined that the Book of Psalms demands, or deserves, less of poetic taste and genius to be employed upon the translation, than the Odes of Pindar or of Horace; but so it is, the Versifiers of the Psalms have frequently been persons not even aspiring to the character of poets, or, if poets, they have not treated the Psalms as poetry. Our metrical translators of these sublime compositions may be distinguished under four classes: 1. Those who have simply endeavoured to turn the Psalms into metre, for the purposes of Psalmody, adhering as closely as possible to the literal rendering of the Psalter; such as the venerable Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, John Milton, and others. 2. Those who have sought to adapt the Psalms of David to Christian worship by free imitations,—as Watts and Montgomery. 3. Those who have paraphrased the Psalms with the intention of illustrating their poetic beauty, but sacrificing to this object the fidelity of translation, and often the true character of the original: Buchanan and Johnston, in their Latin versions, Sandys, Merrick, and other English paraphrasts fall under this class. 4. Those who have aspired to give the Psalms a metrical form, with as much fidelity to the spirit and expressions of the sacred originals as is practicable. Of the very few who come under this last class, small has been the success. Tate and Brady seem to have aimed at this; Sandys is occasionally very close; Montgomery, whenever he chooses, and his purpose allows of it, felicitously so; but Bishop Mant and the present Translator are the only individuals, within our recollection, who have boldly undertaken to render the whole of the one hundred and fifty Psalms into verse, not for psalmody, nor with the freedom of paraphrase, but according to the laws of poetic translation. We should be very sorry that their want of

* Vol. xxiii. p. 1, *et seq.*

success should be taken to prove any thing more than the difficulty of the task, and the necessity of combining with the spirit of devotion a highly cultivated taste, and some measure of poetic genius, in order to do justice to these inspired compositions.

No one, indeed, who brought to it the high qualifications requisite for success, would sit down doggedly to the task of versifying the whole Book of Psalms in their present order, without reference to the internal evidence of their different date, purpose, and authorship. No one who felt their poetic beauties, would think of versifying indiscriminately, and in the same style, the prophetic psalms, the didactic or sententious, the choral and interlocutory, the liturgical, and those of a votive and (if we may so speak) biographical character. Metre is not a thing so arbitrary and inexpressive as those persons are apt to imagine, who regard it as merely a mode of suiting words to different tunes, long measure, common measure, and so forth. Nor is the propriety very obvious, of making the same form of stanza serve for a hallelujah, an elegiac complaint, an ode of triumph, and an acrostic of proverbial axioms. We cannot conceive that Spenser's *Faery Queen* would have lost none of its effect by being written in Hudibrastic couplets, or that Gray's *Odes* would retain their spirit and elegance in the form of heroic verse. If the *cxixth* Psalm must be versified as one connected poem, which it is not, the common metre of Chevy Chase may be as suitable as any other; e. g.

‘ Yearly and daily thee I praise,
And seek to know thy laws.
Yea—let thy hand direct my ways,
For I prefer thy cause.’

We do not, however, perceive what is gained by the laborious ingenuity with which Mr. Marsh has contrived to make four verses successively begin their first and third line with A, then with B, &c., going regularly through the English alphabet, but to the unfair exclusion of Q, X, and Z. The alphabetic or acrostic poems of the Hebrews appear to have been intended to assist the memory, or, perhaps, to prevent any sentence from being lost through the carelessness of a scribe; thus serving, like the string upon which pearls are hung, to supply artificially the want of connexion between the detached sentences of which such poems always consist. The acrostic is a sort of inverted rhyme, for which it is the substitute; but it neither suits the English language, nor can answer any purpose, when rhyme is used, except that of displaying the unprofitable ingenuity of the writer. Its effect is positively displeasing to the English ear; and it must class, therefore, with the winged, heart-shaped, and pyramidal stanzas of Herbert and Quarles, among mere typographical devices. With regard to the ‘common metre’ above referred to, we are far from

denying that it is susceptible of great sweetness and pathos, and it is peculiarly adapted for music; but, in didactic poetry, it is apt to drag heavily,—to degenerate into a monotonous, soporific sing-song; and in narrative, it is execrable. On the other hand, our narrative metre, the only one in which it is possible to tell a story with good effect, the eight-foot Iambic couplet of Gay and Scott, is, from its rapid flow, deficient in dignity, and not easily raised to the higher cast of composition. It is still less adapted for didactic poetry, unless relieved by alternate rhyme, or by the pause of the stanza, and sustained by great terseness and force of expression. It then may be rendered both majestic and melodious, of which some of Dr. Watts's long measure hymns afford happy specimens. For the purpose of music, as well as for devotional expression, our Trochaic couplet is one of the most beautiful of all our lyric measures; and it is susceptible of wonderful variety of effect. Yet it has, till of late, been very little used in psalmody; and we are indebted chiefly to Mr. Montgomery for rescuing it from the disgrace of being fit only for Anacreontic subjects, or the namby-pamby of city pastorals. Even the Monkish Latin hymns, which imitate this measure, might have suggested its appropriateness for sacred lyrical poetry. Mr. Marsh has made no use of it; Bishop Mant, only a very indifferent use. Sandys has frequently employed it, sometimes with very happy and melodious effect; as in his xcii^d Psalm, beginning:

‘Thou, who art enthroned above,
 Thou, by whom we live and move,
 O how sweet and excellent
 ’Tis with tongue and heart’s consent—
 Thankful hearts and joyful tongues,
 To renown thy name in songs:
 When the morning paints the skies,
 When the sparkling stars arise,
 Thy high favours to rehearse,
 Thy firm faith in grateful verse.
 From thy works my joy proceeds:
 How I triumph in thy deeds!
 Who thy wonders can express?
 All thy thoughts are fathomless.’

And again, in his cxlviiith.

‘You who dwell above the skies,
 Free from human miseries;
 You whom highest Heaven embowers,
 Praise the Lord with all your powers.
 Angels, your clear voices raise;
 Him, ye heavenly armies praise;
 Sun, and moon with borrowed light,
 All you sparkling eyes of Night;

Waters hanging in the air ;
Heaven of heavens, his praise declare ;
His deserved praise record,
His, who made you by his word.'

Versification like this, from a Poet of the seventeenth century, is undeserving of the neglect which Sandys has met with. Mr. Montgomery, in his "Christian Poet", has done him justice. 'His Psalms', it is remarked, 'are incomparably the most poetical in the English language ; and yet, they are scarcely known.' They are poetical, too, generally in proportion to the closeness of the version, as is usually the case ; for paraphrase is but lazy translation or meretricious ornament.

But we must proceed to give a few specimens of the Translation in our hands. The following is elegant and close without being servile.

PSALM CXXX.

'To thee, Jehovah, from the deep I cry.
Jehovah, hear my voice ! Incline thine ear
To the sad accents of my misery !
Be not, Jehovah, to our faults severe !
For who can bear thy waken'd scrutiny ?
But thou art gracious. Therefore will I fear.
To thee in patient hope I lift mine eye.
Thy name, Jehovah, to my soul is dear.

'My spirit mourns Jehovah's long delay,
As the spent sentry chides the ling'ring day.
O Israel, in Jehovah trust alone !
For Mercy is the partner of his throne.
Plenteous Redemption marks his gentle sway ;
And he for Israel's trespass will atone.'

The cxxii^d Psalm has often been happily imitated, but the true spirit of the original has not, we think, been more correctly and faithfully illustrated, than in the Author's Translation and Notes. We shall prefix the latter as a suitable introduction.

PSALM CXXII.

'The glory of ancient Jerusalem is commended by the Psalmist, as uniting on various solemn occasions the scattered bands of Israel. This must have been peculiarly felt by David, when he returned to it after his flight from Absalom, and beheld his offending subjects reunited under his sceptre. Accordingly, the unity of civil government is here commemorated in the eighth line, and the unity of religious worship in the sixth and seventh. These were natural sentiments (lines 9—14) of affection, animated by devotional gratitude, on the sight of that capital from which its king had been banished. But the climax of the Psalmist's delight rests on the house of Jehovah.' p. 481.

‘ Glad was the sound, and welcome the command,
 That call’d me to Jehovah’s house once more.
 Again our feet, rejoicing, as before,
 Within thy gates, Jerusalem, shall stand.
 Thy hallow’d bounds unite our scatter’d band :
 For there Jehovah’s tribes his name adore ;
 To Israel there they count his mercies o’er ;
 And David’s thrones are there, to judge the subject land.

‘ Oh, love Jerusalem ! Bless him who calls
 For blessings on her ! Peace be in her walls,
 And plenty in her gorgeous palace-halls !
 Yes. For the love I to my brethren feel,
 For my companions’ love, and for the zeal
 Claim’d by Jehovah’s house, I love to seek thy weal.’

Must we, in fairness, justify our severer strictures by a few specimens that broadly contrast with the above ? We shall only detach a few verses from their connexion as samples.

PSALM XCIV.

‘ Lord, arise !
 Lift, God, thine eyes !
 Mock th’ oppressor’s boast,
 And with glorious
 Arm, victorious,
 Judge thy rebel host !

‘ Lord, what time
 Shall finish crime ?
 Shall his impious rage
 Tremble never,
 But for ever
 Vex thy heritage ?

‘ Widow, guest,
 Alike oppress’d,
 Plead with fruitless claim.
 “ Tush ! God hears not ”—
 Thus he fears not
 To blaspheme thy name.’

Again. Psalm xiv.

‘ How foolish they
 That inly say—
 There is no God in Heav’n,—
 Fall’n from each righteous course away,
 To every baseness giv’n !

* * * *

‘ With deathlike clasp
They, yawning, grasp
Whate’er their teeth may reach.
Their lips are pois’nous, as the asp,
And treach’rous is their speech.’

We take a single stanza from the xxivth, which is almost travestie.

‘ Lift, gates, your heads! Ope, everlasting doors!
The King of glory entrance due explores.
What king of glory comes along?
Jehovah great, Jehovah strong.’

The lxviith begins :

‘ May God pity his people and bless,
And the light of his presence bestow ’—

And not to multiply unnecessarily these unhappy specimens of bad taste, Psalm cxxxv opens thus :

‘ Praise Jah! To praise our God unite,
Jehovah’s serving band,
Ye, who to tread his courts delight,
Or in his temple stand.’

We must not, however, part with Mr. Marsh without giving him the further opportunity of shewing that he can do better. The following is a close and pleasing version of Luther’s favourite

PSALM XLVI.

‘ God is our refuge and our rest,
A refuge to the soul distress’d.
Therefore we will not fear,
Tho’ earth be mov’d, and hills, uptorn,
By whirlwinds to the ocean borne,
Its angry billows rear.

‘ Tho’ mountains with the tempest shake,
There is a stream, that glad shall make
The city of the Lord;
The holy seat of God most high,
Who, while his presence fills the sky,
In Salem is ador’d.

‘ Therefore she shall not be remov’d:
For God will help his own belov’d,
Tho’ heathens spurn his away.
Should kingdoms to oppose him crowd,
When God shall lift his voice aloud,
All Earth shall melt away.

- ' The Lord of Hosts our cause defends.
 The God of Jacob still befriends.
 Come then ! Behold, and trace
 The wonders by Jehovah wrought !
 See, what destruction he hath brought
 On Nature's beauteous face !
- ' At his command proud War shall cease.
 'Tis he, that sends the joys of peace
 Throughout this earthly frame.
 He snaps the spear ; He breaks the bow,
 And, having rent the car in two,
 Consigns it to the flame.
- ' " Be still then ! Know, that I am God !
 " Heathens shall fear my sov'reign nod ;
 " All Earth obey my voice."
 The Lord of Hosts our cause defends.
 The God of Jacob still befriends
 The objects of his choice.'

Of Mr. Gahagan's ' Rhyme Version ', we can only say, that we applaud the Author's modesty, but not the discretion or kindness of his friends ;—that we acquit him of all intention to offend ' the pious reader or those curious in Biblical learning ' ;—that we are glad to find he has derived amusement and instruction from so pure a source as the study of the Psalms ;—but that he has *not* improved upon Sternhold and Hopkins in such rhyming as the following :

- ' The Lord is gracious, thanks to him then give,
 And his great mercies do for ever live.' p. 155.
- ' Bring to the Lord, ye mighty, young rams bring,
 Ascribe ye strength to God, his worship sing.' p. 37.
- ' The Lord 's my shepherd—I his sheep
 Can nothing lack while in his keep.' p. 29.

We hope that Mr. G. succeeds better as a barrister than as a rhymester : his volume is only waste paper. By the way, Mr. Marsh has not succeeded much better in that exquisite composition, the xxiii^d Psalm.

- ' I will Jehovah for my shepherd hail :
 For, while he feeds me, I shall never fail ', &c.

His entire version of this Psalm is deficient alike in simplicity, closeness, and elegance. Sandys has completely failed ; Addison's paraphrase is beautiful, but faulty ; Merrick is affected ; Tate's is, perhaps, one of the best ; but Watts's xxiii^d will always be the favourite for devotional use.

Scattered through our poetical literature, there are some happy versions of particular Psalms, which, if collected and added to

the best versions that could be selected from the various Authors who have attempted to translate these sacred compositions, would make a far more pleasing and valuable volume than any single Version. We are not speaking of a selection for the purposes of Psalmody. Of such works, we have more than enough; and lamentable it is to see how the Psalms of David are mangled and tortured to force them into singing metres. Take, for instance, Bishop Marsh's Psalm xxix, as it appears in one of the most popular church collections.

'The Voice of the Lord the waters controls;
Of glory the God, the thunders he forms:
As willeth Jehovah the mighty sea rolls;
He speaks, and the billows are blackened with storms.
'The Voice of the Lord speeds hinds to their throes', &c. &c.

Mr. Marsh follows to a similar tune: e. g. verse 3:

'The voice of Jehovah the tall cedar breaks;
At the voice of Jehovah all Lebanon shakes;
Like heifers the cedars of Lebanon bound,
And, like bullocks, in Sirion they tempest the ground.'

The palpable and almost ludicrous unsuitableness of the metre to the character of the composition, is not the least remarkable feature in these specimens of mistranslation. Watts, in his version of this Psalm is respectable, but tame and flat. Sandys is more spirited:

'From a dark and showering cloud,
On the floods that roar aloud,
Hark! his voice with terror breaks:
God, our God in thunder speaks,
Powerful in his Voice on high,
Full of power and majesty.'

Of this Psalm, Bishop Lowth remarks, that 'it is enough to say 'of it, that the sublimity of the matter is perfectly equalled by 'the unaffected energy of the style.' His Translator, Dr. G. Gregory, has introduced a paraphrase in the same measure as Sandys's more faithful version, but it is overloaded with poetic finery. Nor does any rhyming metre seem to comport with the sublime abruptness of the style, the verbal iterations, the recitative character of this elevated piece of descriptive poetry, which has seemed to us more naturally to fall into blank verse. We dare not hope that we have succeeded in the following version, but we have at least avoided the grosser improprieties of former translators.

Give, O ye mighty, to Jehovah give
Glory: to Him ascribe all power and might.

O render to the Lord the glory due
 To his dread name: his courts with reverence tread.
 Jehovah's voice is on the waters. Lo!
 The God of glory thundereth: 'tis His voice
 Upon the mighty deep,—his voice of power,
 Jehovah's voice of awful majesty.
 Before Jehovah's voice the cedars break:
 It shivereth the pride of Lebanon.
 Affrighted Lebanon bounds at that voice,
 Like a wild heifer: loftiest Sirion
 Plunges and starts like a young buffalo.
 Jehovah's voice, scattering the forked flames,
 Jehovah's voice shakes the wide wilderness,
 Uproots the oak, and lays the forest bare.
 For lo! the firmament His temple is,
 Where all things utter forth His glorious name.
 His throne is on the stormy deep. He reigns,
 The Universal King,—for ever reigns.
 His people mid the warring elements
 Are safe. The Lord will give His people peace.

Unaffectedly, we say that we are not satisfied with this attempt; and yet we think it may, like a rude etching, give some idea of the poetic spirit of the sublime original. During the many years that the Psalms have occupied a portion of our *horæ subsecivæ*, we have occasionally endeavoured to give to those which have appeared to us susceptible of metrical translation, that shape and dress which, after the most attentive study of their specific character, seemed to be most in harmony with the sentiments and structure of the composition. A few specimens, we have found occasion to lay before our readers: * how far they have proved acceptable, we have no means of ascertaining; but we are well aware how few persons, comparatively, take any interest in the Psalms as poetry, and how large a proportion of pious persons consider any deviations from the Bible Version and Dr. Watts, or from the Liturgy Psalms and Sternhold and Hopkins, as sacrilegious innovations. To most lovers of poetry, on the other hand, the word psalm is a stumbling-block and an offence. Will they permit us to invite their attention to a Hebrew Melody—an ode descriptive of the spring, written some thousands of years ago by a Syrian monarch of devout character, but of poetic genius far surpassing that of the Persian Hafiz or the Teian Bard. The ode is inscribed to the Deity,—the Jehovah of the Jewish nation.

* For Psal. xix, viii, lxviii, see Eccl. Rev. 2d Series, Vol. XXIII. pp. 11—21; Psal. l. *Ib.* Vol. XXVI. p. 502; Psal. xlv, lxxiii, xlii—iii, Eccl. Rev. 3d Series, Vol. VI. pp. 155—165.

TE DECET HYMNUS.

I.

Praise on Thee, in Zion-gates,
Daily, O Jehovah! waits.
Unto Thee, O God, belong
Grateful vows and holy song.
Unto Thee who hearest prayer,
Shall the tribes of men repair.
Though with conscious guilt oppressed,
On Thy mercy still I rest.
Thy forgiving love display!
Take, O Lord! our sins away.

II.

Oh, how blessed their reward,
Chosen servants of the Lord,
Who within Thy courts abide,
With Thy goodness satisfied.
Dear the sacred joys that spring
From the service of our King.
But how dire Thy judgements fell,
Saviour of thine Israel,
When Thy people's cry arose,
On their proud and impious foes!

III.

Thou the hope and refuge art,
Of remotest lands apart;
Distant isles and tribes unknown,
Mid the ocean waste and lone.
By Thy boundless might set fast,
Rise the mountains firm and vast.
Thou canst with a word assuage
Ocean's wild and deafening rage,
Sounding like the tumult rude
Of a maddened multitude.
When Thy signs in heaven appear,
Earth's remotest regions fear;
And the bounties of Thy hand
Fill with gladness every land;—
Those who first the morn descry;
Those beneath the western sky.

IV.

Thou dost visit Earth, and rain
Blessings on the thirsty plain,
From the copious founts on high,
From the rivers of the sky.
When Thou hast prepared the soil
For the sower's hopeful toil,

Then again the heavens distil
 Blessings on each terraced hill,
 Whence the gathering waters flow
 To the trenched plains below.
 Softened by the genial showers,
 Earth with plenty teems ; and flowers,
 Types of promised good, appear.
 Thus Thy goodness crowns the year.
 Thus the clouds Thy power confess,
 And Thy paths drop fruitfulness ;—
 Drop upon the pastoral plain,
 And the desert smiles again ;
 And the hills with plenty crown'd,
 Are with gladness girt around.
 White with flocks the downs are seen ;
 Cultured vales with corn are green ;
 And the voice of song and mirth
 Rises from the tribes of Earth.

Art. IV. *The Life of Andrew Marvell, the celebrated Patriot : with Extracts and Selections from his Prose and Poetical Works.* By John Dove. 12mo. pp. 116. Price 2s. 6d. London, 1832.

ANDREW MARVELL is a name that has come down to us associated with traditional veneration, as that of an incorruptible patriot, an accomplished scholar, a wit, polemic, and poet, the friend of Milton, himself eulogized by Sheffield (Duke of Buckingham), by Churchill, and by Mason, most fortunate and honoured in his life, and bewailed, at his death, as a public loss : and yet, of this extraordinary person, no satisfactory biographical memorial exists ; and his name survives in history, rather than in our literature. His works consist, for the most part, of fugitive pieces and tracts of temporary interest, never collected during his life-time, and now almost unknown. In fact, his name has preserved his writings, rather than his writings his name. He wrote for his age, rather than for posterity ; but the high example he has bequeathed, is a more valuable legacy than half the works of Johnson's Poets. In a venal age, he was proof against corruption ; though poor, he maintained his independence, and, what was more, while so many were changing sides around him, his consistency ; and his wit and humour, which might have rendered him the favourite of the court, were zealously dedicated to the cause of patriotism and civil freedom. Bp. Burnet, who knew, or affects to have known, every body, and whose amusing history is a gallery of living characters, speaks of Marvell slightly, yet bears testimony to the cleverness and effectiveness of his writings. Speaking of Bp. Parker, whom he characterizes as ' full of satirical vivacity, and considerably

‘learned, but a man of no judgement and of as little virtue, and, as to religion, rather impious’, he adds: ‘After he (Parker) had for some years entertained the nation with several virulent books, writ with much life, he was attacked by *the liveliest droll of the age*, who writ in a burlesque strain, but with so peculiar and so entertaining a conduct, that, from the king down to the tradesman, his books were read with pleasure. That not only humbled Parker, but the whole party; for the Author of “The Rehearsal Transposed” had all the men of wit (or, as the French phrase it, all the laughs) on his side.’ Rarely has a Reply been so successful in annihilating the work that provoked it. Dean Swift, who devoted similar powers of caustic wit to a worse purpose, remarks of this work: ‘We still read Marvell’s answer to Parker with pleasure, though the book it answers be sunk long ago.’ But it is read no longer. Wit loses its flavour when it is not drunk new. Some curiosity, however, may be felt, to know, from a few specimens, what was the style of ‘refined buffoonery’ which so delighted the age, and by which Marvell drove out of the field the bitter and unprincipled renegade, who, writhing under the lash he had provoked, appealed to the Government to ‘crush with the secular arm, the pestilent wit, the servant of Cromwell and the friend of Milton.’ The few specimens in this little volume will therefore prove acceptable; and will probably excite in most readers a desire to see more. Marvell’s entire works, however, are not worth republishing—any more than Swift’s, who has been more fortunate, or less so, in having all his rubbish collected in evidence of the criminal abuse he made of his talents;—or than Defoe’s, a man of greater genius, perhaps, than either, though with less of the old Roman in his character than Marvell, and to whom has at length been rendered the tardy justice of a biographical monument. The Author of Robinson Crusoe could never indeed have been forgotten; yet, but for that exquisite romance, the name of one of the most voluminous and powerful writers of his age would by this time have survived only in the Dunciad. A well edited selection of Marvell’s writings, with a memoir by a competent biographer, might even now be worth publishing. In the mean time, Mr. Dove’s modest performance may serve the purpose of making the reader better acquainted with the life and character of this not too celebrated Patriot.

Andrew Marvell was born at Kingston upon Hull, Nov. 15, 1620. His father was Master of the Grammar School and Lecturer of Trinity Church in that town. Fuller speaks of him as an excellent preacher, who ‘never broached what he had new-brewed,’ but preached what he had studied some competent time before.’ Echard styles him, ‘the facetious Calvinistical minister of Hull.’ He was drowned in crossing the Humber in rough weather. At

the age of fifteen, Marvell was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge; but he appears to have left the university shortly after the death of his father, or in 1641, without taking any degree; and to have joined Milton in Italy, or to have met him there. He spent four years abroad, in Holland, France, Italy, and Spain, 'to very good purpose and the gaining of those four languages.' He subsequently resided for some time with General Fairfax's family, being 'intrusted to give some instructions in the languages to the lady his daughter.' In 1653, he was selected by Cromwell to be tutor to his nephew, Mr. Dutton; and in 1657, he was appointed Assistant Latin Secretary to the Protector, under Milton. The affectionate veneration which he cherished for his illustrious and 'honoured friend', is a pleasing trait in Marvell's character. After the Restoration, when reproached by Parker with being the 'friend of Milton', he thus replies to the charge.

"J. M. was, and is, a man of great learning, and sharpness of wit, as any man. It was his misfortune, living in a tumultuous time, to be tossed on the *wrong* side, and he writ, *flagrante bello*, certain dangerous treatises. But some of his books, upon which you take him at advantage, were of no other nature than one writ by your own father; only with this difference, that your father's, which I have by me, was written with the same design, but with much less wit or judgement. On his Majesty's return, J. M. did partake, even as you yourself did, for all your huffing, of his royal clemency, and has ever since expatriated himself in a retired silence. Whether it were my foresight, or my good fortune, I never contracted any friendship or confidence with you; but then, it was, you frequented J. M. incessantly, and haunted his house day by day. What discourses you there used, *he is too generous to remember*." pp. 48, 9.

Marvell was among the few friends who frequently visited the great Poet when secreted through fear of his enemies; and the present Writer conjectures, not improbably, that the humour of Marvell might contrive the mock funeral of Milton, which is reported to have duped his persecutors into a belief of his death. Marvell's spirited lines on *Paradise Lost*, now prefixed to all editions, are an interesting memorial of a friendship honourable to both.

In 1660, Marvell was returned by his native town to the new Parliament, or Convention, which ushered in the Restoration; and to this circumstance he probably owed the immunity, and even favour, which he enjoyed under the restored Government, notwithstanding his having held office under the Protector. He was again returned, in December of the same year, as a member of the king's first parliament, and a third time to the parliament of 1661. Prudence might induce him afterwards to absent himself from the House and the country, during the disgraceful

scenes that ensued ; for, from the middle of 1661 to April 1663, he appears to have resided on the Continent. His absence at length led the High-Steward of Hull, Lord Bellasis, to give directions to the corporation to elect a new member, in case of their burgess not appearing in his seat in parliament. At the call of his constituents, Marvell returned, and resumed his seat ; but three months after, he accepted the offer of Lord Carlisle, who had been appointed ambassador extraordinary to Muscovy, Sweden, and Denmark, to attend his lordship as secretary. This voyage, he tells his constituents, he undertook 'with the order 'and good-liking of His Majesty, and by leave given from the 'House, and entered in the journal.' The embassy occupied nearly two years ; after which we find Marvell attending the parliament in Oxford, in 1665. From that time to 1678, he appears to have devoted himself with the most exemplary assiduity to his parliamentary duties as member of the House of Commons, keeping up a constant correspondence by letter with his constituents at Hull. The following notice appears in one of his letters, dated March 3, 1667.

" Sir Harbottle Grimston, Master of the Rolls, moved for a bill to be brought in, to indemnify all Countyes, Cities, and *Burrows*, for the *Wages* due to their Members for the time past ; which was introduced by him upon very good reason, both because of the poverty of many people not being able to supply so long an arrear, especially new taxes now coming upon them ; and also, because Sir John Shaw, the Recorder of Colchester, *had sued the town for his Wages* ; several other Members also having, it seems, threatened their Burrows to do the same, unless they should *chuse them upon another election* to Parliament. This day had been appointed for grievances : but, it being grown near two o'clock, and the day being, indeed, extraordinary cold, to which *the breaking of one of the House windows contributed*, it was put off till next Tuesday." pp. 31, 32.

The 'wages' were, for a burgess, two shillings a day, and for a knight of the shire, four shillings. And in ancient times, there were instances in which boroughs petitioned to be excused from sending members to parliament, as being unable to bear such an extraordinary expense ! Marvell is supposed to have been the last representative that received wages from his constituents,—the very last, probably, that contrived to make them pay for his dinners. The story of his refusing 1000*l.* from Lord Treasurer Danby, at a time that he was at his last guinea, is told with variations ; but there is no reason to doubt its substantial authenticity. Although he is not known to have spoken in parliament, he obtained a considerable influence by his weight of character, talent, and indefatigable attention to parliamentary business. After he had become obnoxious to the Court party, Prince Rupert, it is said, would frequently visit him privately in his

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lodgings: 'so that, whenever His Royal Highness voted on the 'side of Marvell, which he often did, it was the observation of 'the adverse faction, that "he had been with his tutor."'

In 1672, Marvell first entered the lists with Parker. In 1675, he took up his pen in reply to an attack made upon Bishop Croft's 'Naked Truth.' He was also the author of various valuable political tracts and *facetiae*. For his last production, "An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England," printed in 1678, he was threatened by the Court with prosecution, a reward being offered for the discovery of the writer; and it is even supposed to have cost him his life, which was thought to have been shortened by poison. He died on the 16th of August in the same year, in the 59th year of his age, and in the full vigour of his constitution; and there must have been some ground for the suspicion to which the Duke of Buckingham refers, when he says:

—' We with deep sorrows wail his loss :
But whether fate or art untwined his thread,
Remains in doubt. Fame's lasting register
Shall leave his name enroll'd, as great as those
Who at Philippi for their country bled.'

Marvell was buried in the Church of St. Giles in the Fields, at the expense of the Corporation of that town which he had so long and faithfully represented. We know not on what authority it is stated, that the rector of the parish refused to suffer a monument to his memory to be placed within the walls of the church.

The first edition of Marvell's Poems is posthumous, and was published in folio, in 1681, by a bookseller who bought his manuscripts from the woman in whose house Marvell lodged, and who is made to certify their authenticity in the advertisement prefixed to them, in the assumed character of his widow. Marvell was never married; and 'the cheat was soon detected.' As these poems were not left by Marvell for publication, but merely found among his papers, it is impossible to determine whether he was the actual author of all the compositions ascribed to him. That he was a poet of no contemptible talents, his Lines on Paradise Lost evince; but nothing is more likely than that he should have copied into his common-place book, many productions which pleased him, by different authors. The best edition of his poems is that published by Thomas Davies, in 2 vols 12mo., in the year 1726. His political and controversial works had never been collected, when, in 1765, Mr. Thomas Hollis projected a complete edition of Marvell's Works; and proposals were issued for the purpose by Andrew Miller, the Bookseller; but the scheme was abandoned. Ten years afterwards, however, Captain Edward

Thompson of Hull, a very zealous liberal of his day, but not very peculiarly fitted for the literary task he undertook, published "The Works of Andrew Marvell, Esq. with a new Life," in 3 vols 4to. In the Preface, the worthy Editor acknowledges his obligations to Mr. Brande Hollis, who had obligingly sent to him all 'the manuscripts and scarce tracts,' collected for the edition projected in 1675. 'Since the death of Mr. Thomas Hollis,' he says, 'I have been favoured by his successor with many anecdotes, manuscripts, and scarce compositions of our Author, such as I was unable to procure elsewhere; and by the attention and friendship of Mr. Thomas Raikes, I have been put in possession of a volume of Mr. Marvell's poems, some written by his own hand, and the rest copied by his order. This valuable acquisition was many years in the care of Mr. Nettleton.' This gentleman must have been one of Marvell's great-nephews, a son of Robert Nettleton, alderman of Hull, who married his niece. That the volume belonged to Marvell, may therefore be considered as not doubtful; but that its contents were his own authorship, is not so clear. Could this be established, it would prove him to have been the author of some of the most beautiful hymns in the language. Among others, the exquisite one inserted in No. 453 of the Spectator, and attributed to Addison, beginning,

'When all thy mercies, O my God,'

appears with the title of, 'A paraphrase of David's Hymn on Gratitude.' This is followed by the Paraphrase of Psalm cxiv, inserted in No. 461, beginning,

'When Israel freed from Pharaoh's hand ;'

but which appears in the Spectator as the contribution of a different correspondent. In the same manuscript volume, are contained Addison's paraphrase of the xixth Psalm, 'William and Margaret,' and other poems ascribed to different authors. The fact, we suspect to be this. The volume is a collection of poems begun by Marvell, and continued by the person into whose hands it fell after his decease; and the poems in question were transcribed from the Spectator as the Numbers containing them appeared. We never saw the long controversy which appeared on the subject in the Gentleman's Magazine, to which Mr. Dove refers; but the internal evidence is almost sufficient to disprove their being Marvell's productions, or the productions of his age. As undoubted specimens of Marvell's poetry, Mr. Montgomery has inserted in his "Christian Poet," 'The Emigrants,' and 'Eyes and Tears,' both of which will be found in the present volume. We regret that, as to several others, we cannot help having strong doubts whether they are justly ascribed to him. It must surely have been in his juvenile days, if the poem be really his,

that Marvell addressed 'to his coy mistress,' the quaint and unequal lines, not quite unworthy of Cowley, in which we are surprised with the following striking thought:

'But at my back I always hear
Time's winged chariot hurrying near:
And yonder all before us lie
Deserts of vast eternity.'

'The Character of Holland' is more likely to have proceeded from Marvell's satirical pen:—

'Holland, that scarce deserves the name of land,
As but th' off-scouring of the British sand.'

The allusions indicate that it was written during the Protectorate. We wish that we had sufficient authority for assigning to our Author the 'Dialogue between the Resolved Soul and created Pleasure'; but the versification seems much too polished, the turns of thought too delicate, and the whole is in too pure a taste for Marvell's day: it must, we think, be of later date. It is given in Thompson's edition of the Works, but, we presume, does not appear in the folio edition of the Poems. It is by far the most beautiful of all the specimens selected by Mr. Dove; and, as it may be new to many of our readers, we shall indulge ourselves in extracting it.

'A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE RESOLVED SOUL, AND CREATED PLEASURE.

'Courage, my soul, now learn to wield
The weight of thine immortal shield.
Close on thy head thy helmet bright;
Balance thy sword against the fight.
See where an army, strong as fair,
With silken banners spread the air.
Now, if thou be'st that thing divine,
In this day's combat let it shine;
And shew that nature wants an art
To conquer one resolved heart.

'PLEASURE.

'Welcome the creation's guest,
Lord of earth, and heaven's heir;
Lay aside that warlike crest,
And of nature's banquet share:
Where the souls of fruits and flowers
Stand prepar'd to heighten yours.

'SOUL.

'I sup above, and cannot stay,
To bait so long upon the way.

' PLEASURE.

' On these downy pillows lie,
Whose soft plumes will thither fly :
On these roses, strew'd so plain,
Lest one leaf thy side should strain.

' SOUL.

' My gentle rest is on a thought,
Conscious of doing what I ought.

' PLEASURE.

' If thou be'st with perfumes pleas'd,
Such as oft the Gods appeas'd,
Thou in fragrant clouds shalt show,
Like another God below.

' SOUL.

' A soul that knows not to presume,
Is heaven's, and its own, perfume.

' PLEASURE.

' Every thing does seem to vie
Which should first attract thine eye :
But, since none deserves that grace,
In this crystal view thy face.

' SOUL.

' When the Creator's skill is priz'd,
The rest is all but earth disguis'd.

' PLEASURE.

' Hark how music then prepares,
For thy stay, these charming airs ;
Which the posting winds recall,
And suspend the river's fall.

' SOUL.

' Had I but any time to lose,
On this I would it all dispose.
Cease tempter. None can chain a mind
Whom this sweet cordage cannot bind.

' CHORUS.

' Earth cannot shew so brave a sight,
As when a single soul does fence
The batt'ry of alluring sense ;
And heaven views it with delight.
Then persevere ; for still new charges sound ;
And, if thou overcom'st, thou shalt be crown'd.

Dove's 'Life of Marvell.

‘ PLEASURE.

‘ All that’s costly, fair, and sweet,
Which scatteringly doth shine,
Shall within one beauty meet,
And she be only thine.

‘ SOUL.

‘ If things of sight such heavens be,
What heavens are those we cannot see ?

‘ PLEASURE.

‘ Wheresoe’er thy foot shall go,
The minted gold shall lie ;
Till thou purchase all below,
And want new worlds to buy.

‘ SOUL.

‘ Wer’t not for price, who’d value gold ?
And that’s worth nought that can be sold.

‘ PLEASURE.

‘ Wilt thou all the glory have
That war or peace commend ?
Half the world shall be thy slave,
The other half thy friend.

‘ SOUL.

‘ What friends, if to myself untrue ?
What slaves, unless I captive you ?

‘ PLEASURE.

‘ Thou shalt know each hidden cause ;
And see the future time :
Try what depth the centre draws ;
And then to heaven climb.

‘ SOUL.

‘ None thither mounts by the degree
Of knowledge, but humility.

‘ CHORUS.

‘ Triumph, triumph, victorious soul !
The world has not one pleasure more :
The rest does lie beyond the pole,
And is thine everlasting store.’

Marvell might occasionally trifle in poetry ; but, in his prose writings, he appears in his native vigour of character as the indignant satirist and the intrepid advocate of freedom. In the

'Rehearsal Transposed,' appears the following ironical lament on the 'doleful evils' of the press, which must serve as a sufficient specimen.

"The press hath owed him (Parker) a shame a long time, and is but now beginning to pay off the debt. The *press* (that villanous engine) invented much about the same time with the Reformation, hath done more mischief to the discipline of our Church than the doctrine can make amends for. It was a happy time, when all learning was in manuscript, and some little officer, like our author, did keep the keys of the library; when the clergy needed no more knowledge than to read the liturgy, and the laity no more clerkship than to save them from hanging. But now, since printing came into the world, such is the mischief, that a man cannot write a book, but presently he is answered. Could the press but at once be conjured to obey only an *imperium*, our author might not disdain, perhaps, to be one of its most zealous patrons. There have been wayes found out to banish ministers, to find not only the people, but even the grounds and fields where they assembled in conventicles; but no art yet could prevent these seditious meetings of letters. Two or three *brawny* fellows in a corner, with meer ink and elbow grease, do more harm than a hundred systematical divines, with their sweaty preaching. And, what is a strange thing, the very sponges, which one would think should rather deface and blot out the whole book, and were anciently used for that purpose, are become now the instruments to make them legible. Their ugly printing letters, which look but like so many rotten tooth-drawers; and yet these rascally operators of the press have got a trick to fasten them again in a few minutes, that they grow as firm a set, and as biting and talkative as ever. O, printing! how hast thou disturbed the peace of mankind! That lead, when moulded into *bullets*, is not so mortal as when formed into *letters*! There was a mistake, sure, in the story of *Cadmus*; and the serpent's teeth which he sowed, were nothing else but the letters which he invented. The first essay that was made towards this art, was in single characters upon iron, where-with, of old, they stigmatized slaves and remarkable offenders; and it was of good use, sometimes, to brand a schismatic; but a bulky Dutchman diverted it quite from its first institution, and contriving those innumerable *syntagmes* of alphabets, hath pestered the world ever since, with the gross bodies of their German divinity. One would have thought in reason, that a Dutchman might have contented himself only with the wine-press." pp. 45, 46.

We have been led into writing too long an article for so small a book, but the subject must be our apology; and we have to thank Mr. Dove for the opportunity of dwelling upon the character of Andrew Marvell.

Art. V. *The Christian Warfare illustrated.* By the Rev. Robert Vaughan. 8vo. pp. 410. Price 10s. 6d. London, 1832.

ALTHOUGH it is not announced in the title-page, our readers will probably be aware that the Author of this volume is the Biographer of Wycliffe, to whose pen the public are indebted also for the Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty. It is not always that laborious literary pursuits, honourable as they may be in themselves and valuable in their results, have been combined, in the Christian minister, with spirituality of mind, active zeal, and pastoral fidelity. The volume before us will shew, however, that they are not incompatible;—that secular studies do not necessarily unfit the mind for the functions of the sacred office;—that they may not only be subordinated, but rendered subservient to the proper business of a Christian pastor. We do not imagine that Mr. Vaughan has had any idea, in putting forth this volume, of vindicating himself from the possible suspicion of his being exclusively devoted to literature or supremely anxious for literary fame. But it is adapted to render the reputation he has acquired by his former writings still more creditable, by shewing that they have not had the effect of *secularising* his mind, of alienating him from the humbler yet higher avocations of the pulpit, or of diverting the flow of his affections from their proper consecrated channel.

And we think we can perceive in the style of these theological compositions, one advantageous effect of his literary labours. They are remarkably free from the *provincialisms* of any theological school, although there is no appearance of any effort to deviate from customary phraseology. How is it that laymen are generally the best religious writers, the most lucid, natural, and popular? Chiefly, we imagine, because they have learned to think and to write in the language of general literature and social intercourse, before they have taken up their theological theme. Whereas the Christian church is both internally distinguished, and in some measure separated from “those without,” by a variety of dialects, each harsh and obscure to all but those who speak it; and hence in some degree originate the shibboleths and sibboleths, the logomachies, and the mutual prejudices which divide the various schools and sections of the religious world. There is nothing so musical to some ears as a brogue; and from the same cause, perhaps,—early association,—persons are apt to become attached to the improprieties of a technical and deformed phraseology. In all ages too, and among men of all religions, there has been discovered a strong propensity to invest religion with a sacred language removed from vulgar discourse, and forbidden to all but the priests. The Sanscrit of the Brahmins, the Koran Arabic of the Moslem, the Latin of the Romish

Church, the Greek of the Slavonic churches, are each, to the vulgar of the respective communities, a veil to seclude the arcana of truth from their profane survey. The same disposition to worship the symbols of Truth, rather than Truth itself, to reverence the letter above the spirit, may be detected in the refinements of metaphysical theology and the scholastic jargon, which as effectually concealed religious truth from the uninitiated as an unknown tongue. Now human nature is still every where the same, and every general propensity is likely to manifest itself, with more or less subtlety, under all the modifications of society. Is it not, then, a possible case, that, even among Protestants, who abhor the idea of imprisoning Truth in a dead language, and who acknowledge the duty of publishing it to all, there may yet survive an unconscious fondness for a sacred dialect, of artificial construction, in which religious ideas become invested with a solemn obscurity and mystic force to the devout, while they are locked up from the rude understandings of the many?

But the technicalities of religious phraseology, so offensive, and often so little short of incomprehensible to men of the world, while openly defended by many, are, by the greater part of those who speak the language of theology as the native medium of their thoughts, not perceived to be such. From early training, from the habit of reading books, and hearing sermons and religious conversation in the artificial phraseology which has become appropriated to religious ideas, ministers brought up within the happy but confined circle of their own connexions, and passing from the seclusion of the academy to the pulpit, are little aware that they have acquired a style of speaking and writing broadly distinguished from that of the times in which they live, and from the common medium of society. The study of the divines of the sixteenth century, so beneficial and indispensable to the young academic, so profitable to all, is necessarily attended with some disadvantage, if they are used as models of composition, and as authorities for phraseology. There is a charm in their pithiness, and quaintness, and antithesis, and wit; in their antiquated diction, once as familiar and vernacular as that which has now succeeded to it in common life; in that phraseology which was the costume of mind in past ages, but the assumption of which would now be ridiculous. It is not, however, by conversing with the dead, that we learn how to make ourselves best understood by the living. We must often learn in one language, what we must impart in another. We have to learn in the schools of the prophets, what we have to expound to the world. We may study at the feet of Gamaliel, but we have to preach at Areopagus and in the market-place. That men should not understand one another's speech, was the curse inflicted at Babel; but, while some may glory in speaking an unknown tongue, the

effect of the Pentecostal effusion was, that every man heard the truth proclaimed in *his own* language.

These remarks may possibly appear to some of our readers a little irrelevant or uncalled for; but they have been suggested by the remarkable contrast that Mr. Vaughan's natural, chaste, and perspicuous diction in the present volume, forms to the broad dialects of sectarian theology. We do not refer merely to our contemporary theological literature, such as it is, but to the mass of religious publications which are continually being reprinted. There prevails just now a rage for reprinting the works of our older divines, not in library editions, for the use of the student, but in a cheap and popular form for circulation among all classes. We have two religious bookselling societies vying with each other in reviving the quaint divinity of other days. Of the style and phraseology sometimes to be met with in such works, we shall venture to give a specimen or two.

'O sirs, do not you remember that Lazarus did not fret nor fume because Dives had robes for his rags, and delicacies for his scraps? for he well knew that though he was *sine domo*, yet not *sine domino*. . . . A man were better to have a serpent tumbling up and down in his bowels, than to have envy gnawing in his soul.'

Brooks's Ark für God's Noahs, p. 67.

'When Jacob was all alone, and in a dark night, and upon one leg, and when his joints were out of joint, and he very much over-matched, yet then he holds God fast; he wrestles and weeps, and weeps and wrestles; he tugs and sweats, and sweats and tugs; and will not let go his hold, till, like a prince, he had prevailed with God.' *Ib.* p. 146.

The grossness and impropriety of these passages will at once startle our readers; but is the following language better adapted for the popular communication of religious knowledge?

'Before I proceed to the next distribution of Christ's righteousness, I would observe three things concerning his obedience to these laws. 1. He performed that obedience to them which was in every way perfect. It was perfect with respect to the principle from which he obeyed: this was wholly right; there was no corruption in his heart. It was perfect with respect to the *ends* he acted for; for he never had any by-ends The second distribution of the acts of Christ's obedience is with respect to the different *parts* of his life wherein they were performed.' &c. *Edwards's Hist. of Redemption*, p. 214.

We could easily multiply specimens, but it would be invidious. Our object is, not to depreciate the intrinsic value of such works, many of which may deservedly rank among the classics of theology, but to shew that, like other ancient classics, they require translation to suit them to unlearned readers. Even Howe, Owen, Gurnall, and Flavel, and other masters of our Israel, whose works never ought to be missing from a minister's library, are not

writers for the multitude, gentle or simple, polite or rude; and although we may deem theirs the very mother tongue of Theology, it is a foreign idiom to the present times.

The sermons and religious writings of the day are not, however, chargeable with the quaintness and uncouthness of the older divines. The prevailing character is a fluent and inoffensive mediocrity. Still, it is technical. The preacher or writer lives in a little circle of his own, the dialect of which he speaks; and he is not aware how obscure is his language to those of another section of society. It is true, he may mix with other men, and converse with them, and be understood by them; but then religion is not the subject of their communication, and he speaks a common language. But his religious discourse is in another idiom. If he should find himself not understood, he has at hand a self-soothing explanation of the phenomenon: 'The natural man understandeth not the things of the Spirit of God:—they are spiritually discerned.' But surely there is a wide difference between not understanding *things*, which must be grasped by the moral perception, and not understanding *words*, which appeal to the rational faculties,—between not perceiving the truth of a proposition and not understanding its terms. No doubt, the state of men's hearts is the main cause of their not understanding and not believing the Gospel; but, knowing this, we are bound to be the more careful that nothing extraneous to the Gospel itself, no obscurity or offensive peculiarity in the manner of stating its truths, shall contribute to hinder its being intelligently perceived and embraced.

With regard to preachers, however, there is this difficulty attending the attempt to speak in any but the authorized terms and phrases of the sacred language; that, to a large part of their congregation it may be, the latter has become the most familiar and intelligible, or, at least, the most impressive medium. They *think* they understand what is said to them in certain hallowed phrases; and they must be, and ought to be, taught, admonished, or consoled, in the style which will best fix their attention, and come home to their hearts. Yet, it might be profitable to present to them occasionally the same sentiment in both idioms; the technical and the popular or conventional. In order to this, a minister must learn in his study, to translate his own ideas into secular phraseology; must acquaint himself with other idioms of thought than his own; must accustom himself to other sorts of composition than sermon-writing; must cultivate literature, not for its own sake, but for its effect in enriching the mind, and as a means of polishing those intellectual weapons which are to be consecrated to the service of Divine Truth.

But we must not pursue the subject. If Mr. Vaughan's matter were not as intrinsically excellent as his style is chaste and pleas-

ing, we should, after all, have little cause to compliment him upon his success. But what has struck us as the marked merit of the present volume, is, that it treats of those doctrines which are in themselves the most offensive to the irreligious, and the most unintelligible,—doctrines connected with the spiritual life, the inward warfare, and all that belongs to what is quaintly denominated experimental religion,—in language against which no one can take exception, and which can scarcely fail to be understood. It is a volume which may with confidence be put into the hands of a person unaccustomed to religious reading, without any risk of his requiring a glossary, and with a tolerable certainty that, if he quarrels with the Author, it will not be on account of the cut of his coat, the twang in his tone, the cant of his expressions, but simply for what he holds and teaches. To religious readers, the truly pastoral instruction contained in these chapters, must render the volume alike interesting and profitable.

The Work is divided into sixteen chapters. The first three, which may be regarded as introductory to the main subject, treat of the cardinal doctrines of Human Depravity, Justification, and Spiritual Influences. Chap. IV. to XVI. illustrate the Christian Warfare as connected with—Believing; Repentance; Private Devotion; Public Duty; Persecution; Religious Declension; Despondency; Occupation; Retirement; Prosperity; Adversity; the Fear of Death. The Concluding Chapter is on the 'Claims of the Christian Warfare.' The general design of the Author has been, to illustrate the effects of Christianity upon the minds of its disciples, considered in the leading diversities of their character and circumstances; to distinguish between the real effects of the Gospel, and those improperly attributed to it; and to shew, that the acknowledged imperfections of Christians furnish no valid objection against their holy religion. 'Their defects are in a process of removal; and their attainments have in them the seeds of a moral excellence which the future alone can fully develop'

Having given this outline of the Author's plan, we need only select a few extracts to shew with what discrimination, fidelity, and correctness of sentiment, the various branches of Christian duty and experience are illustrated. And first, we must select the concluding paragraphs of the chapter on Spiritual Influences.

'Such then, according to the Scriptures, are the spiritual influences by which the human mind is affected in the present world. Man is a being in whose fate the whole intelligent universe is concerned. The rebellious would have him continue a party to their treason. The obedient would see him recovered to their own state of allegiance and blessedness. And there is war between them on his account. But so

great is the compassion of God toward us, that the issue is not left to the possible uncertainties of such a contest. An influence all divine is vouchsafed to the soul, that thus its ultimate felicity and glory may be placed beyond the possibility of failure.

‘ To all these influences did the Saviour refer, when he said, *The wind bloweth where it listeth, thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, nor whither it goeth.* But if this mysteriousness belong to them all, how may we escape delusion? How may we know whether the influences which come upon us are good or evil? Satan can appear as an angel of light; error can assume the likeness of truth; evil can put on the semblance of good. Are there any means by which we may certainly distinguish between these? When an apostle writes, *Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God,* it is clearly implied, that the means of conducting such a trial are within our reach.

‘ III. We may observe, generally, that the Bible is our acknowledged standard of truth, and that **THE SPIRIT WHICH SPEAKS NOT ACCORDING TO THIS RULE, IS NOT OF GOD.** The great design of miraculous powers was to attest the authority of scripture, that, the inspired volume once completed, the church might possess ample guidance to the end of time. And, as if for the purpose of preventing any expectation of additions to that word, as left by the apostles, the power of working miracles ceased with the apostolic age. It is true that pretensions to this power survived that period; but in every instance, much subsequent to the first century, there is the strongest reason for considering them as the effect of misconception or fraud. And it is important to remember, that supposing these gifts to have passed away with the apostles and their immediate disciples, they must have disappeared, as they seem to have done, imperceptibly. Every argument that may now be resorted to in support of a continuance of miraculous powers, might be urged in support of making additions to the documents of holy scripture; and the church of Rome, accordingly, in urging her pretensions to such power, has only been consistent in laying claim to a spirit of infallibility, and in making her traditions of the same authority with the commandments of God. An argument which should prove that *any* of the extraordinary gifts of the apostolic age were to be perpetuated, must prove that they were *all* to be perpetuated, the gift of healing and the gift of inspiration alike. Hence, the next step after an expectation of new miracles, should be the expectation of new Bibles, or that some modern saint should attempt to supply the deficiencies of the Evangelists and of St. Paul. We repeat, therefore, that the word of God is the sole, and the sufficient standard, by which to try our own spirits, and the spirits supposed to have influence over us.

‘ Taking this perfect and unerring volume as our guide, we may be assured that the influence which disposes us to make light of sin, under whatever disguise this may be done, is not of God. The Spirit of God is holy, the angels in heaven are holy, and all that descends to us from them is in accordance with their nature. The divine word sufficiently describes what that work upon the heart is, which it is the design of all heavenly influence to promote. That which we may expect

to be done within us, is that which we have distinctly promised, and portrayed before us. The whole of this we should seek, and **nothing** beyond this should we for a moment anticipate. Whatever **tends** to produce distrust of the word of God, to nourish spiritual sloth, to impair a habit of devotion, to lessen our christian usefulness, to turn the mind from what is certain to what is doubtful, from truth to speculation, from doctrines that lead immediately to our sanctification to others which have no such immediate bearing;—whatever shall serve to puff up with spiritual pride, though under the garb of a monastic humility; or to make our own prominence and power a favourite object, though under the persuasion of a zeal for God; and, finally, whatever is found to alienate our affections from our fellow-men, and especially from our fellow-christians,—all such things are manifestly the offspring of our own earthly nature, or the result of influences still more opposed to God and goodness.

‘The subject of this chapter forcibly reminds us of **THE IMPORTANCE WHICH IS ATTACHED TO HUMAN NATURE IN THE ECONOMY OF THE UNIVERSE.** It is a fallen nature, every way stained and polluted; but its destiny calls forth the never-slumbering watchfulness, and the never-ceasing activity, of the good and evil through every known region of spiritual existence. The ruined archangel, and his embattled host, have long since made the destruction of man the great object of their policy. To prevent this, the Son of God becomes incarnate, and a sacrifice; the hosts of heaven array themselves, and go forth to meet the enemy in our cause; and the Spirit of the Highest descends to earth, deigns to take up his abode in the human heart, and supplies the weapons, the skill, and the strength, which must render the faithful more than conquerors through Him who hath loved them. Surely the results about which such wonderful agencies are employed, and thus employed, must be beyond all our thought momentous! To be among the lost, or the saved, must be an event of unspeakable, of inconceivable magnitude. Were all the power, the opulence, and the pleasures of the earth at our bidding, should we deem them valueless? Were all its evils to break at once upon us, should we affect to be unmoved? If this would not be, then be it remembered, that to be uninfluenced by what the Almighty has said as to the worth of our spiritual nature, and the danger to which it is exposed, is to do more strangely. It is to hazard an infinite loss, and to choose an infinitude of evil in its place! What an emphasis do these considerations give to that scripture,—*What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall he give in exchange for his soul?*’ pp 72–76.

In the first page, we meet with this remark, well worth remembering: ‘On earth, the individuals who aspire to the greatest good, generally impose upon themselves the greatest labour.’ Following up this axiom, Mr. Vaughan, in more than one place, exposes the criminality of that subtle, specious, respectable sin,—indolence.

‘**SLOTH** is another foe of public duty we have to mention. The

love of ease has been frequently described as the besetting sin of human nature. It is certain, that we every day see, and feel, the impediments which it places in the way of usefulness. If our plans may be accomplished with little effort on the part of others, we indulge the hope of success. But if much sacrifice be required, our anticipations generally decline, until they reach the point of despair. It is the same, in a great measure, when looking to ourselves. We dare not confide in our own perseverance, if it should be put to a severe test, any more than in that of our brethren.

'How many intellectual men pass life away without any thing deserving the name of labour! And this, perhaps, is their conduct, while professing to regard their ability to do good, as a matter of which an account must be given hereafter. They read, they talk, they luxuriate—but they shrink from real exertion. They look, probably, to the Redeemer of men, expecting ere long to receive from his hand a place in heaven: but they are idlers in his cause on earth. The same kind of delinquency frequently occurs in the instance of the man of business—the individual whose province is in practical affairs. He might bring his discernment, his experience, and his leisure, to the aid of many an important object. But it is easier to beguile himself with trifles, than to apply himself to duty. He is more concerned to provide personal amusement, than to benefit either the church or the world.' pp. 168, 169.

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'Indolence is not an unfrequent occasion of difficulty, when endeavouring to meet the ordinary duties of our station in the spirit required by the Gospel. . . . Now, where there is any marked leaning toward this vice, along with a spirit of piety, there is another sphere added to the many which constitute the warfare of the Christian. And indolence, be it remembered, when leading to the neglect of manifest duty, is not only a sin, but one which is sure not to exist alone. If it refer to worldly duty in the first instance, it will not fail to extend itself to religious duty; and it will put the mind in search of a multitude of vain excuses, in the hope of sheltering its delinquencies. Thus a proneness to deceit becomes the never-failing associate of idleness.

'As the frauds and wrongs practised on society may be traced, in most instances, to the fact that some men, while they must eat, will not work, so nearly all the corruptions of Christianity are to be ascribed to the circumstance that men, while concerned to obtain the rest of the future world, are bent on seeking it by some easier or more agreeable process than that which the scriptures have prescribed. Hence the substitution of vagrant fancies in the room of laborious self-examination, of airy speculations in the place of practical holiness. It is the great policy of the worldly idler to render a little effort as productive as possible; and it is precisely thus with the spiritual idler. Their system, accordingly, is to put the easiest and cheapest services in the stead of the more difficult and costly. And every one must perceive that it requires much less effort to censure Christians than to excel them; to condemn the world than to effect its improvement.

Indeed, there is scarcely another vanity so seductive as that which tells a man, that by loudly denouncing other persons, he is giving prominence to some conceived superiority in himself. We want something more, as the evidence of unusual sanctity, than a disposition to seem very angry with the real or the imaginary irreligion of our neighbours.

'The substance of what we here say is this;—idleness, the pest of the world, is equally, though under other forms, the bane of the church; and that it much behoves the Christian to guard against its creeping and insidious power in all its shapes. It is the chief ally of our natural depravity, the foe of all duty, and especially of those duties which require peculiar watchfulness and exertion.

'Nor has the Bible, in condemning indolence, spoken in vain. Religious men, in every age and nation, in proportion to their scriptural piety, have been distinguished by their industry, activity, and commercial enterprise. Separated from the paths of forbidden and intoxicating pleasures, they have sought their main occupation in useful and honourable pursuits, generally bringing to their plans that steadiness of character which, under the blessing of Providence, is usually allied to success.' pp. 275, 276.

One of the most valuable chapters in the volume is that which treats of religious declension, as distinguished from apostasy. To the former, the uncouth word 'backsliding' has frequently, and we must think very improperly, been applied; and we regret that Mr. Vaughan should have sanctioned it. The sin referred to in those passages of the Old Testament where our Translators have used this word, is clearly that of an open and wilful defection from the faith, a relapse into idolatry and vice, apostasy from Jehovah. To speak of 'declining piety' as 'backsliding', is to sanction a pernicious misapplication of Scripture, that has tended to afflict many a person of tender conscience, and to embolden many a hypocrite and wilful transgressor, by confounding those states of heart and character which Mr. Vaughan has with so much correctness distinguished. Still more strongly must we object to the common but most pernicious misapplication (p. 214) of Rom. vii. 14, as descriptive of any individual 'emancipated', as the Apostle declares he had been, by 'the principle of spiritual life in Christ Jesus, from the rule of sin and death.' If we have any fault to find with Mr. Vaughan, it is, that he does not discover so much of a critical intimacy with the sacred text as becomes every expounder of *THE BOOK*.

The most beautiful chapter, perhaps, is that on the Fear of Death; and as we can make room for only one more extract, it must be taken from this.

—'Through the Redeemer's sacrifice, death becomes to the Christian as one in a various catalogue of things which must work together for his good. So complete, indeed, is the atonement which has been made

for human guilt, that the Father might cause our spirits to be enlightened and sanctified at once, and our bodies to pass at once into heaven, without tasting of death, were such his pleasure. But the wisdom which has determined that our victory over spiritual death should be by means of a various and protracted warfare, has arranged that victory over natural death should be through the passage of the grave. Thus a new character attaches to this event, when viewed in connexion with the second Adam, instead of being regarded merely in its relation to the first. From the one, this enemy derives all that power which has rendered him the king of terrors; by the other, the foe has been deprived of his main strength, and rendered comparatively and ultimately harmless.

Hence the Christian is taught to regard THE SEPARATIONS OCCASIONED BY DEATH AS PARTS OF A GREAT PLAN, THE ISSUES OF WHICH WILL BE ALTOGETHER BENEVOLENT. These separations, we have seen, are many, various in their character, and often painful beyond expression; and it is impossible that we should be satisfied as to the benevolence of their design, unless assured that all their evil will be indeed surpassed by the good to which they lead. The pains of the process must be exceeded by the pleasures of the result. What, then, has religion to place in the balance against separation from the intimate connexions, the endeared possessions, and the much-loved pursuits of the present world? We answer, enough, and greatly more than enough, to turn the scale in its favour. Its design is to prepare believers for a better fellowship, a richer heritage, and more exalted pursuits than can be realized on earth. If the servant of God be taken from the less, it is that he may enter upon the possession of the greater. He has to experience a dissolution of the most tender ties connected with present existence, but it is that he may ascend to the more felicitous relationships of the heavenly world. If taken from much on earth, it is that he may receive to himself a kingdom which cannot be moved. He has to relinquish pursuits, which may have served to beguile his saddest hours, and have ministered not a little of innocent and sincere delight; but it is that his sympathies may be given more entirely to others, the pleasures of which exceed whatever the mind may now conceive. This is the end of his vocation, and the believer would not live for ever at the cost of being for ever estranged from it. Hence the desire of the Apostle *to depart and to be with Christ*. Hence his exultation—*I count not the sufferings of this present life as worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us. These light afflictions, which are but for a moment, work out for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory!*

Believers are often strengthened in contending against the fear of death, by learning to view submission to it as AN ACT OF OBEDIENCE, HAVING RESPECT BOTH TO GOD AND MAN. *Shall we receive good at the Lord's hand, and shall we not receive evil?* If we bless him as having set his glorious kingdom before us, shall we rebel against him because of the way which leads to it? Is it not enough that he has called us to an eternity of greatness and happiness while deserving to perish; but must we murmur because time also is not free from the painful and the humiliating? Has he saved us from spiritual death,

and shall we deem it a severity that we must submit to natural death? Has he rescued us from the sleepless horrors of the lost, and shall we charge him foolishly because of the brief repose allotted us in the tomb? Did he deliver his beloved Son to die the death of the cross, that *he* might thus testify the evil of sin, even while removing it; and shall *we* hesitate to go down to the grave, if thereby we may do homage to our great Benefactor, and testify to the same truth?

‘Among the most obvious of our religious duties is the effort to bring our rebellious nature into willing subjection to the great law of mortality. The astonishment is not that our entrance into heaven must be preceded by a life of conflict, and a death so humbling and painful, but rather that there should be any process, however great its debasement or suffering, that may lead to a result so truly wonderful. The nature which has permitted the afflictions of life, has permitted the reign of death, and both for the same reason,—that Christians, by meeting them in the spirit enjoined upon them, *may glorify their Father who is in heaven.*

‘Nor is this an act of obedience having respect to God only. The relation in which we are placed to each other, is such as to make it incumbent upon us to guard against all desire of exemption from this general law. If it be so, that *as face answereth to face in a glass, so doth the heart of man to man*, it would seem to follow, that if affliction, or death, be made to have their place in the lot of any, they should belong to the lot of all. And who could really wish to be an exception—especially in the latter respect? Every such wish must be a violation of that law which says, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.* It must proceed from that inordinate selfishness which the great law of equity condemns. The greatest men, and the best, have alike submitted to the stroke which separates us from the earth; leaving no plea to be urged in behalf of our own respite or acquittal, which might not have been better urged in the case of others. The precept which requires us to prefer one another in honour, prohibits the faintest wish to escape from those dishonours of the tomb to which all flesh has been doomed. In this manner, those fraternal sympathies which should bind man to his nature wherever found, and which the spirit of filial submission to the divine will must ever strengthen, all assist in reconciling the mind to an event in itself so grievous and unwelcome.’
pp. 380—384.

And now our readers will be able to form their own judgement of the Volume which we have much satisfaction in commending to their notice.

Art. VI. *Address to the Land-Owners of England, on the Corn Laws.*
By Viscount Milton. Second Edition. 8vo. pp. 46. London.
1832.

THERE is no public man of the day to whom the honourable title of patriot more rightfully belongs, than the noble Author of this pamphlet;—no one whose integrity of purpose, entire sincerity, and excellence of intention will be more readily admitted

by all parties. His opinions may be deemed too liberal,—on some points extreme, or even dangerous. To his own party, if he can be considered as belonging to any, his straight-forwardness, his habit of thinking for himself, with some degree of inflexibility, have sometimes been a little inconvenient. By the Tory party, he is both feared and disliked. But all must acknowledge the virtuous consistency of his character; and few will venture to call in question the patriotic aim of his public conduct. Unlike some champions of liberal principles, who are patriots in the senate, and tyrants in their own territory, Lord Milton is the same man in Yorkshire that he is in the metropolis; and his private conduct is governed by his public opinions.

His object, in the present appeal to the land-owners of the country, is to shew, that the corn laws are unjust in principle;—that they have not answered the purpose of protecting the agriculturist;—and that their only result is, ‘to confer the fraction ‘of a benefit upon one, and *that*, the wealthiest class of the ‘nation, and to do unmixed evil to every other class.’ Whether he is right or wrong, no one can say that the Heir of Wentworth is biassed by a regard to his own private interests in advocating this view of the subject.

If there be one topic that, more than another, demands to be investigated with dispassionate and impartial attention, it is that of the laws which are supposed to be necessary for the protection of the agricultural interest. But upon no one point have self-interest and party clamour so completely precluded calm discussion and sober argument. The very word, corn-laws, has something in it inflammatory of the passions. For want of other materials of seditious excitement, the Conservatives are now endeavouring to stir up a reaction against the present administration, (the most aristocratic that has been seen for this fifty years,) by representing its policy as hostile to the agricultural interest, from which, as land-owners, its members derive their revenues. If the corn-laws have the effect of keeping up the price of corn, and thereby keeping up rent, who can have better reason to wish them to be perpetuated, than the great Whig families who are identified with the present cabinet?

It is not our intention, in the present article, to go at large into this most important and intricate inquiry. Lord Milton's pamphlet is chiefly occupied with the statement of some very startling facts, tending to shew, that the golden reign of high prices was at all events not a time of increased prosperity to the *labourer* in husbandry.

‘Did the period of the so called agricultural prosperity, which is supposed to have reached its highest pitch in the year 1810, really bring comfort into the cottage of the labourer? Did it give him a greater demand over the first necessary of life? Did it enable him to

obtain something beyond the necessities of life, and thus to raise himself in the scale of society? To those landowners who took advantages of the times, and to those tenants whose landlords did not, I know well that it brought wealth; but whether it brought comfort to the labourer, except in districts where enclosures, or other improvements, which cannot be repeated, were in actual progress, is a very different question. It is, nevertheless, a question which must be solved, before we can determine whether agricultural prosperity can be truly predicated of that period of our history. Summon, therefore, into your presence, the men who are old enough to remember those times, and who are both able and willing to give you an account of their then condition. Let these enquiries be made in various situations. Make them in districts of old enclosure—make them in districts of open field—make them in the North, and in the middle, and in the South of England, excluding only those particular spots where such improvements were in actual progress, as, when once finished, cannot be repeated. If your enquiries are so conducted, I am much mistaken, if you will not find that the boasted period of agricultural prosperity was, to the labourer, a season of distress—and the one, during which he began to fall from his former station to that lower condition, to which we now see him reduced in many parts of England.’—pp. 13–15.

His Lordship proceeds to substantiate this representation, by comparing the average price of wheat, and the average rate of wages, at different periods; and he shews, that, taking the weekly consumption of wheat in a labourer’s family at two-thirds of a bushel, the surplus wages which would remain to the labourer after paying for that requisite portion of food, was the greatest in 1814, when the price of wheat was under 9s. 6d. a bushel, and the least in 1810, when the alleged agricultural prosperity was at its acme, and the price of the bushel was upwards of 13s. In the former year, the wages of agricultural labour in Northamptonshire, were 14s.; the price of two-thirds of a bushel, 6s. 1d.; leaving the labourer a surplus of 7s. 11d. In the latter year, he received only 10s. in wages; the price of two-thirds of a bushel was 8s. 10d.; leaving a surplus of only 1s. 2d. The Writer then compares the average excess of wages, estimated in the same way, during different periods or cycles of five years; and proves, that the period which is uniformly cited as that of the greatest agricultural prosperity, ‘was precisely that in which ‘the surplus income of the labourer was the smallest, and consequently that in which the comforts of the agricultural population were the most abridged.’

We do not see how the general conclusion which Lord Milton draws from these calculations is to be evaded. There is one circumstance, however, which, though it may not materially affect the correctness of the data, must be taken into account in judging of the actual condition of the labourer at the respective pe-

riods: we refer to the amount which he received in the shape of parochial allowance in addition to his wages. This, it would be very difficult to ascertain; but it forms an important element of the inquiry.

Having considered the effects of high price upon the great mass of the agricultural population, consisting of labourers, Lord Milton proceeds to expose the situation in which the agricultural tenantry, the owners of farming stock, have been placed since the passing of the Corn law of 1815; the express object of which statute was, to keep the average price of wheat at, or as near as possible to 80s. a quarter. Between 1815 and 1822, the farmer experienced the most extraordinary fluctuations in the price of his merchandize; fluctuations arising in part from the variations of the seasons; in part, unquestionably, from variations in the currency; but, to whatever cause attributable—and we have never seen an adequate and satisfactory explanation of all the circumstances,—shewing the utter inefficiency of the Corn-laws to protect the farmer against too low, or the consumer against too high a price.

‘ In the Spring of 1817, wheat sold at 120s. a quarter; in the Winter of 1821–2, it sold at less than 40s. a quarter; the average of the year 1817 being 94s., and that of 1822 being 43s. The highest price in Oxford, at Lady-day, 1817, was 148s.; at Michaelmas, 1820, 66s.; at Michaelmas, 1822, 52s. a quarter. The consequence of this state of things cannot have escaped your recollection. Great difficulties had been felt by the agricultural interest in 1814, 15, and 16; but the difficulties of all former years were surpassed by the distress of the Winter of 1821–2. The insolvency of tenants, at this period, was unparalleled in the history of the agricultural classes, and the inefficacy of the Act of 1815 was so universally acknowledged, that an alteration in the law was made in the Session of 1822; but the alteration being contingent upon circumstances which never occurred, no permanent practical change took place till the year 1828, when the present system was adopted. During the period, therefore, from 1815 to 1828, the prohibitory system of 1815 was in virtual operation. How far it secured you from a diminution of rental, your tenants from insolvency, and your estates from injury, every landholder in England can testify. I am here, however, principally entreating your consideration of the effects produced upon the agricultural capital of the country. Year after year, the value of the farmer’s produce had been diminishing, till it fell to little more than half the price at which Parliament considered that he could be remunerated for his industry. Year after year, he was deluded by fallacious hopes, excited by the law itself; his rent was paid out of his capital instead of out of his profits, till that capital became insufficient for the proper cultivation of the land, and then you yourselves began to feel the calamity, by which many of your tenantry had been already overwhelmed. Compare, then, the situation of that tenantry, under the protection of the

Corn Law of 1815, with what it probably would have been, had the trade been avowedly free ; or if you had been contented with the protection afforded by the law of 1804, under which it would have been practically free. Prices would, indeed, have lowered, but no such extravagant hopes would have been excited, no such erroneous calculations would have been made ; rents would have fallen to a level corresponding with the price of grain, the agricultural capital of the country would have been unimpaired, and the land would have remained in a better state of cultivation. Your nominal rentals might have been diminished, but your rents would have been collected with facility, and you would not have been driven, time after time, to the wretched expedient of returning a per centage to your tenants at each successive audit, in order to induce them to remain on their farms,—an expedient, which proclaims to your fellow citizens, that those who resort to it are in the habit of demanding from their tenants a larger rent than they are capable of paying. Nothing, I must confess, is more distressing to me than to witness these half-yearly annunciations of this mis-called liberality of certain portions of the landed interest. Has it never struck you, fellow citizens, that this proceeding is no evidence of liberality, but rather of extortion ; that the return of part of the rent may be proper, when called for by temporary calamity, by the effects of flood, or storm, or by some accidental misfortune overwhelming a particular tenant, or class of tenants ; but that, when resorted to habitually, it is not to be justified ; that it convicts those who have recourse to it of continued attempts to extract from their tenantry a rent not warranted by the value of agricultural produce ; and that, so far from proving the liberality of the landlord, it affords testimony of a very different quality.’—pp. 21—25.

To the land-owner, corn-laws which keep up the price of corn, may, it is admitted, yield an advantage, but an unjust one, at the expense of the other classes ; and not so great an advantage as may appear, since the extra price goes to augment very considerably, not merely the land-owner’s rent, but his expenditure. He partakes, therefore, in some degree of the injury which he inflicts. But, injurious as such enactments are to the three branches of society connected with the land, the mischievous influences which they exercise upon the manufacturing and commercial interests of the country, are, his Lordship remarks, infinitely more varied and extensive. The following facts, adduced to shew their effect upon the cost of producing manufactured goods, are worthy of deep attention.

‘ It is very much the fashion of the present day to dwell upon the important functions which machinery performs in the manufactories of this country ; and hence an inference is drawn by some persons, that the price of manual labour is of trifling consequence to our successful competition with the foreigner. These reasoners must imagine, that the dense population which has grown up in the manufacturing districts, has, comparatively, little to do with the manufacture, and that the great sums which that population receives in the shape of wages,

form no component part of the price of the manufactured article. They cannot be aware of the vast momentum of manual labour that is required, even for those branches of manufacture in which the efficiency of machinery is the most remarkable ; still less can they be aware, that, in some very important branches, machinery is scarcely at all employed. In the processes of spinning and weaving, mechanical power has indeed been applied to a great extent ; but the idea, that human labour has been superseded by machinery, is one of the most chimerical fancies that ever entered into the mind of man. The result of this application of artificial power has rather been to augment the quantity, and reduce the price of manufactured goods, than to dispense with the agency of man in their preparation ; hence the comforts and enjoyments of all ranks have been promoted, and the agricultural labourer himself has been enabled to obtain articles, which nothing but the application of mechanical power could have brought within his reach. In other and very important manufactures, however, the use of machinery is extremely limited ; and, upon these, the effect of an enhanced price of the first necessary of life is the most apparent, though, perhaps, it is not, in reality, more injurious to them, than to those branches of industry which seem to be withdrawn from its influence by the more extensive employment of machinery, but in which a large part of the expenditure may be ultimately resolved into the wages of labour.

‘ In order to place this view of the necessary effects of the Corn Laws more distinctly before you, may I be allowed to exhibit some details of the expenses of labour in a few of our leading manufactures ?

‘ It is a subject to which your habits rarely attract your thoughts ; few of you have local opportunities for considering it ; and I am afraid that I have remarked in some a reluctance to enquire into the state of your manufacturing and commercial countrymen.

In the manufacture of fine woollen cloth, the wages paid by the manufacturer amount to about sixty per cent. upon the total expenditure incurred between the purchase of the wool in the foreign port, and the period when the cloth is in a state fit for sale ; in the manufacture of linen yarn, the corresponding expenditure in wages is about 48 per cent.

‘ In the manufacture of earthenware, the wages paid by the manufacturer amount to about 40 per cent. ; that is to say, in the conversion of the requisite quantity of clay into goods worth 100*l.*, 40*l.* are paid to the workmen in the shape of wages.

‘ It is obvious, however, that, in these three instances, especially in the latter, a very large proportion of the remaining charges is resolvable into the wages of labour, though, perhaps, not to so great an extent as in the next instances I am about to cite. In the manufacture of pig iron, the expense of labour upon the various ingredients employed, amounts to no less than 81 per cent. ; and, in its subsequent conversion into bar iron, to 84 per cent.

‘ In the working of collieries, the expenses are almost entirely resolvable into labour ; and, in cases within my own knowledge, the wages actually paid exceed 90 per cent. upon the current expend-

iture. In the different branches of the steel manufacture, the following may be stated as the proportions per cent. which materials and wages bear to each other.

	Material.		Wages.
In Files (coarse	50	...	50 per cent.
Ditto (finer)	25	...	75
Table knives and forks	35	...	65
Razors	10	..	90
Scissors (coarse)	15	...	85
Ditto (fine).....	4	...	96

‘ Great as is the proportion which wages bear to the direct cost of manufacturing these articles, it must never be forgotten, that by far the greater part of the price of the material itself consists of wages ; and consequently, that almost the entire value of our steel goods may be said to consist of the wages of labour.

‘ These are only a few specimens, selected not for their peculiar applicability to my argument, but because I can speak of them, either from my own knowledge, or from information derived immediately from those who are engaged in these branches of industry.

‘ With these examples before our eyes, surely it is impossible to imagine that the employment of machinery renders it a matter of indifference to our manufacturing capitalists, whether the food of the operative classes is dear or cheap. Even where machinery has been carried to the greatest extent, the wages of labour constitute a most important element in the price of manufactured goods ; and high wages, when they are the result of dear provisions, not of a growing demand for labour, must ultimately tell upon commercial prosperity. Dear provisions must, indeed, produce one of the following effects—they must either lower the condition of the labourer, or raise the rate of wages. Nobody can wish the former result ; you must, therefore, wish high wages to be the result of dear corn—but if wages are high, the price of goods must be high—but if the price of goods be high, our manufacturers cannot compete with foreigners—but if they cannot compete with foreigners, our export trade is diminished—if our export trade is diminished, the prosperity of our manufacturing population is undermined—if their prosperity is undermined, they will consume fewer provisions ; the demand for agricultural produce in the manufacturing counties will be restricted—the surplus produce will remain in the hands of the farmer, and the ultimate result will be a fall of rents, occasioned, be it remembered, by an attempt to raise them. Let this sink deep into your minds.’—pp. 28—34.

Lord Milton then proceeds to point out the importance of the demand for corn in the manufacturing districts, to the corn-grower himself, and the interest which the landed proprietors have ‘ in ‘ the activity of every workshop and counting-house in Birmingham and Liverpool ’. And he concludes with almost supplicating the order to which he belongs, to consider whether their own welfare is promoted by a policy at variance with the prosperity of the industrious classes.

One important conclusion to which we are led by the facts adduced in the present pamphlet is, that the increase of population has little to do with the real rate of wages, and still less with their nominal amount; that, upon this point, the Malthusian doctrines are, as upon most others, at irreconcilable variance with stubborn fact. Another circumstance deserving of attention is, that, although agricultural wages will eventually be governed by the price of corn, the rise or fall of money wages does not immediately adjust itself to the rise or fall of prices, but, as it will be seen from the tables given by Lord Milton, so slowly as to occasion in the mean time much suffering to the labourer or much loss to his employer; and that nothing, therefore, is so much to be deprecated as any great fluctuation in the price of wheat, against the consequences of which the labourer cannot by any possibility provide.

Lord Milton's views of the baneful operation of the Corn laws, are very ably supported by Mr. Mundell, in a pamphlet, the title of which we have given below*, and which we strongly recommend to the notice of our readers. It embraces topics connected with the currency, into which we cannot enter, but to which we intend to devote a future article, when a more recent pamphlet by the same Writer will claim our attention. The following paragraphs will shew how completely Mr. Mundell coincides with Lord Milton as to the connexion between the prosperity of the agriculturist and the steadiness of the home demand created by our manufacturing population.

'Of all branches of industry, agriculture is the slowest in making returns. If enabled, however, to receive its natural encouragement, by the impulse of the great demand of our manufacturing population for food, its returns though slow are certain. But the whole operation of this law is in counteraction of the natural course of things, and its most mischievous operation upon the growth of grain is in adding hazard and uncertainty to slowness of return.'

'The demand of our manufacturing population for food is the natural and the sure encouragement of our own agriculture. If we had had no corn laws, it may be difficult to say what would have been the price of corn in this country, but it is certain that it would have increased steadily and regularly with the increase of the population. We require, and should have had from other countries at all times, a supply of grain of a quality different from that which our climate enables us to raise. But the bulk of our supply would still have been the produce of our own soil; for the expense of bringing it from a distance would at all times be greater than the cheaper cost at which corn could be raised abroad.'

* 'The Necessary Operation of the Corn Laws, in driving Capital from the Cultivation of the Soil, &c. By Alexander Mundell, Esq.' 8vo. 1s. 6d. Longman. 1831.

‘ Little faith is to be placed in political arithmetic ; and the price at which corn can be raised in any country never can be satisfactorily ascertained.

‘ But this much is certain ; that it is the great and increasing demand of our population for food, and not the cost of producing it, that is the cause of the high price of corn in this country above the price in countries whence we can derive a supply, when our demand is prevented from reaching such countries ; and it is not less certain that if the intercourse were free, the price there would always be the same with the price here, excepting the expense and risk of transport. Every farmer knows that high prices never compensate for diminished production. But if the effect of our corn laws enacted in and since the year 1815 be permanently and progressively to diminish production,—which is occasionally the consequence of a bad season,—such corn laws have the same effect during a course of years, in this respect, which a bad season has in a single year.

‘ It is at all events indisputable that our importation of corn continues to increase. The advocates of a restrictive corn law are thus thrown into this dilemma : either the increasing deficiency of home growth arises from the absolute inability of our agriculturists to keep pace with the increasing demand of our population for food ; or it arises from the operation of the corn laws. If the former be the case, what is to be said of the morality which seeks to aggravate the evils of scarcity by throwing from off its own shoulders the burdens of the state ? Few taxes are paid by the growers of corn *qua* growers. The chief taxes paid by them are as consumers, in common with the rest of the community. To resort to legislative means, in order to keep up the price of corn by reason of such taxes, is to relieve the grower of corn to this extent, and to increase the burdens of the rest of the community in the same proportion. In principle it is the same with an immunity from taxes enjoyed by a favoured class, which was a main ingredient in the first revolution in France, and has reduced Spain and Portugal from having been two of the finest to be two of the most beggarly kingdoms in Europe. Right never can come of wrong, especially where, as here, an attempt is made to counteract the natural course of things. In all such cases the consequences recoil upon the authors. This brings us to the other horn of the dilemma. No persons suffer so much from the operation of our corn laws as the growers of corn themselves. But, unfortunately, the rest of the community suffer with them.’ pp. 35—37.

Mr. Mundell pleads strongly for a free trade in corn, both import and export, allowing a drawback upon the exportation, equal to the *ad valorem* duty levied upon the import, which he would fix at an eighth part of the value of the grain, according to the highest price in the London market in the preceding week.

Art. VII.—*The Annuals.*

OUR readers will of course expect us to report, in the present Number, respecting the Annuals, which, true to their season, are now in flower. They will, perhaps, anticipate that some

changes have taken place, new varieties succeeding to those which may have disappeared. The *Winter's Wreath*, one of the most ably conducted of all the *Annuals*, is 'merged' in *Friendship's Offering*. Ackermann's *Juvenile* is united to Mrs. S. C. Hall's *Forget me not*. With regard to some others, we are in suspense. The only novelties are, a *Landscape Album*, and a *Missionary Annual*; the latter still in the bud.

The fourth volume of Mr. Roscoe's *Tourist in Italy*, contains a most delightful series of views from the pencil of Mr. Harding, to whose high merit we have on former occasions borne a willing testimony. His subjects are always skilfully selected and treated with equal dexterity and feeling. In the present volume, we are transported to the most picturesque parts of Italy; the Neapolitan coast and the shores of the Gulf of Genoa. The first five subjects are Vietri, La Cava, Vico, Mola di Gaeta, and the Garigliano. We are then led back to the Campagna di Roma, and presented with interesting views of Castel Gandolfo, Villa Madama, and two scenes in the romantic neighbourhood of Tivoli. Then follow Narni—Terni—Vallombrosa—and Fiesole; names that are in themselves pictures to the fancy. Nine views, not one too many, are assigned to the coast between the Magra and Nice. The remaining two, with the frontispiece and title-vignette, are subjects equally well chosen, taken from the Val d'Aosta in Piedmont. The views are admirably engraved. The entrance to Aosta, by Higham, is exquisitely finished. Alessio is, perhaps, the most strikingly beautiful combination of the powers of the pencil and the graver in the volume. But the whole series is good, without an exception, and does the greatest credit to all parties concerned. The letter-press consists of an amusing olio of narrative, historical and romantic, biographical anecdote, and slight topographical notice.

Mr. Stanfield and Mr. Leitch Ritchie have found ample scope for their respective powers of pencil and pen, in the rich and romantic scenery of the Rhine, studded with towns, castles, and convents, and peopled with the whole population of romance,—barons, bandits, blue-eyed damsels, goblin miners, and all sorts of phantoms. But alas! all the romance belongs to the past, and ill accords with the unpoetic reality. After amusing us with all sorts of good stories, and keeping the mind of his reader in a sort of luxurious dream as he floats down this majestic stream, Mr. Ritchie for a moment assumes a graver and more earnest tone, and drawing back the scenic curtain, shews us what it conceals.

'The country of the Rhine is a paradise of painters; but to the poet, whose vision embraces not merely the outside forms of things, but their moral associations, it is something very different indeed. We have scarcely any where seen human nature in a state of greater degradation

than on the banks of the Rhine. The "*deep blue eyes*" of the peasant girls glare upon you with the scowl of famine, from between the ridges that are heavy with corn and wine; and the hands "that offer early flowers" grasp a rope—fit token of their bondage—the loop of which is yoked round their waist, as they drag their barges against the stubborn stream. A procession of this kind, of from ten to twenty persons, chiefly females, is one of the most common spectacles that greet the eye of the voyager, when they are withdrawn from the picturesque ruins, and vine-clad hills, that border the river. The same thing, we are aware, may be seen elsewhere. At Dieppe, for instance, the fishermen's wives and daughters drag the family-boats out of the harbour, keeping step to a merry song, and ending with a shout as they fling the coil into the sea. But here the labour does not last for a hundred paces, but for a score or more of miles; and for singing, there are heard only sobs of weariness; and for sunny cheeks and lightsome eyes, there are seen only the pale and spirit-broken look of ceaseless toil and hopeless degradation.

'If the mothers act the part of horses, the children take that of dogs, and may be seen harnessed, as the latter animals are in London, to little carts or wheel-barrows, which they drag about the streets. The work of the fields also is performed in general by the women and children, who may be observed, almost naked, digging, sowing, and carrying burdens, beneath the burning rays of that sun which ripens the vines, and fills the land with plenty.

'The Rhine, born in the bosom of the Alps, midway between Italy and Switzerland, runs its course, of four hundred leagues, to the ocean, with an almost uniform rapidity. The wealth, therefore, that grows on its banks, may be carried down the stream, but can never re-ascend in that interchange of commodities which forms the prosperity of a country. The fluctuations of the tide of commerce are never felt among the mass of the people. No one becomes rich, but all continue poor. The nobles and other proprietors sell their corn, wine, iron, and other commodities, for money; and the labourers eat, as usual—that is, in favourable years—their crust of black bread. The ten or twelve thousand streams of all dimensions, that fling their waters into the Rhine, only use the latter river—which is more than adequate to its own supply—as a highway of commerce, on which the wealth that passes, leaves little more than its dust to the people, although it pays abundant tolls to the Government.' pp. 160—162.

Mr. Ritchie is a powerful writer,—not always alike successful in his tales of wonder and horror, some of which are not told for the first time, but always lively and entertaining; and his topographical sketches are particularly happy. We shall make room for a further specimen.

'The scenery of the Rhine, in the more picturesque parts at which we have now arrived, has not the slightest affinity to river-scenery, except in the rolling, tumbling motion of the water. The terms "*beautiful river*", "*magnificent river*", so liberally bestowed by its admirers, are quite misapplied—it is not a river at all. No one, when gazing around him from the deck of his vessel, or from the lonely and silent

shore, can imagine that he is anywhere else than on the bosom or the banks of a lake, whose waters are imprisoned by an impassable barrier of rocks and mountains.

‘The Rhine is here a succession of lakes, (so far as the pilgrim of the picturesque is concerned,) each different in detail from the rest, yet all bearing some general resemblance like a series of family portraits. The remark of Hazlitt, that “nature uses a wider canvas than man”, and is therefore difficult to copy in such a manner as to unite the requisites of a fine picture, would be here misapplied. The objects are only just sufficiently numerous to keep the mind and eye on the stretch of interest; and the space only just extensive enough to admit of distance. Some further and loftier pinnacles may indeed be sometimes observed mingling with the tints of the sky; but in the body of the picture, the lake is clasped by the mountains in a close embrace, only varying in character from the gentle to the grim.

‘And these mountains, be it observed, are, after all, only mountains in miniature. They have often, indeed, the steepness, the rudeness, the rock, the shadow, the over-hanging ridge, or jagged pinnacle of the Giants of the Valley of the Rhone; but in size, compared to them, they are but mole-hills. There is, to say the truth, something of the *petite* about the mountains of the Rhine, which uniting with the other peculiarities of the scenery, gives one the idea of a *picture*.

‘Among these peculiarities may be mentioned a *preciseness*—if we can possibly make ourselves understood—in the appearance, disposition, and grouping of the various objects. Nor is this term or its meaning, conveyed, as might be suspected, by the tame and uniform appearance of the vineyards which clothe the sides of the eminences down to the water’s edge, and of the low woods which in general crown the hills. The characteristic extends even to the details of the piece. The small towns are pitched into an angle of the shore with the regularity of a geographer’s dotted mark, which signifies, “here stands a town”. No suburban streets, no straggling houses, no scattered farms, give relief to the taste by resembling the *accidents* of nature. The groves on the hill-sides are few and far between; but there is no grove without a church-spire rising in the midst, and over-topping the trees. Frequently a daring and fantastic cliff frowns over the river, or rises majestically from the brow of the steep; and each of these cliffs is crowned with a castle, till the wonder grows uniform. The woods, moreover, look like plantations; the vines obtrude an unceasing idea of the artificial; and at this, the autumnal season, the same grey, delicate, faded tint overspreads hill and valley, field and grove, assimilating with the colour of the rocks, and of the ruins that crown them, and only finding a contrast in the dark and turbid waters below.

‘This is the *result* of the impression received during the whole voyage, or, in other words, the feeling into which those impressions finally subside; but the traveller on setting out, or even after passing through the second or third lake, would find it difficult to persuade himself that “to this complexion they should come at last”. At first, all is novelty, and wonder, and delight; then, as the novelty is gradually lost, the wonder subsides, and the delight vanishes, or only re-

mains like the remembrance of a dream. The voyage of the Rhine is like the voyage of human life! In youth we enjoy—in manhood we reason and compare—in old age we sink, according to the individual character, either into apathy or content. Some there are who have no manhood of the soul, and whose morning of enjoyment fades suddenly into a night of bitterness or regret. We have met with such travellers on the Rhine—and men too of apparent intelligence—who, forgetful of the feelings which in the earlier part of the voyage beamed in their faces, and sparkled in their eyes, declared the whole, after reaching Cologne, to be flat, stale, and unprofitable—a cheat and a delusion.

But we must not forget the more important personage—the Artist. The subjects of the truly picturesque drawings in this volume, are as follows: Strasbourg. Heydelberg (two views). Frankfort. Bingen (two views). Rheinstein. St. Goar. Coblenz (two views). Ehrenbreitstein. Andernach. Nonnenwert. Drachenfels. Godesberg. Bonn. Cologne. Brussels. Antwerp. Ghent. Bruges. Rotterdam. Near the Hague. Scheveling. Sea, near Brill. The scenes are particularly well suited to Mr. Stanfield's bold and glowing style; and the effect is so happily expressed by the burin, that, in several instances, the engraving seems to warm into colour. Coblenz from Ehrenbreitstein, reminds us strongly of Turner. Frankfort, Bingen by Twilight, and Bruges are, next to this, our favourite prints. Altogether, it is a delightful volume, and deserves well of the public.

The Keepsake is radiant, as usual, with Turner and Stanfield, Martin and Chalon, and a list of titled contributors. Lord Dover opens the volume with 'Vicissitudes in the Life of a Princess of Brunswick:' the same singular story has appeared in a little volume recently published under the title of "Past and the Present Times."* Mr. Leitch Ritchie, who seems the crack man of this year's Annuals, has supplied two tales. There are also two by the Author of *Frankenstein*; a ghost story by Colley Grattan; two pathetic tales by Mrs. Charles Gore; a Mexican story by the Author of *Hajji Baba*; and a very tragical 'story of modern science' by Lord Morpeth. We must conclude that the volume is designed for the gay and happy, from the predominance of the mournful and pathetic. To our taste, there is too much of the minor key, and we turn for relief to the plates. Juliet from *Liversage*, by Heath, is a gem,—dramatically conceived, and exquisitely executed by both pencil and burin. The Bridesmaid, from a drawing by Parris, is so lovely that one is ready to wonder how she came not to be the Bride. Pepita and the two Robbers, from *Cattermole*, is very clever. Turner's *Ehrenbreitstein*, engraved by Wallis, is beautiful in design and execution. The Invisible Girl is a gentle and lovely creature;

* 12mo. London, (Cadell,) 1831.

and there is a Flemish richness in the print, very attractive. The Frontispiece is admirable as a work of art; but the lady looks rather too much like a figure from the *Journal des Modes*. The medallion of the King on the title-page is a complete ocular deception: looked at in a proper light, it is difficult to resist the impression that it is an actual medal. We have omitted to notice 'Caius Marius mourning over the Ruins of Carthage,' by Martin, grand, shadowy, and gloomy, which L. E. L. has illustrated in the following pleasing and spirited stanzas.

- ' He turned him from the setting sun,
Now sinking in the bay :—
He knew that so his course was run,
But with no coming day ;
From gloomy seas and stormy skies,
He had no other morn to rise.
- ' He sat, the column at his feet,
The temple low beside ;
A few wild flowers blossomed sweet
Above the column's pride ;
And many a wave of drifted sand
The arch, the once triumphal, spanned.
- ' The place of pleasant festival,
The calm of quiet home,
The senate, with its pillared hall,
The palace with its dome,—
All things in which men boast and trust,
Lay prone in the unconscious dust.
- ' Yet this the city which once stood
A Queen beside the sea,
Who said she ruled the ocean flood,
Where ever there might be
Path for bold oar or daring prow :—
Where are her thousand galleys now ?
- ' A bird rose up—it was the owl
Abroad at close of day ;
The wind it brought a sullen howl,
The wolf is on his way ;
The ivy o'er yon turret clings,
And there the wild bee toils and sings.
- ' And yet there once were battlements,
With watchers proved and bold,
Who slept in war-time under tents
Of purple and of gold !
This is the city with whose power
Rome battled for earth's sovereign hour !

- ‘That hour it now was Rome’s, and he
 Who sat desponding there,
 Had he not aimed the soul to be
 Of all that she could dare ;
 The will that led that mighty state,
 The greatest, too—where all were great !
- ‘An exile and a fugitive,
 The Roman leaned alone ;
 All round him might those lessons give,
 The past has ever shown.
 With which is all experience fraught,
 Still teaching those who are not taught.
- ‘He saw and felt, wealth, glory, mind,
 Are given but for a day ;
 No star but hath in time declined,
 No power but pass’d away !
 He witnessed how all things were vain,
 And then went forth to war again !’

The same clever, versatile, and graceful Writer has contributed a good story to illustrate a humorous design by Richter—Peeping into a Letter at the Post-office.

Friendship’s Offering fully supports its average character. Among the contributions which have most pleased us, we may mention the Mysterious Stranger, by Leitch Ritchie ; the Veiled Lady of Ajmeer, by J. B. Fraser ; Match-making, by the inexhaustible Miss Mitford ; and more than all, ‘Cromwell House, or Three Scenes in the Life of a Commonwealth’s Man,’ by Miss Lawrance. From this we must take an extract.

‘One glorious summer’s evening in 1652, a young horseman rode slowly up to a small house, still to be seen near the summit of Highgate Hill, and dismounting, knocked at the door. His name and errand were quickly told ; and the worthy Master Heywood, who had now discovered, by the clearest possible light, that it was his bounden duty to uphold the Commonwealth, rushed to the door : “Come in, good cousin Mayhew. So ye seek an introduction to his Excellency. Glorious times these ! wondrous appearing of Providence ! Truly, the spirit of prophecy *did* rest upon your godly father. I never forget his words ; for was the like ever heard ? He raised up even as David, and kings of the earth bringing gifts unto him ; or, as learned Dr. Godwin set forth in his last morning exercise, like Joseph,

“That he might at his pleasure bind
 The princes of the land ;
 And he might teach his senators
 Wisdom to understand.”

Glorious things do our eyes behold ! Why, this house, worth full three hundred pounds, I purchased for half, and the hangings into the

bargain. Who is there, as worthy Colonel Harrison saith, but must rejoice in the welfare of Zion?"

"But where is the Lord General?" inquired Mayhew.

"He is staying out, there yonder, at my lady Ireton's. But surely, or my eyes deceive me, there is his Excellency, with Colonel Harrison, now coming along the path."

The young man turned quickly round, eager to catch a view of that extraordinary man, whose fame was the theme of all Europe. In the younger of the two, a bold, good-humoured, though coarse looking man, he recognized Harrison. But could the elder, he, whose heavy features, awkward gait, and plain suit of dark gray, seemed to mark him but as some thrifty farmer, some small freeholder, could he be the warrior who, snatching the banner from the flying cornet, rallied the twice discomfited host at Marston Moor, and bore away a glorious victory? Could that harsh voice bid triumphant defiance to the monarchy on the proud field of Naseby? Could the members of that mightiest parliament have quailed before the flash of that dull gray eye? Ere young Mayhew had recovered his surprise, Master Heywood had hastened toward the pair with bows, expressing the quintessence of reverential feeling.

"Stand up, man, put on thy hat—wherefore all this reverence to a fellow mortal? Who hast here?" and in the searching, though momentary glance which the speaker cast, young Mayhew felt that he indeed stood in the presence of a master spirit.

"A young kinsman of mine, so please your Excellency, son to worthy Captain Mayhew, who was killed at Edgehill, and who said how truly great your Excellency would be;—he is come to offer his services to our glorious Commonwealth."

"I knew him well, and for his sake the son is welcome," answered Cromwell, a smile of singular benignity playing over those heavy features. He paused a few moments, and then laying his hand familiarly on young Mayhew's shoulder, said, "Can'st go a journey for me?"

"Right willingly, your Excellency, this very night."

"Thow art a man for the Commonwealth's service," cried the General, smiling at the young man's eagerness; "Come down to me at my daughter's house within half an hour."

"You're a made man, Master Edward," cried his admiring cousin. "You see the General remembered your late godly father, for I have never been slack when I could get speech of his Excellency, to say somewhat concerning you. Now there is a vacancy for a cornet in the General's own troop; might you not edge in a word, as they say, for my second boy, Maher-Shahal-Hashbaz, whose name I changed from that heathenish one Charles, when news came how that son of Belial was going to send over the Irish papists, and I was grieved for the afflictions of our Zion?"

Young Mayhew went down; but vainly did Master Heywood endeavour to ascertain the result of that interview, for by the earliest dawn on the morrow he departed.

Three days passed; and then as evening closed in, the young man, faint and worn, leaping from his tired horse, presented himself at the

door of the lady Ireton's, and demanded instant conference with the Lord General Cromwell.

"His Excellency is in close discourse with some friends," said his trusty secretary Thurloe; "nor can he be seen, save by him *who bringeth glad tidings.*"

"*His counsel shall stand,*" responded young Mayhew; and the secretary, recognizing the countersign, immediately led him up the noble staircase, adorned with military emblems, and decorated with neatly carved small figures of the parliament soldiers, each bearing his appropriate arms, into the withdrawing room, where the General was seated at the head of a large table, and with him three friends. "Now for an account of your journey," said he, smiling familiarly.

We have not room for Master Mayhew's report, which conveys to Cromwell the gratifying assurance that the last hopes of the royalists are at an end. A conversation ensues between Cromwell, Vane, and Harrison, in which the characters are well supported. At length, Cromwell is driven to remark, that if he is set in this government above his fellows, 'tis a mighty price he 'must pay'.

"It is a solemn truth," said a middle-aged man, whose peculiarly luxuriant locks of light brown hair and studied neatness of apparel contrasted strongly with the appearance of those around him; lifting his hand, and turning his eyes, clear, but destitute of vision, toward the Lord General, "it is a solemn truth, that he who is called forth to a mighty work must lay down a mighty price! For not alone must he endure the scoff and scorn of the brutish herd, that growl at the gentle violence which unlooses their chains, but the scoff of the worldly-wise, the scorn of the proudest among men, and more than all, the averted eye even of the good, who standing not on his vantage ground, see not the glorious results, and censure, even as the owl and bat blame the noontide sun, because too bright for their imperfect vision. And thus is the patriot leader crowned, not with laurel, but with thorn,—lifted up, not in triumph, but in mockery,—fed, not with honied praise and odorous benedictions, but with the gall of fierce revilings. Yet, shall he pause on his high career? Shall he draw back whom Heaven bids onward? No; though his staff in his hand become a serpent,—though all the waves of the Erythrean main are dashing before him,—though his own people, even those for whom he wrought so great deliverance, cry, 'Who is this Moses that we should obey him?'"

"He speaketh truly," cried Cromwell, who had listened with intense interest to the words of his Latin secretary.... "Saith not the Scripture, 'A good name is better than precious ointment'? And a memory famous to all generations was the heritage promised to the righteous."

"Nor shalt thou lose that reward, illustrious man!" answered the Poet, solemnly raising his hand, his fixed eyes lifted up towards Heaven, as though by a finer sense a vision of the unseen future were vouchsafed to him in recompense for his mortal blindness. "Scorn

thou to reap a quick but scanty fame, which gourd-like a night may mature, and a short day destroy ; but be thy fame the slowly springing, firmly rooted, wide-spreading bay, that through the long succession of centuries shall flourish over thy tomb. Thy tomb ! did I say ? They may cast thee out of thy grave, and scatter thy dust to the winds, but, can they blot out thy name ? Can they scatter thy memory ? That name, which, like the doom-announcing sentence traced by no earthly hand, shall appal each crowned tyrant in the midst of his unhallowed banquet of uncontrolled rule. A blight, deep and deadly, may gather round thy fame, and those who trembled at the living hero may spurn with asinine hoof the lifeless corpse ; but heed not thou ! thou, who, by the self-same appointment that placed the giver of glowing life in the heavens, art set to be the ruler of men below. He may sink in clouds, but to-morrow he arises in fresh glory. Like him, go on in thy course ; great—not that on thy brow is set the thick clustering laurel of threefold victory ;—not, that the royal standard of England swept her proud blazonry even in the dust before thee ;—not, because the crown of three kingdoms faded in dim eclipse before the star of thine ascendant ; but that, at thy call, England arose from the dust, and stood in enfranchised glory ; and freedom of conscience, and all her goodly train came forth from her dungeon gloom ; and religion, pure religion, tricked in no brodered vestment, but clad in spotless white, marched through the land beneath thy protecting shield, and sat down on her throne of dominion. Go on, illustrious man ! complete what thou hast so well begun. Despise a fleeting fame that shall wither like the fading flowers strewn upon a new-made grave, and be ‘ the praise and the heroic song of all posterity.’”

The poet ceased, but the keen eye of that gifted man to whom the welcome counsel had been addressed, was fixed on the speaker, eagerly as though these encouraging words still flowed on. “ *It shall be*,” he half murmured. None knew what he meant ; but, ere that year had closed, that soldier of fortune, seated in the chair of state, received from the Commissioners the great seal of the kingdom, and heard the joyful shouts of his companions in arms proclaiming him, “ Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.”

From among the poetical contributions, we must cull the following very beautiful and touching Sonnet.

‘ Oh ! if thou lov’st me, love me not so well !
 For, in this ceaseless mingling of the heart,
 I feel such power of mystery doth dwell,
 I sicken with the weight, and weeping start !
 Are we of earth, and subject to decay ?
 Walk we a world of sin, and change, and pain ?
 Yet dare we own that forms of mortal clay
 Our all of wealth and happiness contain ?
 Oh ! surely souls for higher aims were made,
 Than thus in love’s fantastic realm to rove ;

And ours might treasure find that ne'er shall fade,
 And soar from human to immortal love!
 Then, if thou lov'st me, teach my hopes to rise,
 And lead my heart with thee home—home into the skies.'
 (Gertrude.)

A common place design of Corbould's is illustrated by some elegant and rather striking verses by Charles Whitehead, which, but for their length, would tempt transcription. But we must make room for the following.

THE ARMADA,

A FRAGMENT,

BY T. B. MACAULAY.

' Attend, all ye who list to hear our noble England's praise,
 I tell of the thrice famous deeds she wrought in ancient days,
 When that great fleet invincible against her bore in vain
 The richest spoils of Mexico, the stoutest hearts of Spain.

' It was about the lovely close of a warm summer's day,
 There came a gallant merchant-ship full sail to Plymouth bay,
 Her crew hath seen Castile's black fleet, beyond Aurigny's isle,
 At earliest twilight, on the waves lie heaving many a mile.
 At sunrise she escaped their van, by God's especial grace;
 And the tall Pinta, till the noon, had held her close in chase.
 Forthwith a guard at every gun was placed along the wall;
 The beacon blazed upon the roof of Edgecombe's lofty hall;
 Many a light fishing bark put out to pry along the coast;
 And with loose rein and bloody spur rode inland many a post.
 With his white hair unbonneted the stout old sheriff comes,
 Behind him march the halberdiers, before him sound the drums;
 His yeomen, round the market-cross, make clear an ample space,
 For there behoves him to set up the standard of her Grace.
 And haughtily the trumpets peal, and gaily dance the bells,
 As slow upon the labouring wind the royal blazon swells.
 Look how the lion of the sea lifts up his ancient crown,
 And underneath his deadly paw treads the gay lilies down,
 So stalked he when he turned to flight, on that famed Picard field,
 Bohemia's plume, and Genoa's bow, and Caesar's eagle shield;
 So glared he when at Agincourt in wrath he turned to bay,
 And crushed and torn beneath his claws the princely hunters lay.
 Ho! strike the flagstaff deep, sir knight: ho! scatter flowers, fair maids:
 Ho! gunner, fire a loud salute: ho! gallants, draw your blades:
 Thou sun, shine on her joyously: ye breezes, waft her wide;
 Our glorious SEMPER EADEM—the banner of our pride.

' The freshening breeze of eve unfurled that banner's massy fold,
 The parting gleam of sunshine kissed that haughty scroll of gold:
 Night sank upon the dusky beach, and on the purple sea;—
 Such night in England ne'er had been, nor e'er again shall be.

From Eddystone to Berwick bounds, from Lynn to Milford bay,
 That time of slumber was as bright and busy as the day :
 For swift to east, and swift to west, the warning radiance spread ;
 High on St. Michael's mount it shone, it shone on Beachy Head.
 Far on the deep the Spaniard saw, along each southern shire,
 Cape beyond cape, in endless range, those twinkling points of fire ;
 The fisher left his skiff to rock on Tamar's glittering waves ;
 The rugged miners poured to war from Mendip's sunless caves.
 O'er Longleat's towers, o'er Cranbourne's oaks, the fiery herald flew ;
 He roused the shepherds of Stonehenge, the rangers of Beaulieu.
 Right sharp and quick the bells all night rang out from Bristol town,
 And ere the day three hundred horse had met on Clifton down.
 The sentinel on Whitehall gate looked forth into the night,
 And saw o'erhanging Richmond-hill the streak of blood-red light.
 The bugle's note and cannon's roar the death-like silence broke,
 And with one start, and with one cry, the royal city woke.
 At once on all her stately gates arose the answering fires ;
 At once the wild alarum clashed from all her reeling spires ;
 From all the batteries of the Tower pealed loud the voice of fear ;
 And all the thousand masts of Thames sent back a louder cheer :
 And from the furthest wards was heard the rush of hurrying feet,
 And the broad stream of flags and pikes dashed down each roaring
 street ;
 And broader still became the blaze, and louder still the din,
 As fast from every village round the horse came spurring in :
 And eastward straight, from wild Blackheath, the warlike errand went,
 And roused in many an ancient hall the gallant squires of Kent.
 Southward from Surrey's pleasant hills flew those bright couriers forth ;
 High on bleak Hampstead's swarthy moor they started for the north.
 And on, and on, without a pause, untired they bounded still ;
 All night from tower to tower they sprang, they sprang from hill to
 hill,
 Till the proud peak unfurled the flag o'er Darwin's rocky dales,
 Till like volcanoes flared to heaven the stormy hills of Wales,
 Till twelve fair counties saw the blaze on Malvern's lonely height,
 Till streamed in crimson on the wind the wrekin's crest of light ;
 Till broad and fierce the star came forth on Ely's stately fane,
 Till tower and hamlet rose in arms o'er all the boundless plain ;
 Till Belvoir's lordly terraces the sign to Lincoln sent,
 And Lincoln sped the message on o'er the wide vale of Trent ;
 Till Skiddaw saw the fire that burned on Gaunt's embattled pile,
 And the red glare on Skiddaw roused the burghers of Carlisle.'

Of the embellishments, we cannot say much. Mr. Wood is clever, but it is not a cleverness that pleases us. 'Affection,' from a drawing by Davis, will, perhaps be a favourite. Purser's 'Bridge of Alva' and 'Corfu' are pleasing landscapes. The latter is illustrated by some beautiful stanzas. The Frontispiece, 'Unveiling,' from Richter, is a good engraving ; but we cannot admire the lady ; nor does the poem designed to illustrate the plate correspond to the idea which it suggests.

The Amulet has certainly the advantage of more attractive and truly elegant embellishments: and no pains and cost seem to have been spared to support the high character of the work in this respect. The Gentle Student, admirably engraved by Rolls from a lovely portrait by Newton; The Duchess of Richmond, from Sir Thomas Lawrence, engraved by Graves; Kemble as Cato, from the same master, by Greatbach; the Theft of the Cap, from a picture by Wilkie, full of life and humour, and exquisitely engraved by Finden; and the Young Navigators, from Mulready; will especially be the favourites of the print shops. Of the literary attractions of the volume, the principal are, three tales by Mrs. S. C. Hall; a very good moral tale from the pen of our old friend Mrs. Opie; a biographical narrative by Mrs. Howitt; Soldier's Wives, By the Rev. C. B. Tayler; On Sneezing, by Dr. Robert Walsh; and Notices of the North American Indians, by his brother, the late Dr. Edward Walsh. We find nothing that we can so conveniently extract, and nothing more deserving of being extracted, than part of a Poem by the Editor, entitled, 'The Emigrant.'

'What is it lights the dark and sunken eye,
And calls a red flush to the pallid cheek?
Mark the unclosing lips, the deep-drawn sigh,
One foot advanced, the hands outstretched,—they speak!—
Ten seconds pass, and lo! the gladdened crew
Send up a cheerful sound to heaven—"Land!—Land!"—
Like blessed angels o'er the waters blue,
The cliffs of old and happy England stand!

'On, on they sail; and now there come in sight
Small cottages among the autumn trees,
Looking so happy in the morning light,
Their smoke up-curling to the fresh sea-breeze;—
They might have almost heard the reaper's tone
Of joy, as merrily he paced along;
Yet there the Exile stood, alone—alone—
And once again he breathed his thoughts in song.

'Oh, England!—oh, my English home!
I see thee through the white sea-foam,
And feel my strength awhile return,
My heart-pulse beat, my temples burn
With joy,—although I come to lay
My bones beside my fathers' clay,
And sleep the long unbroken sleep
From which we never wake to weep.
Land of pure women and brave men!
Proud mistress of the earth and sea!—
I hail thy blessed shores again,
Home of the great, the good, the free!

- ‘ Where feudal rights are history’s themes,
And thralldom-woes forgotten dreams ;—
Where man may sleep beneath the shade
Of equal laws himself has made—
May look within himself and find
The dignity of human kind,
And proudly walk his chosen path,
Lord of himself and all he hath ;
Free as the winds, none dare upbraid,
Safe as the stars that o’er him shine,
He sits, “ none making him afraid,
Beneath his fig-tree and his vine.”
- ‘ Where Knowledge—boundless as the wind,
As pure, as free, as unconfined—
Asks entrance at the meanest door ;
Where Plenty clothes and feeds the poor ;
Where banned by law is no man’s creed—
For heavenward many pathways lead ;
Where all, by six days’ toil oppressed,
Upon the seventh day find rest ;
Where sober judgement daily grows
With gradual, yet with sure increase ;
Where Reason lifts the veil, and shows
Religion hand in hand with Peace.
- ‘ Where labour knows reward is sure,
And thought and care make coin secure ;
Where water springs to gladden land,
And breezes wave the cheering hand ;
Where gentle sun and genial shower,
Alternate, call forth fruit and flower—
The golden ore his garden yields—
Blessing his green and yellow fields,
That hostile footsteps never fear,
Save of small birds that flit among
The corn, when harvest-time is near,
And pay their quit-rent with a song.
- ‘ Where honest Trade, in all her streets,
Fears not a single face he meets,
But fairly barter, freely tells
To all, of all he buys or sells ;
Where, at the loom, the artizan,
Feels that his skill is worthy man ;
And craftsmen call from gloomy stones
The metal Science proudly owns ;
Where Commerce, with a thousand sails,
Fills all her ports with wealth and fame,
And every stranger-merchant hails
The British merchant’s spotless name.

‘ The sun that saw the Exile tread again
 His native land, sent down at eve a light
 To cheer his bed of death, but not of pain—
 The Exile was at home, asleep, ere night.
 And gentle tones of blessing he had heard—
 Ere life went forth from worn and wearied clay—
 Telling of FAITH—that long-forgotten word—
 Teaching his heart and lips once more to pray!

‘ Oh! ye who dream of fruitful hills and vales
 Where fabled milk and fabled honey flow,
 And hear the wicked or the idle tales
 Of men who lead the way to misery—know
 The meaning of the humble song I sing—
 The moral of my mournful tale: ‘Tis said
 In the prophetic words of Israel’s king,—
 DWELL IN THE LAND, AND THERE THOU SHALT BE FED!’
 pp. 57—60.

Ackermann’s *Forget-me-not*, the patriarch of the *Annuals*, has this moment reached us. From the hasty glance we have taken at its contents, it appears to be inferior to none in the piquant variety of the literary contributions, and the well selected and interesting subjects of the embellishments. Among the latter, the frontispiece, *Count Egmont’s Jewels*, from a sketch, rich in humour, by Leslie; *Night*, from a lovely design by Richter; *Nuremberg*, from Prout, beautifully engraved by Carter,—an architectural gem; a landscape from Barrett; and *Chisholme’s China-Mender*, are all excellent. There is also a pleasing landscape, ‘*The Departure of the Israelites*’, from Martin. The names of the contributors and contributions present a singularly mixed and contrasted groupe. We have James Montgomery and Thomas Hood, Miss Landon and Miss Mitford, Miss Lawrance and Mrs. Howitt, William Sotheby and Haynes Bayly; then, again, ‘*the Murdered Tinman*’ and the *Departure of the Israelites*; *Uncle Antony’s Blunder*, and the *Search after God*; a *Scene from the Odyssey*, and *Old Matthew the Matseller*. In the ‘*Tradition from the Coptic*,’ we detect the Author of *Salathiel*, in spite of his mask. As usual, the prose of the *Forget-me-not* is superior to the verse; and we can find nothing that seems to suit our purpose and limits better than the following new version of an old story by Mrs. Howitt.

THE GOODWIVES OF WEINSBERG.

FROM THE GERMAN OF BURGER.

- ‘ Who can tell me where Weinsberg lies ?
As brave a town as any ;
It must have cradled good and wise,
Both wives and maidens many.
Should I e’er wooing have to do,
I’ faith, in Weinsberg will I woo !
- ‘ The Emperor Conrad, on a time,
In wrath the town was battering ;
And near it lay his warriors prime,
And sturdy horsemen clattering ;
And, with fierce firing, rode and ran
All round about it horse and man.
- ‘ As him the little town withstood,
Though every thing it wanted,
So did he swear in vengeful mood
No mercy should be granted :
And thus his heralds spoke—“ This know,
I’ ll hang you, rascals, in a row !”
- ‘ When in the town was heard this threat,
It caused a great dejection,
And every neighbour neighbour met
With mournful interjection :
Though bread was very dear in price,
Yet dearer still was good advice.
- ‘ “ Ah woe for me most wretched man !
Great woe the siege has won us !”
They cried, and every priest began
“ The Lord have mercy on us ;”
“ Oh, woe ! woe ! woe !” on all sides clanged ;
“ We feel e’en now as good as hanged !”
- ‘ When in despair wise men will sit,
In spite of council-masters,
How oft has saved them woman’s wit
From manifold disasters !
Since woman’s wit, as all men know,
Is subtler than aught else below.
- ‘ There was a wife to her good man
But yesterday united ;
And she a wise scheme hit upon
Which the whole town delighted,
And made them all so full of glee,
They laughed and chattered famously.

' Then at the hour of midnight damp,
 Of wives a deputation
 Went out to the besiegers' camp,
 Praying for capitulation :
 So soft they prayed, so sweet they prayed !
 And for these terms their prayer was made :

" That all the wives might be allowed
 Their jewels forth to carry ;
 What else remained the warriors proud
 Might rive, and hang, and harry !"
 To this the Emperor swore consent,
 And back the deputation went.

' Thereon, as soon as morn was spied,
 What happened ? Give good hearing !
 The nearest gate was opened wide,
 And out each wife came, bearing—
 True as I live !—all pick-a-pack,
 Her worthy husband in a sack !

' Then many a courtier, in great wrath
 The goodwives would have routed,
 But Conrad spake, " My kingly faith
 May not be false or doubted !—
 Ha ! bravo !" cried he, as they came ;
 " Think you our wives would do the same ?"

' Then gave he pardon and a feast,
 Those gentle ones to pleasure ;
 And music all their joy increased,
 And dancing without measure ;
 As did the mayoress waltzing twirl,
 So did the besom-binding girl.

' Ay, tell me now where Weinsberg lies,
 As brave a town as any,
 And cradled has it good and wise,
 Both wives and maidens many :
 If wooing e'er I have to do,
 'Faith ! one of Weinsberg will I woo !'

' An Every-day tale ' (but not an every day poem) by our friend Montgomery, is too long for insertion, but we must make room for a fragment.

' Mine is a tale of every day,
 Yet turn not thou thine ear away ;
 For 'tis the bitterest thought of all,
 The wormwood added to the gall,

That such a wreck of mortal bliss,
That such a weight of woe as this,
Is no strange thing ; but, strange to say,
The tale, the truth, of every day.

‘ At Mary’s birth, her mother smiled
Upon her first, last, only child ;
And, at the sight of that young flower,
Forgot the anguish of her hour :
Her pains return’d : she soon forgot
Love, hope, joy, sorrow—she was not !

‘ Her partner stood, like one bereft
Of all—not all—their babe was left.
By the dead mother’s side it slept,
Slept sweetly : when it woke, it wept.
“ Live, Mary, live ! and I will be
Father and mother both to thee ! ”
The mourner cried, and, while he spake,
His breaking heart forbore to break.
Faith, courage, patience from above,
Flew to the help of fainting love.
While o’er his charge that parent yearn’d,
All woman’s tenderness he learn’d,
All woman’s waking, sleeping care,
That sleeps not to her babe ; her prayer,
Of power to bring upon its head
The richest blessings Heaven can shed :
All these he learn’d and lived to say,
“ My strength was given me as my day.”

‘ So the Red Indian of those woods
That echo to Lake Erie’s floods
Reft of his consort in the wild,
Became the *mother* of his child ;
Nature (herself a mother) saw
His grief, and loos’d her kindest law ;
Warm from its fount, life’s stream propell’d,
His breasts with sweet nutrition swell’d ;
At whose strange springs his infant drew
Milk—as the rose-bud drinks the dew.’

ART. VIII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Mr. George Rogerson, of Liverpool, has nearly ready for publication a Treatise on Inflammations, containing their Pathology, Causes, Consequences, and Treatment, with their effects on the various Textures of the Body: being an extension of "A Dissertation on Inflammation of the Membranes", to which the Jacksonian prize for 1828 was awarded by the London Royal College of Surgeons.

On the 1st of January, the first monthly volume of a cheap series of Original Novels and Romances, by the most popular authors of Europe and America, conducted by Leitch Ritchie and Thomas Roscoe; comprising "Schinderhannes, the Robber of the Rhine," by Leitch Ritchie, Author of the "Romance of French History", "Heath's Picturesque Annual", "Turner's (J. M. W.) Annual Tour", &c. &c. is forthcoming. Banim, Fraser, (Kussilbash,) Victor Hugo, Galt, and other writers of the first eminence will immediately follow.

The Juvenile Forget-me-not, edited by Mrs. S. C. Hall, will be this year published under the joint auspices of Mr. Ackermann and Messrs. Westley and Davies. It will contain several fine engravings on steel, and the literary contents will be, as usual, from the pens of the most eminent writers for the young.

The Buccaneer, a tale in three volumes, by Mrs. S. C. Hall, is announced for publication on the 1st of November.

Mr. Stephen, the Author of "The History of the Reformation," has just completed his new work, entitled The Book of the Constitution, with the Reform Bills abridged,—embracing, amongst a variety of interesting information, our Magna Charta, Bill of Rights, Civil and Military States, The Revenue, National Debt, Courts, Feudal System, Poor Laws, Tithes, &c. &c.

A Description of the Canonry, Cathedral and King's College of Old Aberdeen, in the years 1724-5, illustrated with Plates, is nearly ready, in demy 12mo.

The Third Part of the Byron Gallery will appear in a few days with many beautiful Engravings by Wm. Finden, Bacon, Goodyear, &c., after original designs by Howard, E. C. Wood, Richter, and Corbould. These, we understand, will even surpass the former numbers of this splendid publication.

In the Press, and shortly will be published, "Scriptural Researches" by the Right Hon. Sir George Henry Rose, Bart. M.P.

In the Press, the first vol. of the Works of the Author of "Corn Law Rhymes", embellished with a Likeness of the Author, and containing, "The Splendid Village; The Exile; Bothwell; Corn Law Rhymes," &c. It will be uniform, in size and price, with the new edition of Byron and Scott.

Mr. Curtis, Aurist to His Majesty, has, in the Press, besides a second edition of his Essay on the Deaf and Dumb, a Treatise on the Diseases of the Eye, with a New Method of curing Incipient Blindness by external applications and constitutional treatment, whereby the pain and uncertainty of operations may be avoided.

Hints on Picturesque Domestic Architecture, in a Series of Designs for Gate-Lodges, Game-Keepers' Cottages, and other Rural Residences. By T. F. Hunt, Architect. 4to. New edit. with Additions, and a new set of Plates.

A new edition of the History of Dissenters, by Drs. David Bogue and James Bennett, in two large volumes, 8vo., carefully revised and condensed by the surviving Author, will appear on the 1st of December.

The Rev. Ingram Cobbin is preparing for publication the Annual Historian for 1833, designed as a Class Book for Schools and Families.

A Periodical Publication, of no ordinary promise and interest, supported by the most distinguished literary men of the day, is about to appear in Edinburgh, from the press, and under the management of Mr. Aitken, well known as late Editor of "Constable's Miscellany", the "Cabinet", &c. &c.

Evangelical Synopsis.—Now publishing in Weekly Numbers and Monthly Parts, in a cheap and popular form, illustrated with copperplate Engravings, from designs after the Old Masters, beautifully printed upon small 4to., the whole to be comprised in three volumes, The Holy Bible, with Notes, explanatory and practical; intended to assist the understanding in the perusal of the Sacred Volume, and to furnish a body of evangelical truth founded on its contents, selected from the writings of esteemed Divines and biblical critics of various denominations.

A very excellent work is now at press, entitled The Scripture Manual; or, a Guide to the proper Study and Elucidation of the Holy Scriptures, by a new and corrected arrangement of all those corresponding passages, dispersed throughout the Bible, which relate to the most important subjects, classed under appropriate heads, and in alphabetical order. Designed to set forth, in the pure language of Scripture, the Rule of Faith and Practice, and to afford assistance to Family and Private devotion.

ART. IX. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

EDUCATION.

Elements of Geography. By Ingram Cobbin, M.A. Third Edition, revised to the present time. Half-bound, 2s. 6d.

Also, by the same Author, Elementary Steps to Astronomy and Geography. 1s. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Richard Baynes's Catalogue of an extensive Collection of Books; containing nearly 6000 articles in Theology and general Literature. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

NATURAL HISTORY.

The Vegetable World. By the Rev. Charles Williams, Author of "Art in Nature," &c. 18mo. 4s. 6d. cloth.

POLITICAL.

Sequel to Remarks upon Church Reform, with Observations upon the Plan proposed by Lord Henley. By the Rev. Edward Burton, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, Canon of Christchurch, and Rector of Ewelme. 8vo. 2s.

THEOLOGY.

Lectures on the Revival of Religion. By William Sprague, D.D. With an Introductory Essay, by the Rev. G. Redford, Worcester; and the Rev. J. A. James, Birmingham. The Essay is divided into two Parts. Part I. An Address to the Ministers of the Gospel in Britain, by Mr. Redford; and Part II. An Address to the

Members of Christian Churches in Britain, by Mr. James. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

Natural Religion insufficient, and Revealed Religion necessary to Man's Happiness in a Present and Future State. By the Rev. Thomas Halyburton. With an Introductory Essay, by the Rev. David Young, Perth. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

On the Harmony which exists between the Gospel and Temperance Societies. By William Collins. 12mo. Price One Penny.

A Portraiture of Modern Scepticism; or a Caveat against Infidelity: including a brief and practical View of the principal Evidences which shew the Scriptures to be a Revelation from God. Intended as a present to the young. By John Morison, D.D. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

Winter Lectures. By the Rev. John Ely. 8vo.

The Works of John Howe, complete in one volume, super-royal 8vo, with a highly finished engraving of the Author. 2l. 2s.

The Mourning Congregation reminded of the Work of their deceased Minister. A Funeral Sermon for the Rev. Joseph Kinghorn. Preached at Norwich, Sept. 9, 1832. By John Alexander. 8vo. 1s.

. This discourse comprises a brief and interesting biographical notice of the venerable minister.

TOPOGRAPHY.

Gorton's New Topographical Dictionary of Great Britain and Ireland, with 54 Maps, 3l. 12s.; or with the Maps coloured, 4l. 14s. 6d.

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR DECEMBER, 1832.

- Art. I. 1. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. *The Greek Testament, with English Notes, Critical, Philological, and Exegetical.* By the Rev. S. T. Bloomfield, D.D. F.S.A. Vicar of Bisbrooke, Rutland, Author of the '*Recensio Synoptica Annotationis Sacræ*,' &c. In two Volumes. 8vo. pp. xx. 1196. Price 1l. 16s. Cambridge, 1832.
2. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. *The Greek Testament with English Notes.* By the Rev. Edward Burton, D.D. Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Divinity. In two Volumes. 8vo. pp. viii. 1030. Price 1l. 10s. Oxford, 1831.
3. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. *The New Testament ; with English Notes, Critical, Philological, and Explanatory.* Third Edition, corrected and enlarged. In three Volumes. Price 2l. 5s. London, 1831.

THE nearly contemporaneous publication of three different critical editions of the Greek Testament 'with English Notes,' is in itself a circumstance to be viewed with high satisfaction, as at once a favourable symptom and a happy omen. It indicates that a demand for such works has been by some means created ; and it seems to promise an increased attention, on the part of divinity students, to the instrument and basis of all theological knowledge,—the sacred text.

The public are indebted to Mr. Valpy for having set the example which the Oxford Regius Professor and the learned Author of the *Recensio Synoptica* have somewhat tardily followed. The first edition of the Greek Testament *ex ædibus Typographicis Valpeianis*, appeared in 1816, with the notes in Latin*. The plan seemed to be, to give the Greek text with a series of brief *scholia*, after the manner of Hardy's Greek Testament (Lond. 1768), selected chiefly from Grotius, Elsner, Raphelius, Bos,

* See Ecl. Rev. 2d Series. Vol. V. p. 341.

Palairer, Kypke, and Rosenmuller. Of the execution of the attempt, we felt unable to speak with as warm approbation as of the design. The theological notes, in particular, were extremely unsatisfactory and meagre; and the text itself, though generally that of Griesbach, was in some passages made to bend to received, but unauthorized readings. The second edition, published in 1826, was a great improvement upon the first. A corrected text was made the basis of the work, the various readings being given in foot-notes; and after 'mature consideration,' though evidently not without misgivings as to the consequences of so daring an innovation, the Editor determined to give the Annotations in English. For this violation of established usage, the following remarkable apology was offered. 'In this, he has followed the example of our most learned divines and critics, who, in offering the result of their pious labours to the English student in divinity, did not think it necessary to adopt the Latin language, though consecrated by the usage of ancient and of German critics. Nor is there any fear that the language, however plain and simple, should, on such a sacred ground, be found to shock the most refined taste, or offend the judgement of the most fastidious scholar.'

The experiment has succeeded. Not merely has a third edition of Mr. Valpy's work been called for, but its success has emboldened two other learned persons to prepare rival works upon the same plan. Yet still, the Oxford Professor deems it needful to propitiate the venerable prejudices which linger about antique towers and Gothic halls, by thus apologizing for giving the notes in the vulgar tongue, instead of employing the sacred Romish language.

'The notes are calculated for those persons who are not reading the Greek Testament for the first time, but who as yet have little acquaintance with the labours of critical commentators. If they should be found useful in the upper classes of schools, to the younger members of our universities, and to the candidates for holy orders, the anxious wishes of the editor will be amply gratified. It is not merely the fashion of the day which has induced me to compose the notes in English rather than in Latin. This custom seems indeed to be gaining ground in editions of profane authors as well as of the Greek Testament: and unless the work is intended for circulation on the Continent, or unless Latin notes are supposed to improve the reader's proficiency in that language, there seems no reason why the difficulties of one dead language should be explained by a commentary written in another. In compiling notes from writers of different countries, and particularly from English commentators, it is obviously much more easy to convey their sentiments in our own language: and if such a system should be found more useful and agreeable to the majority of my readers, I shall consider it a recommendation, rather than an

objection, that the commentary has no pretensions to be considered *learned*.'

This manly declaration does honour to the learned Writer ; and seeing that prejudices such as he alludes to still exist, we must applaud the good sense which has enabled him to break their thralldom. It may hereafter appear, however, a curious fact, that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it should be 'a fashion' just beginning to obtain the sanction of learned Englishmen, to make use of their own language in works of Biblical criticism and philology ; and that a practice now admitted to be without reason, should so long have been tenaciously adhered to by our scholars. Once, indeed, there might be good reasons for employing the Latin language in works exclusively designed for the learned ; who, few in number, and scattered over Europe, required an international medium in which they could mutually exchange the results of their labours, elude the ignorance, not only of the vulgar, but of the great and powerful, express their thoughts with greater freedom than they could prudently do in their respective vernacular dialects, and contribute to the common fund of the world of letters. Latin was then the only literary currency. Nay, the State required its Latin secretary. For to all Europe, the language of Shakespeare was the barbarous dialect of a few millions of islanders : and the Englishman who aspired to be read beyond the narrow precincts of his native university, was compelled to use the Roman tongue.

The state of things is now altogether different. Truth no longer seeks or needs the disguise of a learned language. The press is free. Theology has ceased to be a craft, and knowledge to be a monopoly. The English language, no more confined to an island of the German ocean, is diffusing itself over both hemispheres, as the medium of commerce and the fountain-head of intellectual wealth. For the thousands who composed the Latin republic of letters in the times of the Reformation, there are millions now, to whom an English writer may address himself ; and the loftiest literary ambition might well be content with the sphere of the English public and the immortality of the English tongue. Bacon would not, if he were now living, philosophize in Latin, which henceforth will serve better for the concealment, than for the communication of opinions.

The study and mastery of the Roman language will always form an indispensable part of a liberal education ; both for the sake of the rich literature which it unlocks, and of the benefit to be derived from an acquaintance with the language itself, which so long gave laws to the world of thought, surviving in its influence the political ascendancy of Rome, and forming the basis of the composite dialects of modern Europe. We may almost

trace the extent and progress of civilization during the middle ages, by the degree in which the Latin prevailed over and in the barbarous idioms of the northern tribes; just as the mixture of Arabic determines the extent of the Mohammedan civilization in Africa. It was the language of the Church, the Law, and the Schools. But, as Rome itself rose upon the ruins of Greece, so, the Latin language has triumphed at the expense of Greek literature. The different spirit of the two nations, and of their institutions, has reflected itself, as it were, in the character of their respective tongues. The Greek, with its many dialects, free, copious, rich, and flexible, modelled by the feelings and tuned by the ear of the natives, seems to have received its laws from the plastic power of mind. The Latin has exercised a despotism over the mind itself. It has been at the same time an instrument of civilization and an impediment to the progress of intellect,—a yoke upon the free exercise of thought. Its effect upon theology has been, perhaps, the most strikingly prejudicial. It would be difficult to estimate the degree to which the truths of religion have been mystified by the technicalities of the ecclesiastical language, at once precise and ambiguous, defining without explaining, obscurely rigid in expression and indeterminate in meaning. The Latin language has never been thoroughly Christianized; and the Vulgate was almost inevitably a corruption, as well as a translation of the New Testament. For how could the cardinal doctrines of the Christian Revelation be adequately exhibited in a language incapable of expressing the infinite distinction between a god and The Deity,—a son of a divinity, and The Son of God, spirit, and The Spirit, a word and The Word? We do not mean to say that any such difficulty could be created by the want of the definite article in Latin, as would impede the oral communication of the Scripture doctrine in the first ages; but it was not without reason that it pleased the Holy Spirit to direct the Apostles to employ the Greek language, already consecrated and accommodated to sacred truth by the Septuagint Version of the Hebrew Scriptures. Nor can we doubt that, if they had written in Latin, they would, by grafting some Hebraistic and Hellenistic forms upon the classic dialect,—by some phrases that learned scholars might now have exercised their learning in shewing to be impure Latin, by converting *ille* or *ipse* into an article, or by some other means,—have expressed, as unequivocally as they have done in the inspired text, the witness of the Spirit respecting Christ.

But, unhappily, with the original Scriptures in her hands, the Church presumed authoritatively to *substitute* her own imperfect and obscure interpretation for the sacred *codex*, discouraging the study of the genuine authority. The neglect of the Greek Testament occasioned by this fatal policy, could not but exert a most

prejudicial influence on theological studies. It was excluding the daylight for the purpose of burning tapers. Even after the study of the Greek text had been revived, the habit of deference to the Vulgate still gave a bias to the judgement of the Biblical student ; and the practice of arriving at the acquisition of the Greek language through the medium of the Latin, has tended to hinder scholars from perceiving the true genius, and fully deciphering the forms of the nobler language. They have been led to read the Greek by Latin rules, to interpret it by Latin ideas, to look at the inspired text through Latin spectacles. In proof of this, it may be remarked, that, in professedly translating from the Greek text, our Translators have not followed the order of the words in the original, even when the English idiom allowed of it, but have modelled the construction on the Latin versions. Still more striking is the influence of the Latin, in leading the most erudite grammarians to blunder so astonishingly respecting the nature and uses of the Greek Article ; for we can hardly err in attributing to the complete prepossession of their minds by the language in which they had learned to write and to think, the obscure and erroneous notions which Bishop Middleton has immortalized his name by exposing. That the true ‘doctrine of ‘the Greek Article’ should be a re-discovery of the nineteenth century, must be regarded as one of the most singular facts in the history of literature. But, had the Greek language maintained its ancient predominance as the instrument of thought and the common tongue of the learned,—had the *first* studies of European scholars been directed to that language,—had they written and thought in Greek, instead of in Latin, there could have been no room for any such discovery. The use and power of the Article, at least, must have been preserved, although the grammatical principle so ably developed by Dr. Middleton might have eluded observation. By how few masters of English composition have the intimate and fundamental principles of the construction of our own language been thoroughly understood ! All grammar is theory ; for what is it but an attempt to ascertain the laws which regulate the phenomena of speech ? And the facts must needs be older than the hypothesis.*

Whatever exception may be taken against any of Dr. Middleton’s rules, which are but his interpretation of the philological *facts* that he has brought to light, the general principles upon which his doctrine of the Article is founded, are too well esta-

* Bishop Middleton makes a fine remark in his Preface, in combating the unphilosophical notion that idiom is to be attributed solely to custom. ‘*Custom* in language bears a close analogy to *chance* in physics : each of them is a name for the operation of unerring causes which we want either the ability or the inclination to apprehend.’

blished to admit even of controversy ; and his great work may be considered as forming a new era in the annals of Biblical criticism. It has given almost a new character, as well as a new impulse to the study of the Greek Testament ; vindicating the sacred writers from the dishonouring charge of either not understanding the principles of the language in which they wrote, or arbitrarily and capriciously departing from them. 'Every un-
'prejudiced and pious Christian scholar,' remarks Mr. Valpy, in the preface to his present edition, 'will surely confess, that this
'doctrine of the Greek Article, as it proves the unaffected accuracy and genuine simplicity of the style of the sacred writers,
'must tend to corroborate in the most satisfactory manner the
'vital doctrine of the divinity of Christ.'

'We have undisputed proofs of the general adherence of the sacred penmen of the New Testament to grammatical usage, and of their observance of the simple forms of language and rules of philology, in the diction which involves no peculiar doctrine ; and what reason can be assigned, why the same application of plain established rules should not be allowed to operate with their usual acceptance and force, where they tend to substantiate doctrines, the common belief and conviction of which, on the mind of the writer, could alone dictate the adoption of that peculiar and genuine diction ?'

Mr. Valpy has greatly enhanced the value of his present edition, by prefixing to the first volume, a brief analysis or epitome of the Bishop's invaluable work, as an introduction to the study of the sacred text ; and he suggests to 'those who preside over
'our great public schools,' the propriety of introducing the study of this important doctrine into their higher classes, as being 'beneficial to the advancement of classical learning itself,' by demonstrating the accuracy and even philosophical precision of the Greek language. The following remarks on the style of the sacred writers, our readers will peruse with satisfaction.

'Though the diction of the New Testament is not free from Hebraisms, nor in all respects conformed to the style of the Greek Attic writers ; though it cannot be proved, as some have laboured to do, that, in the entire phraseology, there is a perfect consonance to the usage of the Greek historians, philosophers, and poets ; yet still it has all the essential qualities of a good style, and in this respect comes not short of classic purity. The charge which some have thought proper to bring against the sacred penmen, of lingual inaccuracies and violations of grammar, is so far from being well grounded, that the converse appears to be undeniable, and their adherence to the rules of grammar to be so rigid as to repel every such assault. They may adopt and incorporate particular foreign words, as Persian words, Latinisms, and Cilicisms, and Arameisms, unusual inflections of nouns and verbs, and even peculiar combinations of words ; but still, the grammatical structure is Greek ; and in general, peculiarities in the language de-

velop themselves in modes of declining, rather than in syntactical construction, and more in the lexicon, than in the grammar. . . . It should also be observed, that Hebraisms are attributed to the New Testament, in a number of cases, merely because they are found in passages quoted from the Septuagint, which are never employed by the writers of the New Testament.' Valpy, *Pref.* pp. xiii, xiv.

Dr. Bloomfield has some remarks, in his Preface, to the same effect, which deserve transcription.

'As to the much controverted subject of the *style* of the New Testament, the present Editor is opposed to the opinions alike of those who regard the Greek as pure and even elegant, and of those who pronounce it barbarous and ungrammatical. To maintain the former, after the labours of so many eminent writers from Vorstius downwards, were a vain attempt: and as to the latter, it surely does not follow that, because some words are found nowhere else, they were coined by the Sacred Writers, or were barbarous; since there is great reason to suppose that the classical authors preserved to us do not contain a tenth part of the Greek language, as it subsisted at the beginning of the Christian era. The words then *may* have been used by the best writers; or they may have formed part of the provincial or popular, colloquial and domestic phraseology, not preserved in any of the remains of antiquity. As to the non-observance of the rules laid down by the Greek Grammarians, sometimes imputed as a fault to the writers of the New Testament, it is an excellent distinction of Tittman: "*Scriptores sacri grammaticas quidem leges servarunt, non autem grammaticorum.*"' Bloomfield, *Pref.* pp. xv, xvi.

We shall now proceed to discharge our more immediate duty as Reviewers, by putting our readers in possession of the means of deciding for themselves upon the specific and comparative merits of the publications before us. And the first point to which their inquiries will naturally be directed, is the Text that has been adopted in these editions. Mr. Valpy has taken, as the basis of his edition, the Received Text, giving the various lections at the foot of the page, and distinguishing by different stenographic marks, the degree of authority attaching to them. Dr. Burton has adopted the text of the edition printed at Oxford in 1707, after Mill, for which he assigns the following reasons.

'Though the *received text*, as it is called, of the Greek Testament is generally considered to have been settled by the Elzevirs, yet the editions which appeared in the last century, have differed from one another in a greater degree than is supposed by persons who have not examined this subject for themselves. The text adopted by Mill, though in some instances undoubtedly faulty, has perhaps had the greatest number of followers: and since this text has been adopted in the small and popular editions printed at Oxford in 1828 and 1830, I have thought it better to do the same. The reader will however find frequent mention of various readings in the notes. I have examined

with no small labour and attention the copious materials which have been collected by Griesbach; and after weighing the evidence which he has adduced in favour of any particular reading, I noted down all those variations from the received text which seem to have a majority of documents in their favour. This abstract of Griesbach's critical apparatus may be seen in White's *Criseos Griesbachianæ in N. T. Synopsis*: and Vater, in his edition of the Greek Testament, published in 1824, has not only mentioned the reasons for preferring certain variations, but has admitted them into the text. Though the accuracy of these two persons might spare us the necessity of consulting Griesbach's notes, I preferred going through the same analysis myself; and it has been satisfactory to me to find, that my own conclusions were generally supported by these two independent authorities. Whoever may be induced to pursue a similar plan, will find that the common rules of criticism would require him to alter the received text in several places. The most remarkable variations are simply stated in the notes to this edition: but in hundreds of instances, where the difference consists in the collocation of words, in the addition or omission of the article, the substitution of $\delta\iota$ for $\kappa\alpha\iota$, &c. &c., I have not thought fit to mention the variation. The reader will infer, in all the cases which have been noticed, that the various reading is probably that which ought to be admitted into the text.' Pref. pp. v. vi.

Considering the immediate object the learned Editor has had in view, this was, perhaps, the best course he could adopt; although he has furnished the strongest possible argument for *not* adhering to the received text, and has thus paved the way for Dr. Bloomfield, who has laid the public under the highest obligations by the improved text which he has taken such elaborate pains to furnish. We must transcribe his own account of the plan upon which it is constructed.

'The Text has been formed (after long and repeated examination of the whole of the New Testament for that purpose solely) on the basis of the last edition of R. Stephens, adopted by Mill, which differs very slightly from, but is admitted to be preferable to, the *common Text*, found in the Elzevir edition of 1624. From this there has been no deviation, except on the most preponderating evidence; critical conjecture being wholly excluded; and such alterations only introduced, as rest on the united authority of MSS., ancient Versions and Fathers, and the early printed Editions, but especially upon the invaluable *EDITIO PRINCIPES*; and which have been already adopted in one or more of the *Critical Editions* of Bengel, Wetstein, Griesbach, Matthæi, and Scholz. And here the Editor must avow his total dissent, though not from the Canons of Criticism professedly acted upon by Griesbach in his Edition of the New Testament, yet altogether from the system of Recensions first promulgated by him, and founded upon a misapplication of those Canons. The perpetual, and, for the most part, needless cancellings and alterations of all kinds introduced by him, evince a temerity which would have been highly censurable even in editing a profane writer; but, when made in the Sacred Volume, they

involve also a charge of irreverence for the Book which was intended to make men wise unto salvation. In most respects, the Editor coincides with the views of Matthæi, (whose edition of the New Testament is pronounced by Bishop Middleton to be by far the best he had seen,) and in a great measure with those of the learned and indefatigable Scholz.

Further, the present Editor has so constructed his Text, that the reader will possess the advantage of having before him both the Stephanic text and also the corrected text formed on the best MSS., ancient versions, and early editions, and thus constituting, as the Editor apprehended, the true *Greek Vulgate*, on which the learned Dr. Nolan has so ably treated. To advert to the various kinds of alterations of the common text, as they arise from the *omission*, or the *insertion* of words, or from a *change of one word into another*;—nothing whatever has been *omitted*, which has a place in the Stephanic text; such words only as are, by the almost universal consent of Editors and Critics, regarded as *interpolations*, being here placed within brackets, more or less inclusive, according to the degree of suspicion attached to them. Nothing has been *inserted*, but on the same weighty authority; and even *these* words are pointed out as *insertions* by being expressed in a smaller character. All *altered* readings have asterisks prefixed, the old ones being invariably indicated in the Notes. And such readings as, though left untouched, are by eminent Critics thought to need alteration, have a † prefixed. As to *Various Readings*, the most important are noticed; chiefly those which, though not admitted into the Text of the present Edition, have been adopted by one or more of the four Editors above mentioned, or are found in the *Editio Princeps*, or those wherein the Common Text differs from that of Stephens. In such cases, the *reasons* for non-adoption are usually given. And this has always been done in the case of *alterations* of the Text, however minute. The Critical Notes are almost entirely original, and chiefly serve to give reasons for the methods pursued in forming the text The *Punctuation* has been throughout most carefully corrected and adjusted, from a comparison of all the best Editions, from the *Editio Princeps* to that of Scholz.' *Preface*, pp. x—xii.

Further, Dr. Bloomfield has followed the example of Mr. Valpy and Dr. Burton, in dividing the text into paragraphs, not into verses, although the latter are expressed in the margin; justly remarking, that 'scarcely any thing could have had a more unfavourable effect on the interpretation of the New Testament, than H. Stephens's breaking up the whole into verses,' and thereby, occasionally dis severing clauses which are closely connected in sense. The division into chapters, is not less unhappy; and it is scarcely possible to conceive of its being done with less intelligence and judgement.

Our readers will at once perceive that Dr. Bloomfield's edition of the Greek Testament is the most valuable that has yet been issued from the press in this country. We say this without disparaging the merit and usefulness of the labours of his predeces-

sors. Dr. Burton's edition not only strongly recommends itself by the singular beauty of the typography, but the weight of his critical authority in respect to the varied lections which he has noted, imparts to it a substantial and independent value; although, in other respects, we must confess, the notes have greatly disappointed us. Mr. Valpy's edition, in point of general utility, may compete with Dr. Bloomfield's. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that his was the first work of the kind;—a circumstance which it might not have been unbecoming the learned Editors who have in part copied his plan, to notice. We admit, that Dr. Bloomfield has greatly improved upon that plan;—that the immense labour he has bestowed upon the sacred text, and the learning imbodyed in his notes, render his work exceedingly more valuable as a critical edition, and in fact invaluable to the Biblical student. But it may possibly be regarded as questionable, whether, if Mr. Valpy's edition, respecting which both Dr. Burton and Dr. Bloomfield maintain so contemptuous silence, had not appeared, their own editions would have been produced, or have assumed the same popular shape. There is such a thing as being 'provoked to good works.' Happily, the public is in these cases the gainer by the rivalry.

The high sanction under which these two latter editions appear, is not a trivial circumstance; the one edited by the Oxford Regius Professor, and issued from the press of the University Printer; the other, from that of the Printer to the sister University, and dedicated, by permission, to the Primate. An *Imprimatur* is thus stamped upon them, virtually, if not officially, which must be regarded as an important step towards theological reform. Hitherto, the Anglican Church has been wont to view with jealousy and alarm any innovation upon what is Received and Authorized, any disturbance of what is Established; and the labours of the Continental critics and philologists have been regarded with feelings bordering upon angry hostility. Griesbach has obtained little honour, he has not always met with justice, at the hands of Oxford and Cambridge Professors. The long and patient attention which he devoted to the study of the Greek Testament, his unimpeachable candour and love of truth, and the important services which he has rendered to sacred literature, have not protected him from petulant censure and unfair depreciation. Of his doctrine of Recensions, our opinion has long ago been given*; that he began to build before the foundation was laid;—that his data are wholly unsatisfactory, and the practical rule founded upon them necessarily erroneous. But while we bore witness to the ability and success with which Dr. Laurence

* Ecl. Rev. 2d Series, Vol. IV. pp. 1—22; 173—189.

has exposed the inaccuracy of Griesbach's classification, we found ourselves compelled to animadvert upon the haughty tone and harsh language employed towards the great German critic, while we pointed out the numerous errors which occur in Dr. L.'s own collations. We are sorry that Dr. Bloomfield should have gone out of his way to cast an ungenerous imputation on the same great Scholar. Surely it was not necessary to clear his own orthodoxy or piety, by imputing temerity and irreverence to another, and by declaring himself to be at issue with 'the Griesbachian school.' But for Griesbach's labours, his own would, probably, never have been directed to the same great object. The impulse which was given to the accurate study of the Christian Scriptures, by the publication of Griesbach's edition of the New Testament, may be considered as having originated, in great measure, the increased attention which has of late been given in our own country to this long neglected branch of Biblical science.

To whatever cause attributable, the signs of improvement are unequivocal and most satisfactory. The 'necessity of raising the standard of Biblical study' in the English Church, is at length openly acknowledged. Dr. Bloomfield states it to be 'abundantly apparent, that an edition of the New Testament formed with a due regard to the advanced state of Biblical science at the present day, is a desideratum'; which his own work is intended to supply. Authority, it is now admitted, can no longer supersede the appeal to evidence; and, as the Church has been proved an incompetent guardian of the purity of the sacred text, she can no longer claim exclusive authority for her interpretation. In fact, as the institution and influence of the Bible Society have re-established the Bible itself as the only rule of faith and practice, so, the advancement of Biblical criticism has tended to clear that Inspired rule from the obscurity in which it was enveloped, by bringing the sacred text under examination as the only authentic form of the Divine Communications, the only genuine authority, and by promoting a direct appeal to the grammatical sense of the Inspired Writers, as the ultimate arbiter of controversy.

And another most important service has been rendered to the cause of truth. It was previously known, though reluctantly admitted, that the Received Text was faulty, that the various readings of MSS. were numerous, that no standard text, in fact, exists. And infidelity and heresy took advantage of this undeniable fact, to insinuate the possible corruption and uncertainty of the canon, and to predict discoveries favourable to their own wishes. But hostile criticism, conducted by the most assiduous ingenuity grafted upon the most profound learning, has done its worst. And what is the result? The ten thousand variations, instead of lessening the certainty of the record, only confirm it.

We have, what is far better than any standard text, the ascertained fact, that the most corrupt text exhibits no variation affecting a single doctrine or sentiment of the Inspired Writers. After collating an almost innumerable number of manuscripts of all ages, versions of all countries, and Fathers of various descriptions, it has been found, that the variations inevitable in multiplied transcriptions, during the long succession of many centuries, numerous as they are, do not present one single instance of serious discrepancy; that they are after all comparatively few and immaterial. Thus has critical collation placed beyond all scepticism, the inviolability of the Sacred Scriptures; while the proposed and admitted emendations have restored the Sacred Text to a state of almost undisputed purity. It is now in a state more satisfactory than that of any other ancient writings; and as has been well remarked by a philosophic writer, 'it must be regarded 'as a circumstance of peculiar significance, that the documents of 'our faith have just passed through the severest possible ordeal 'of hostile criticism, at the very moment that they are in course 'of delivery to all nations.' *

But we must proceed to give a few specimens of the critical and exegetical Notes. And we turn first to the much controverted passage, Acts xx. 28, which Dr. Bloomfield has thus given in his text:—*ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ [Κυρίου καὶ] Θεοῦ, ἣν περιποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος.* Dr. Burton and Mr. Valpy both preserve the received text; but the latter gives in the foot-note the varied readings, *τοῦ Κυρίου* and *τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ*, with the prefixed mark denoting 'possible substitution.' We shall transcribe the annotation of each Editor.

* 28. *ὁ ὃς ὑμᾶς . . . over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.* See note above xi. 30. † There are several variations in this passage; no less than six readings. The best supported is *τοῦ Θεοῦ*, the reading of the received text, in favour of which both the external and internal evidence preponderate. Indeed, as Michaelis observes, the other readings, *τοῦ Κυρίου*, *τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *τοῦ Κυρίου Θεοῦ*, *τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου*, and *τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ*, (the next best supported of which are *τοῦ Κυρίου* and *τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ*,) are to be considered as corrections or as scholia; because *Θεοῦ* might easily give occasion to any of these, whereas none could so easily give occasion to *Θεοῦ*. St. Luke writing *Θεοῦ*, the origin of *Κυρίου* and *Χριστοῦ* may be explained either as corrections of the text, or as marginal notes, because the blood of

* Nat. Hist. of Enthusiasm. p. 299.

† In this note, the Editor has the following remark: 'The rulers of the church were at this early date called either presbyters or bishops; which two titles are in the N. Test. undoubtedly applied to the same order of men. See below, xx. 17, 28. Phil. i. 1. Tit. i. 5. 7. 1 Tim. iii. 1.'

God is a very extraordinary expression ; but if he had written Κυρίου, it is inconceivable how any one should alter it into Θεοῦ ; and on this latter supposition, the great number of different readings is inexplicable. It seems as if different transcribers had found a difficulty in the passage, and that each corrected according to his own judgement. The church of God, also, is a phrase very frequent in the New Testament. By the phrase διὰ τοῦ ἰδ.ου αἵματος is plainly intended and indicated the sacrifice and atonement made by the blood of Christ ; as in Heb. ix. 12. and xiii. 12. Περιποιῦμαι, to acquire, to gain, to purchase, to make any thing one's own, sibi vindicare, suum facere. So also 1 Tim. iii. 13. Hence περιποίησις, acquisitio, vindicatio. Suid. περιποίησις κτήσιν. VALPY.

‘ 28. Θεοῦ—αἵματος. The blood must be referred to Christ, who is plainly called God : but many MSS. read Κυρίου for Θεοῦ. The Vatican MS. however has Θεοῦ, and the church of God occurs eleven times in the N. Test., but the church of the Lord not once. The reading seems to be αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου.’ BURTON.

‘ 28. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ]. There is scarcely any passage of the N. T. on which the opinions of Critics have been more divided than on this. For a full statement of the various solutions of the difficulty, see Recens. Synop. In ascertaining the true reading, as preparatory to determining the sense, we find the MSS. fluctuating between no less than six readings: τοῦ Θεοῦ ; τοῦ Κυρίου ; τοῦ Χριστοῦ ; τοῦ Κυρίου Θεοῦ ; τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου ; τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ. The relative merits of these are discussed by Wets., Griesb., and Kuin., who decide in favour of τοῦ Κυρίου. Their decision, however, ought not to be received as final, since their statements are occasionally incorrect, and characterized throughout by an air of unfairness. In short, they do not hold the Critical scales true, acting more like eager advocates than impartial judges. And, not content with other arguments, (strong or weak,) they press even the argumentum ad verecundiam, which surely can least of all be here applicable, since, so far from “ all the most eminent Critics ” agreeing in adopting Κυρίου, it is rejected by Mill, Beng., Wolf, Venema, Michaelis, Ernesti, Valcknaer, Wassenburg, Matthæi, Wakef., Tittm., Vater, Middl., Gratz, Rinck, Hales, Pye Smith, and others, almost all of whom retain the common reading τοῦ Θεοῦ, though some prefer τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ. There can be no doubt that the truth lies among the three readings, τοῦ Θεοῦ ; τοῦ Κυρίου ; and τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου. Of the other three, one is in favour of Κυρίου, one of τοῦ Θεοῦ, and one of τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ. To advert to the external evidence in favour of τοῦ Κυρίου, it is supported by 13 MSS., 5 of them very ancient, and the rest neither ancient nor very valuable ; as also by the Coptic, Sahidic, and Armenian Versions, and some Fathers, chiefly Latin. 2. τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ, is supported by one very antient, and 63 other MSS., none of much antiquity or consequence, but of different families ; also by the Slavonic Version, the Ed. Princ., and Plantin. 3. τοῦ Θεοῦ is supported by the most antient, venerable, and generally correct of MSS., the Cod. Vat., and 17 others, some of the 10th, 11th, or 12th Centuries, but most of them more modern ; also by the Old Syriac in Professor Lee's MSS. and others in the Vatican ; by the Latin Vulgate ; and according to some, the

Æthiopic. Finally, it is quoted, or referred to, by Ignat., Tertull., Athanasius, Basil, Chrysost., Epiph., Ambrose, Theophyl., Œcumen. and 12 other Fathers of the Greek and Latin Church. Now it is manifest that τοῦ Κυρίου is greatly inferior in external authority to either of the two others. Of these two, the evidence of MSS. is in favour of τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ; but that of *Versions* and *Fathers* almost entirely in favour of τοῦ Θεοῦ. To the above statement I would add, that Rinck has lately collated some very valuable MSS. at Venice, of which *one* contains τοῦ Θεοῦ, *two* τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ, and *one* τοῦ Κυρίου Θεοῦ. Thus the external evidence for τοῦ Θεοῦ is perhaps nearly equal to that for τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ; but, in *internal* evidence, it is certainly superior; and, as to τοῦ Κυρίου, comparison is out of the question. See the strong arguments adduced by the phalanx of Critics above cited. Suffice it here to remark, 1. that ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ is quite agreeable to the phraseology of St. Paul, (of whose speeches St. Luke seems to have been a most faithful recorder,) since it occurs *eleven* times in his Epistles, whereas ἐκκλησία τοῦ Κυρίου occurs *no where* in the N. T. 2. If St. Luke wrote Θεοῦ, the readings Κυρίου and Χριστοῦ may easily be accounted for as *corrections*; not, however, of the *Orthodox*, but of the *Heterodox*! nay, even of some injudicious or hot-headed persons, (as Origen and Nestorius,) who stumbled at the uncommonness of the expression “the blood of God.” Whereas if Κυρίου had been written by St. Luke, it is, on various accounts, impossible to conceive how it should have been altered to Θεοῦ. On the other hand, the Arians had every reason to alter Θεοῦ, which they could not retain and continue Arians.

‘Upon the whole, there can be no doubt but that Θεοῦ was written by St. Luke. But whether τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ did, or did not, precede, I would not be quite positive. Matthæi and Vat. so edit; and Bp. Middl. (as well as Ernesti, Michaelis, and Valckn.) seems inclined to prefer it, and has proved, beyond doubt, that “even thus the Divinity of Christ will be equally expressed, because the Κυρίου and Θεοῦ must be understood of the same person, of Him who is both *Lord* and *God*.” Yet I am inclined to think that Κυρίου, being first substituted by the Arians and others for Θεοῦ, and having, therefore, crept into the text, or occupied the margins of many MSS., was afterwards unwarily adopted into the text, even by Orthodox *librarii*, especially as it seemed to soften an apparent harshness. In the above reading, therefore, I must (with Tittm.) finally acquiesce, and have edited accordingly; though I have inserted the words Κυρίου καὶ in small characters, and within single brackets, as *possibly* from St. Luke.’

BLOOMFIELD.

This long note may be taken as a fair specimen of Dr. Bloomfield's critical annotations, which are always replete with erudition, and generally supply at least the means of forming an impartial judgement. It may, however, be thought, that the evidence adduced in the above note, scarcely warrants the Editor's conclusion. The supposition that the text was designedly altered by Arians, is wholly unwarrantable, and tends to undermine our confidence in the very evidence of MSS. Nothing can be more at variance

with sound criticism, or of more dangerous tendency, than such gratuitous conjectures, unsupported by the shadow of historical proof or probability. If Arians could alter the text, so might the orthodox; and thus we should be left after all in doubt as to the integrity of the text. But the assertion, that the Arians 'had every reason to alter Θεοῦ, which they could not retain and 'continue Arians,' is not less injudicious and fallacious. Dr. Pye Smith has cited a passage from Athanasius, to shew that the present common reading was unknown to that Father, which at once nullifies Dr. Bloomfield's argument, and shews that an Arian might prefer the present reading. Οὐδαμοῦ δὲ αἷμα Θεοῦ δίχα σαρκὸς παραδεδώκασιν αἱ γραφαί, ἢ Θεὸν διὰ σαρκὸς πάθοντα καὶ ἀνάσταντα. 'Ἀρειανῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμήματα. 'The Scriptures have no where given the expression, *blood of God*, as separate from the flesh [i. e. the human nature], or that God through the flesh suffered and rose again: such expressions are the *daring attempts of Arians*.* Dr. Bloomfield is not less rash in affirming it to be impossible to conceive, how, if Κυρίου had been written by St. Luke, it could have been altered to Θεοῦ; when he himself furnishes an obvious explanation of the origin of the supposed alteration; namely, that ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ is a common and familiar phrase in the Apostolic writings, while ἐκκλησία τοῦ Κυρίου is one that occurs no where else. Admitting that this last fact makes against its genuineness, yet, supposing it to have been the original, it is easy to imagine how an honest transcriber might involuntarily insert the familiar phrase, or, without any evil intention, conclude the unusual one to be an error †.

* *Contra Apollinarium*, l. ii. § 14. Smith's Script. Test. vol. iii. p. 65.

† 'The preponderance of evidence appears to be in favour of the last reading, "*the church of the Lord*." The second ("*church of Christ*") was probably a designed explication. The first ("*church of God*") might arise from the involuntary association, in the mind of a transcriber, with the phrase which occurs several times in the N. T.; and when once a copy with this reading, the origination of which would of course be unknown, had attracted notice, a feeling of predilection would be likely to be excited, especially in the possessor of a fair and very costly MS., and the reading would be supported by ingenious reasons. The third, fourth, and fifth ("*of the God and Lord*," &c.) would be produced by copyists who wished to combine two readings; a process which, though sadly uncritical, was by no means unexampled. Thus, on the admission of the last, which a fair estimation of the evidence really obliges us to do, all the others can be accounted for by suppositions easy and probable in themselves, and known to have been realized in numerous instances. But, admitting the *first* to have been the original reading, it is impossible to account

But after all, has not too much stress been laid upon the passage? The text, even in the received reading, would not justify the expression 'blood of God', since the obvious sense would be:—"feed the church of Him who is God, which he has purchased with his own blood;" implying an assertion at once of the deity and the humanity of our Lord, without necessarily connecting the words Θεοῦ and αἵματος, or confounding the two natures. On the other hand, the phrase, "Church of the Lord," equally denotes the divinity of the Proprietor and Redeemer of the Church, the Object of its worship, who has "given himself for it, that he might sanctify it, and present it to himself—*ἵνα παραστήσῃ αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ ἑνδοξὸν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*—a glorious church." Eph. v. 27. Dr. Burton has a note upon this last passage, which is worth transcribing. 'We should rather have expected τῷ Θεῷ: 'but S. Paul uses ἑαυτῷ on account of the union of the Father 'and the Son.' Of this remarkable passage, Dr. Bloomfield has overlooked the force, and his annotation partially explains it away. Yet, in our judgement, the use of ἑαυτῷ in such a connexion, is a far more striking and direct proof of the divinity of the Lord Jesus, than the occurrence of the word Θεοῦ in the former passage. Nor ought it to have escaped notice, that the words καὶ ὁ Κύριος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν occur in the following verse (ver. 29); which, though not the same as ἐκκλησία τοῦ Κυρίου, must be admitted to come very near it.

An Editor of the New Testament ought assuredly to divest himself, as far as possible, of the temper of the polemic. Dr. Bloomfield has not always succeeded in doing this. It will be seen, that, in the preceding note, he charges Griesbach, Wetstein, and Kuinoel with unfairness as well as inaccuracy,—with acting the part of eager advocates for a false reading. These imputations savour too much of arrogance; and they are especially out of place in such a work. We regret to say, this is not a solitary instance. Dr. Bloomfield's exegetical notes are for the most part very inferior to his critical and philological ones, proving that an accomplished scholar and Biblical critic may be at the same time a very ill furnished divine. We do not quarrel with him

for the second and sixth without violent and improbable suppositions. In particular, it is impossible to imagine, if Θεοῦ were the primitive reading, that Κυρίου should have been introduced into the *most ancient and independently derived* authorities; (recollecting, however, the perplexing exception of the Vatican;) and yet, that the Fathers of the first four centuries, and every document of Ecclesiastical History, should have been silent upon so signal an innovation.' Smith's *Scrip. Test.* vol. iii. pp. 66, 7. It will be seen from this extract, that Dr. Bloomfield is quite inaccurate in classing Dr. Pye Smith with those critics who retain the common reading.

for being a zealous anti-Calvinist; but he would have consulted his reputation by suppressing such flippant annotation as the following.

2 Tim. ii. 10. διὰ τοῦτο] ‘On this consideration. Διὰ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς, i. e. those who were called to receive the Gospel, especially the *Gentiles*, of whom St. Paul was especially the Apostle. On this sense, the best Commentators, antient and modern, are agreed; and it is well observed by Benson, that the Apostle often intimates *that unless he had laboured and suffered*, and they persevered in virtue and piety, both he and they would miss of salvation. See 1 Thes. iii. 5 compared with Thes. i. 4. Of course it is *implied*, and especially in the next words, that their salvation was not certain; and therefore excludes the doctrine of *election*, which some Calvinists of more zeal than judgement would here introduce.’

That is, excludes the doctrine of the xviith Article of the Church of which the Author is a minister! ‘Of course it is ‘implied’, and we need not waste many words in proving it, that Dr. Bloomfield does not understand either what Calvinists hold, or what his own Church teaches, or he would not have hazarded the ridiculous remark, that the passage in question militates against the doctrine he impugns.

In reviewing the learned Author’s Synopsis, we took occasion to notice a few similar hallucinations. In reference to Rom. xi. 22, he remarks, that, in the interpretation of the clause, ἐὰν ἐπιμείνης τῇ χρηστότητι, ‘the Calvinists are put to great straits, ‘are reduced to miserable shifts, and compelled to resort to ‘sophistical and metaphysical distinctions’; and he immediately proceeds to cite the authority of BEZA for what he considers as the sound interpretation! In the note on this passage in the present volumes, we find him still citing *Beza* against the Calvinists, although he has softened down his language of vituperation.

‘i. e. as Beza, Crell., Vorst., Grot., and Whitby explain, “if thou remain in that state in which thou hast been placed by the goodness of God, through faith in Christ, by which this goodness is retained; if thou retainest God’s goodness to thee, by continuing to endeavour to be worthy of it, and improving this advantage.” This explanation is confirmed by the Greek Commentators. At all events, the present passage excludes the Calvinistic notion of *irresistible grace*, as the words following, καὶ ἑκείνοι—ἴκωντ. do that of *arbitrary and irrespective election or reprobation*.’

Calvin remarks on this passage: ‘*Quia autem de singulis ‘electis non disputat, sed de toto corpore, additur conditio, ‘Si in tenitate permanseris.*’ We do not particularly admire the whole of his annotation; but every one who examines the passage with attention, must admit that he correctly represents it to relate to the election or calling of the Gentiles as a body, in

contradistinction from the Jews. Now that national election is 'arbitrary,' (the term is objectionable, but it is not ours,) anti-Calvinists have been forward to admit. 'All members of the Church of Christ,' remarks Archbishop Whately, in treating of Election, 'are called and elected by God, and are as truly his people, and under his especial government, as even the Israelites ever were. And though they do not consist of any one nation in particular, they are *arbitrarily selected and called* to this privilege, out of the rest of the world, according to God's unsearchable will, for reasons known to Him alone, no less than the Israelites were of old.'* According to non-Calvinistic authorities, then, the passage does *not* exclude arbitrary election. And as to 'irresistible grace,' it is quite evident, that a writer who understood either the Calvinistic notion, or the meaning of the terms, would not have described the language of Beza as at variance with that doctrine.

These specimens will suffice to shew that Dr. Bloomfield is not to be trusted as a theological commentator; nor is his judgement as a critic always unimpeachable. We feel, however, under too great obligations to him for the important services he has rendered to Biblical Criticism, both in this valuable edition of the Sacred Text, and in his "*Recensio Synoptica*," to have any wish to dwell upon the flaws in his divinity, or the slight drawbacks upon the substantial utility and importance of his meritorious and erudite labours. But we have felt it to be our duty to point out these defects, in the hope that the Author may be induced to reconsider his expressions, and to expunge from his work, in the next edition, every uncalled for aspersion on the opinions of those from whom he differs.

Our readers may be curious to know what course has been adopted, in these editions, with regard to the famous passage, 1 John v. 7. In the text of each, the controverted clause, *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*—*ἐν τῇ γῇ*, is very properly printed between brackets. Mr. Valpy affixes to it the mark of 'possible spuriousness and expunction,' but, in a note, seems inclined to support its genuineness; citing the reasoning of Ernesti and Nolan in its favour, and very slightly noticing either the arguments or the critical authorities on the other side. Dr. Burton has a note upon the passage, which we shall transcribe.

'7, 8. There is great reason to think, that all the words from *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* to *ἐν τῇ γῇ* are an interpolation. The 7th verse, as printed in our modern editions, is not to be found in any existing MS. The passage is only found in two MSS., both of which are very recent, and both contain variations. It is not quoted by any Greek writer for several centuries. Cyprian is supposed to have quoted it in the third

* Whately on the Difficulties in St. Paul's Writings. p. 96.

century: but it is not certain whether he did not mean to allegorize the 8th verse; and this will perhaps explain its introduction into the Latin copies.

‘If we exclude the suspected passage, we shall then read, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα. *For there are three things which testify his being the Son of God, the Spirit, his baptism, and his birth; and these three tend to prove the unity of Jesus and Christ.*

‘Ibid. αἱ τὸ ἓν εἰσιν. In the suspected passage we read ἓν εἰς, which gives a very different meaning: but S. John probably did not mean to say that these three things *are one*, but that they prove Jesus and Christ to be one person.’

Dr. Burton (with Michaelis) conceives the whole passage to have been ‘directed against the Cerinthians, who separated ‘Jesus from Christ, and said, that Christ was united to Jesus, ‘when the Spirit descended upon him at his baptism.’ And he accordingly interprets δι’ αἵματος in ver. 6., as implying ‘*at his birth.*’ In support of this singular and violent rendering, he adduces, however, no authorities. Dr. Bloomfield is of opinion, with Wells and Carpzov, that, ‘by the *water and blood*, St. John intended to advert to the *sacraments*, by *water* meaning ‘the laver of regeneration, and by *blood*, the Lord’s Supper.’ This, of all the interpretations proposed of this difficult passage, seems to us the least intelligible. Bp. Horsley agrees with Calvin and those who consider the words as alluding to the fact recorded John xix. 34; of which the learned Prelate offers a singular explanation, deeming it both miraculous and mystical. Calvin’s comment may be acceptable to some of our readers. ‘*Neque dubito quin ad veteres Legis ritus alludat in vocibus Aquæ et Sanguinis . . . Sub his duabus totam sanctitatis et justitiæ perfectionem Apostolus designat . . . Apte igitur probat Johannes Jesum esse Christum Domini, olim promissum, quia secum attulit quo nos omni ex parte sanctificet.*’ The words, “by water,” he thinks, can have no reference to baptism, but express ‘the fruit and effect’ of the miraculous fact recorded by St. John. Wetstein’s comment recognizes an allusion to this fact, but with a different meaning: ‘*Probavit se non phantasma, sed verum hominem esse, qui ex spiritu, sanguine, et aquâ seu humore constaret.*’ Grotius, who is followed by Lardner, thinks that the Water denotes the innocence of our Lord’s life, the blood his death, the spirit his miracles:—‘*Aqua est puritas vitæ Christianæ, quæ simul cum martyrio, et miraculis, testimonium reddit veritati dogmatis.*’ (Grot. Ann. in Joh. iii. 5.) This gloss comes from a suspicious quarter, although it may deserve attention.

There is yet another explanation of the words, which we will venture to submit. In John i. 31, we meet with expressions

which forcibly recall those of the passage under consideration :—*διὰ τοῦτο ἦλθεν ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι βαπτίζων καὶ ἐμαρτύρησεν Ἰωάννης, λεγών.* Our Lord is said to have come δι' ὕδατος, but the expression is changed in the next clause to ἐν τῷ ὕδατι. Suppose an ellipsis, and that our Lord's coming with water implies his coming baptizing with water, the meaning will be, that He came, not only as a "Teacher sent from God," but also, τῷ αἵματι ἀγιάζων, as a high-priest who by his own blood has procured eternal redemption for us. Comp. Heb. ix. 12. But how then are we to understand the three-fold testimony of the spirit, the water, and the blood? Bp. Burgess, who is cited with great deference by Dr. Bloomfield, would interpret it of our Lord's *last breath* on 'the Cross, and the blood and water that issued from his side.' Such a rendering of τὸ πνεῦμα, had it been proposed by a less orthodox person, would have probably excited severe condemnation: it appears to us utterly inadmissible. Understanding the word as denoting the Holy Spirit, we have to inquire, in what sense the water and the blood are the concurrent testimony of the Father to the Son. The sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist in a sense bear testimony to Christ: but how can they be said to be the testimony of God? They are rather the perpetual testimony of the Church. Calvin refers us to 1 Pet. i. 2, and remarks, that St. John here adduces the Spirit as a witness together with the water and the blood, because it is his proper office to cleanse our consciences with the blood of Christ. '*Porro Dei testimonium vocat non modò quod Spiritus cordibus nostris reddit, sed quod etiam habemus ab aqua et sanguine.*' If this is not satisfactory, it may at least guard our readers against hastily adopting any crude interpretation of the very difficult passage.

In reference to the disputed clause, Dr. Bloomfield 'inclines to the opinion' that it is genuine; or, as he cautiously expresses himself, he 'regards the authenticity of the verses as, though 'doubtful, yet verging to probability.' But he assigns no reason for his opinion, which seems adopted more in compliment to the 'very learned and venerable Bishop of Salisbury', than as the result of an independent examination of the evidence. In fact, when we find a writer postponing a decision indefinitely, under the idea that 'the rapid advance in Biblical Criticism', may at some future period lead to the discovery of evidence which has hitherto eluded all research, and opposing this vague expectation of possible evidence to the force of existing document, the soundest canons of criticism, and all the rules of evidence,—we cannot be mistaken in inferring that his judgement must be under a very strong bias, that disqualifies him, as our Author remarks of Griesbach, for 'holding the critical scales true.' Yet, in his Synopsis, Dr. B. admits, that the clause, if genuine, will not

decidedly prove the doctrine of the Trinity, and that by far too much anxiety about the determination of the question has been felt and expressed by the Orthodox in general. Mr. Valpy very properly introduces a similar observation.

‘It has been a question with many, whether too pertinacious, at least too warm a zeal has not been shewn by some, to secure the authenticity of this text, as if the doctrine it contained rested solely on its authority. For, as Bentley observes, if the fourth century knew that text, let it come in, in God’s name: but if that age did not know it, then Arianism at its height was beat down without the help of that verse; and let the *fact* prove as it will, the *doctrine* is unshaken.’

We must briefly advert to a few other important texts. At 1 Tim. iii. 16., the reading, Θεός, is retained in the text of each of these editions, but with a different punctuation and division of the context. Mr. Valpy, who gives ὁς *vel* ὁ as ‘an inferior reading’, begins a new paragraph at the words, Στύλος καὶ ἰδραῖωμα τῆς ἀληθείας; thus referring them, not to ἐκκλησία or to εἰδής, but to the following clause*. Dr. Bloomfield objects against this interpretation, that ‘it overloads the sentiment, has a very ‘frigid air, and would suppose an *anti-climax*, no where ‘else found in St. Paul.’ Dr. Burton begins a paragraph with καὶ ὁμολογουμένως; remarking, that the preceding words στύλος—ἀληθείας are connected by Origen, in five places, with ἐκκλησία, as also by Athanasius and Epiphanius. Dr. Bloomfield has no break in the text, but closes the period with ἀληθείας, and connects the two following clauses thus:—μυστήριον—Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη. There may, he remarks, seem an abruptness, by a sort of a hiatus between the words μυστ. and Θεός, not uncommon in the writings of St. Paul. His annotation on the various readings, we have not room to transcribe; nor does it exhibit a complete view of the evidence. Dr. Henderson’s Tract might have claimed notice among the Author’s authorities; while Dr. Pye Smith’s remarks, in his invaluable Scripture Testimony, ought to have precluded the uncandid and erroneous representation that ὁς is a reading favoured only by Socinians. Dr. Smith follows Dr. J. A. Cramer and Berriman, in connecting the ὁς with Θεοῦ ζῶντος, including the intervening words in a parenthesis. Against this construction, we have intimated our strong objections†; and our readers are aware that we regard the preponderating evidence as supporting the common reading. At the same time, we cannot

* This construction has been adopted by Erasmus Schmidt, Le Clerc, Bengelius, Schöttgenius, Doddridge, Michaelis, Storr, Griesbach, Knapp, Vater, and Stolz.

† See Ecl. Rev. 2d Series, Vol. IV. pp. 178—187; and *Ib.* 3d Series, Vol. V. pp. 38—53.

approve of the policy of concealing the perplexities attending some part of the evidence, or of attempting to criminate the motives of those who arrive at a different conclusion on a critical point. The import of the passage, apart from all criticism, is, we should say, fixed beyond all controversy, by John i. 14. and 1 John i. 1, 2. With regard to the construction of the entire passage, Dr. Burton's remark is, we think, important; that *μυστήριον* had been mentioned in ver. 9; and we are therefore warranted in regarding the phrases, "mystery of the faith" and "mystery of godliness", as synonymous. The words *τῆς ἀληθείας*, seem to have suggested to the inspired Writer the expression he had previously used—"the mystery of the faith"; and reiterating it with a slight variation, he affirms, that the distinguishing mystery of our religion (of the *ἀληθεία ἡ κατ' εὐσέβειαν* Tit. i. 1.) is incontrovertibly great. Of this affirmation, and of the expressions used in both places, the following words are clearly intended to be exegetical. And we are thus prepared for an emphatic announcement, such as the words in the received text alone convey: "God was manifested in human nature", &c. Taking this view of the passage, we cannot see the propriety of introducing any break or division. "The truth" here summed up, is that which Timothy is admonished to uphold; and whether we refer the words "pillar and supporter of the truth" to the Church or to Timothy, the sense will be the same. It seems to us a little strange, however, to apply the word pillar to the Church; and still more strange, with Dr. Bloomfield and our Translators, to make the Church both "pillar" and "ground" or foundation. The Church is elsewhere described as a temple; but in what appropriate sense can it be compared to a pillar? "Him that overcometh", it is written, "I will make a pillar (*στύλον*) in the temple of my God."* And of James, Peter, and John, it is remarked, that they "appeared to be pillars" (*στυλοί*).† The sense is obvious, when understood of Timothy; but, with every disposition to defer to high authorities ‡, we cannot recognize its propriety when applied to the church.

* Rev. iii. 12.

† Gal. ii. 9.

‡ That the quotations of Origen, &c. connect the words "pillar and ground of the truth" with the Church, Dr. Pye Smith regards as no decisive objection. 'The comments of the fathers, of even the second and third centuries, are frequently so far remote from the demonstrable meaning of a passage, that no man of a truly Christian and enlightened mind will think himself bound to adhere to them.' Smith's *Scrip. Test.* Vol. III. p. 355. The use to which the Papists wrest the passage in support of the claims of their Church, is notorious. Calvin, while exposing their false interpretation—'*Impudenter autem nugantur Papistæ*'—nevertheless regards the passage as a magnificent eulogy upon the True Church. Of that strong bias which

Besides, the words ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ are exegetical of what precedes; or, rather, are the predicate, of which the antecedent to ἥτις is the subject. If στῦλος καὶ ἰδραίωμα are not to be considered as in apposition to δεῖ ἀναστρέφεισθαι, they must be referred to οἶκος, not to ἐκκλησία; and we must then understand the Apostle as predicating of the family or house of God, that it is both the church of God and the pillar and ground of the truth. In that case, however, the two clauses would have been united by a copulative; as, in the other case, which supposes στῦλος to refer to ἐκκλησία, there must have been introduced, we apprehend, either the article or the relative pronoun. Applied to Timothy, every difficulty vanishes, and the whole passage reads naturally. Dr. Bloomfield indeed asserts, that this interpretation 'breaks up the construction', and that the 'words have no *vinculum* by which they can be united with any part of the preceding context!' And he adds the futile objection, that Timothy 'could not be called a *foundation* of the Church, much less the *foundation*.' He seems to have forgotten that the Church is said to be built upon the foundation (τῷ θεμελίῳ) of the Apostles and inspired teachers, among whom, perhaps, Timothy might be classed. Here, however, the word rendered foundation is different, and implies a stay or support. The whole passage may be thus rendered: "These things I write to thee, although I hope to see thee shortly; that, if I should be detained, thou mayest know how to conduct thyself in the family of God, which is the congregation of the Living God, as a pillar and supporter of the truth. And unquestionably great is the mystery of the faith (or of our religion). God was manifested in human nature; was evidenced in his spiritual nature*; was beheld by angels; was proclaimed among the nations; was believed upon in the world; was received up into glory." Upon the last two clauses, Dr. Burton properly remarks: 'This also may be considered a *mystery*, when we think of the state of the heathen world and the rapid spread of Christianity.'

We can only offer some miscellaneous remarks upon a few other passages. On Eph. ii. 2, Dr. Burton has the unsatisfactory remark, that 'both Jews and Gentiles believed *the air* to be peopled by spirits.' Dr. Bloomfield has a long note to the same effect. We cannot but view the phrase, τὸν ἀρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ αἵρος, as equivalent to τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σκότους at Col.

may be suspected to have influenced both ancient and modern expositors. Dr. Bloomfield's note supplies a fresh illustration. For church, i. e. congregation, they seem to have read, church-polity!

* 'Spiritus nomine comprehendit quicquid in Christo Divinum fuit ac supra hominem.' Calv. in loc. The whole annotation is admirable. Comp. Rom. i. 4. Heb. ix. 14. See also Smith's Script. Test. Vol. III. pp. 318. 356.

i. 13; implying, 'the prince of the dominion of darkness.' At 1 Cor. viii. 3, Dr. Bloomfield (with Macknight) would render ἔγνωσται 'in a *hophel* sense,—is made to know.' He takes no notice of the interpretation (supported by Pierce and Doddridge) which refers οὗτος to God *. Dr. Burton notices this more natural and forcible rendering, but gives no opinion upon it. The latter Editor has given a very novel, and, we apprehend, untenable interpretation of Heb. iii. 3;—'the greater share of 'honour in the house', instead of, 'than the house.' The very perplexing passage, Heb. ix. 16, is explained by Dr. Burton as referring to a covenant; and he takes διαβήμενος as denoting 'the 'covenanting party'; but his note by no means clears up the difficulty. Dr. Bloomfield's annotation is highly valuable, although different readers will probably be conducted by his very fair statement of conflicting interpretations, to different conclusions. Another not less difficult passage occurs, Gal. iii. 20;—'perhaps above all others', Dr. Bloomfield remarks, '*vexatus ab interpretibus*, for Winer affirms that there are no less than '250 modes of explanation stated and reviewed by Koppe, 'Borger, Keil, Bonitz, Weigand, and others.' That which the learned Editor deems the most probable, agrees with Dr. Burton's brief interpretation.

'But yet the law came from God: for a mediator implies that there is more than one party; and God was one of the parties.'

The force and bearing of the observation, thus interpreted, are not, however, very obvious. We have not had an opportunity of examining the 250 modes of explanation; but if none of them are more satisfactory than this, they must be worth little. Calvin proposes two, and mentions a third, which he dismisses at once as absurd. The common exposition, he says, is, that there is no room for a mediator, unless one party has transactions with another; but why the Apostle introduces this sentiment, has been left unexplained. There may be, he continues, a *prolepsis*. St. Paul may be supposing an objection founded on the alleged change in the Divine counsels. In the first clause, then, he must be understood as admitting that men, who are fickle and unstable, make one party in this covenant: but, on the other hand, God nevertheless remains one, consistent with himself, and unchangeable. The interpretation which, however, he deems preferable, refers the first clause to the diversity between Jews and Gentiles: q. d. Not of one only is Christ the Mediator, but, as he was formerly the reconciler of God to the Jews, so is he now the Mediator of the Gentiles, leading them both to one God, that God who is still the same. '*Unus ergo Deus; quia semper*

* See upon this text, Ecl. Rev. 3d Series, Vol. III. p. 53.

'*manet sui similis, ac perpetuo tenore firmum tenet ac statum quod semel decrevit.*' Both interpretations appear to us deserving of attention. Yet they are open to a common objection. If the εἷς be taken for ὁ αὐτός, one and the same, i. e. immutable, (a rendering noticed by Dr. Bloomfield, though not adopted by him, but to which we strongly incline,) it scarcely seems probable, that ἐνός should be used in the numerical sense. The mediator spoken of at ver. 19 is Moses. But the mediator of the new covenant is Christ. The mediator, then, is not the same, but God is the same; nor has there been any change in the Divine purpose. Is there, then, any opposition between the Law and the Gospel? Far be the thought.—Such appears to be the scope of the Apostle's reasoning: whether our interpretation be admissible, we submit to the learned.

James iv. 5, 6, is a passage which has been involved in difficulty by the common punctuation and the blunders of expositors. Dr. Bloomfield has overlooked the simple solution supplied by Calvin. That which 'the Scripture speaks,' is contained in the *previous* sentence, which obviously refers to such declarations as John xv. 18—20; Matt. vi. 24; Luke xvi. 13, 15; John v. 44; xii. 43.

We cannot pass over the respective comments of the three learned Editors on the very remarkable passage, Rev. i. 4. It is admitted, that the ὁ ὢν, &c. is used by St. John to represent the indeclinable Hebrew noun Jehovah; and 'if we would say in English,' Dr. Burton remarks, 'that Moses was sent by the I AM, St. John might write ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁ ὢν.' We are surprised, however, that the learned Professor should add,—'or, ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν, for τοῦ is, 'perhaps, to be expunged.'* We think with Bishop Middleton, that the article here is necessary; that it could scarcely by possibility have been dispensed with. Dr. Bloomfield is of the same opinion; and he suggests, that the reading, Θεοῦ, injudiciously adopted by Matthæi, though supported by many MSS., was founded on the τοῦ. We agree with him also, that our English Version very improperly omits the definite article before the Divine title, Exod. iii. 14. The following words, Mr. Valpy interprets of 'angels'; adding: 'This is agreeable to the opinion of the Jews. Tobit xiii. 15.' Such an interpretation appears to us utterly inadmissible. Dr. Burton says: 'This is generally understood to mean the Holy Ghost, who is here coupled with the Father and the Son, as the Author of grace and peace. The expression may refer to the various gifts and communications of the Spirit.' Dr. Bloomfield mentions both interpretations, but concludes in favour of the latter; remarking, that 'it should hardly seem that any created spirits would be compre-

* Dr. Burton says; 'I would not attempt to defend the solecism.' Is not this an unguarded mode of expression?

'hended in the solemn benediction of the Father and the Son, 'which follows: therefore the interpretation' (given by Scott) 'seems preferable.' Notice should have been taken of the critical authorities by which it is sanctioned. * Eichhorn interprets the phrase, '*ipsa Dei natura perfectissima*.' The passage, however, has never hitherto received that satisfactory illustration of which we believe it to be susceptible.

The words ὁ μαρτὺς ὁ πιστὸς, in the succeeding verse, seem, Dr. Burton remarks, to be another solecism instead of τοῦ μάρτυρος. If so, the difficulty is not obviated by putting a stop at Χριστοῦ, and connecting them with τῇ ἀγαπήσαντι. Mr. Valpy adopts Mr. Tilloch's suggestion †, that the words represent the indeclinable Hebrew noun, *the Amen*, with which they are found immediately connected at chap. iii. 14.; and the same explanation is applied to the nominatives which follow. This solution seems to us not less unsatisfactory; since, if there is any propriety in the introduction of the article τοῦ before ὁ ἄν in the preceding verse, it would have been required here also. We should prefer to put a stop both after Χριστοῦ and after τῆς γῆς, and to consider the intervening words as a separate sentence, containing a proclamation, as it were, of the Divine and sovereign titles of the Messiah.

There is but one more passage to which our limits will allow us to refer:—Heb. i. 2. Here occurs a very remarkable instance of the absence of the article where it might have been looked for. In fact, Professor Stuart goes so far as to represent this instance as fatal to Bp. Middleton's theory. 'That the article would be 'added' (prefixed) 'to *ὁ υἱὸς* here, if the phrase was constructed 'according to the common usage of the Greek language and of 'the New Testament writers,' says the American Professor, 'is 'quite obvious; although I find none of the modern commentators 'who take notice of it. In accordance with this principle, both 'Chrysostom and Theophylact supply it in their paraphrase, expressing the sense by *διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ*. After all the *rules* which 'have been laid down respecting the omission or insertion of the 'article in Greek, and all the theories which have been advanced, 'he who investigates for himself, and is guided only by *facts*, 'will find not a little that is arbitrary in the actual use of it. . . 'It is plain, in the present case, that *ὁ υἱὸς* is *monadic*; that it designates one individual peculiarly distinguished; and that the 'pronoun αὐτοῦ is omitted after it; on all which accounts, (according to theory,) the article should be added. But all the

* We have pleasure in again referring our readers to Smith's *Scrip. Test.* Vol. III. p. 154; and to the learned Author's *Discourse on the Personality of the Holy Spirit.* p. 50.

† See *Ecl. Rev.* Vol. XXIII. p. 357. Art. Tilloch on the Apocalypse.

'Codices of the New Testament agree in omitting it.'* In reply to these remarks, it may be urged, first, that an unexplained exception would seem to furnish no very solid reason for setting aside a rule established by so extensive a deduction as that which forms the basis of Bp. Middleton's theory. Secondly, that nothing is more unphilosophical than to conclude a usage to be guided by no rules, because it may be governed by different rules, and vary accordingly. Cases may be numerous, in which the Greek writers 'insert or reject the article at pleasure;' and in one sense, this may be regarded as 'an arbitrary use of it.' But it does not follow that, in those cases, the usage is independent of rules, the choice being allowed by rules crossing each other, either of which the writer might follow. For example, it is a general rule, in our own language as in the Greek, that proper names do not take the definite article, for the obvious reason that they are in themselves definite, *including* as it were a definition. But titles and abstract nouns used as appellatives, as a general rule, take the article; because, according to Dr. Middleton's theory, they are the predicate of certain qualities of which the article is the subject. But proper names may be used as titles; and again, abstract nouns may be converted into proper names. In such cases, the rule obviously requires, that the proper name should take the article, and the title lose it. Thus, in English, The King, the Prince, the Deity, the Almighty, are titular appellatives; but Deity, as well as God, is sometimes used without the article, as a proper name; and Duke, Prince, or King loses the article when associated with a proper name; as King William, Prince George, &c. On the other hand, proper names become titles, when we speak of the Cæsar, the Bourbon, the Sefi, the Douglas. Again, we say, the Providence of God, and Providence; the Crown, and Majesty; the Church, and Mother Church; in the one case, employing the word as the proper name of the personified attribute; in the other case, using it as a descriptive title. We do not mean to contend, either that the Article in English and the Greek Article have the same import, or that they are subject to the same rules, but merely cite these as analogical illustrations. At the same time, we are disposed to regard both our definite and indefinite articles as true pronouns, —the one related to *that*, the other to *any* or *one*.

But to return to the instance before us. Professor Stuart, while contending that, according to theory, the word *ὁ* should have the article prefixed, suggests, that 'perhaps it may be here employed as a kind of *proper* name,' and that 'on this account it omits the article, by a license usual in respect to proper

* Stuart on the Hebrews, Vol. II. p. 17. Neither Mr. Valpy nor Dr. Burton notices the passage.

names.' For license, we should say rule. Dr. Bloomfield, adopting this idea, remarks, that had Bp. Middleton noticed this passage, 'he would have found no difficulty in reconciling it with his theory, since he would have seen that *υἱός* may here be considered, like *Χριστός* for *ὁ Χριστός τοῦ Θεοῦ*, as an appellative 'converted into a proper name, and consequently entitled to the 'same license which we sometimes find in *Χριστός*.' The same explanation is applied to the anarthrous use of the word *υἱός* at ch. vii. 28., of this Epistle. These two instances, however, may be thought scarcely sufficient to warrant the supposition that Son is here used as a proper name, in the absence of all other evidence of so very peculiar a usage. One of Middleton's rules is, that the article is very frequently omitted before nouns which would otherwise take it, when they are governed by a preposition. According to this rule, then, the passage before us is at once explained. But may not the omission be explained by the construction? The word Son is here *defined* by what follows:— 'whom he hath constituted lord of all.' We sometimes employ the indefinite article in English, when the noun is essentially monadic, but is defined by the phrase of which it forms part: e. g. a God too wise to err, a Saviour who died for us. We submit whether the omission of the Greek article in the passage before us may not be accounted for upon an analogous principle, and whether we ought not to read, *ἐν υἱῷ ὃν ἔθηκε κληρονόμον πάντων*, 'a Son whom he has constituted lord of all.' The sentiment precludes the idea that any Son but One can be referred to, since there can be but one Universal Lord.

We must here take leave of the publications which have afforded occasion for these critical disquisitions, and the contents of which might supply matter for a numerous series of articles. Our readers will now, we think, be able to form a correct estimate of their respective merits. It is rather an invidious task, to adjudicate the comparative claims of competitors; but we may perhaps venture to recommend Mr. Valpy's and Dr. Burton's editions as the more suitable for those who have as yet little acquaintance with the labours of critical commentators, for the upper classes of schools, and persons wishing to familiarize themselves with the sacred oracles in their genuine form, without embarrassing their minds with the details of criticism. Dr. Bloomfield's edition, though less suitable for the novice, will be invaluable to all whose profession requires, or whose leisure admits of a more critical study of the Inspired Writings. That he should have been able, 'with such slender means only as an 'considerable benefice in an obscure situation could supply,' to complete two such arduous undertakings as his "*Recensio Synoptica*" and the present work,—affords a fresh proof, how little learning is indebted to the splendid endowments and rich

sinecures of the Establishment. We regret to find the learned Author advertg to the unsparing sacrifices which he has made, in the service of the Church, of 'health, fortune, comfort, and 'whatever renders life desirable.' He has deserved well both of the Church and of the Christian world, and has fairly earned the highest remuneration that the dispensers of ecclesiastical patronage have to bestow. We shall rejoice to hear that these volumes obtain a rapid and extensive sale; and we hope that the learned Author will soon have the opportunity, in a second edition, to make any use he may think proper of our critical strictures,—dictated, we trust, by no motives inferior to those which have animated his assiduous labours.

Art. II. 1. *The Pedestrian: A Summer's Ramble in the Tyrol, and some of the adjacent Provinces.* M.D.CCCXXX. By Charles Joseph Latrobe, Author of "The Alpenstock." 8vo. pp. 349. Price 12s. London, 1832.

2. *A Three Months' Tour in Switzerland and France:* illustrated with Plates, descriptive of Mountain Scenery, and interspersed with Poetry; with a Route to Chamouni, the Bernese Alps, &c. By the Rev. William Liddiard, Author of "The Legend of Einsiedlin," &c. 8vo. pp. 263. Price 10s. 6d. London, 1832.

THOSE readers who found Mr. Latrobe a pleasant travelling companion among the Swiss Alps, and who were happy to avail themselves of his Alpenstock in climbing the Niesen, the Stockhorn, and the Rawyl, without the fatigue of bodily locomotion, will not, we think, be less pleased to accompany him in his ramble through the Grisons and the Tyrol. His is not, however, the book to please or interest every one. Readers whose sluggish imagination requires the strong stimulant of historic legend or romantic fiction, in order to its pleasurable excitement,—those to whom the majesty and beauty of nature, in her lonely recesses, are insipid, unless made the scene of some adventure of love or horror,—matter-of-fact men and utilitarians, or those who expect a traveller to furnish them with philosophical or political disquisitions upon the state of Europe,—will not find much to their taste in Mr. Latrobe's unpretending volumes. Nay, to enter into the spirit of the *Pedestrian*, a reader would need to have some kindred degree of topographical enthusiasm, and to be able to enter into the feeling that inspired poor Bloomfield's finest poem, in which he exclaims:

'From nature and her changes flow
An everlasting tide of joy.'

In fact, the Author writes for 'pedestrian readers,' and for those

who can take in pictures drawn in words, and to whom the terms alp, and loch, and rock and glen are music. For our own parts, though neither mountaineers nor extraordinary peripatetics, we have found a great deal to interest and entertain us in the present, as in the former volume; and we are very glad to be made familiarly acquainted, by means of a pedestrian survey, with the local features and topography of the Alpine region which the Author has explored.

On the 3d of May, our Pedestrian started from Erlenbach in the valley of the Simmen, and proceeded by Balzers to Coire, the capital of the Grisons. Thence, not without great difficulty and peril, the snows of winter not having yet ceased to fall in the higher Alps, he made his way across the ridge of the Julier, 6830 feet above the sea, to the valley of the Engadine, through which the Inn descends towards the Tyrol. This remarkable vale, nearly 60 miles in length, elevated between 5500 and 3840 feet above the sea, presents, Mr. Latrobe says, 'a spectacle of greater opulence than any other in the Alps, or, probably, than any other region of Europe of like elevation.'

'The natural productions are as meagre and as few in number as elsewhere, at this height, where nine months' winter and three months' summer, is the lot of the inhabitants. Yet here, and principally in the Upper Engadine, at the height of 4000 feet above the sea, the traveller meets with numerous villages, displaying a degree of luxury in their architecture, and interior and exterior arrangements, which appears singular, when contrasted with the forbidding features of the savage landscape in which they are placed. Some of the highest villages are the most striking in this respect; and were Celerina, Samaden, and Bevers placed in any other country, they would be called really handsome. Industry is the source of all this wealth, though the theatre of its exertions must be sought for elsewhere than in the Engadine. The natives are to be found scattered through every town and country of Europe, where they are well known as successful refiners of sugar, and as deeply skilled in the art of confectionery. Their love of home brings them back at a later age to this valley, with full purses, devoted to the embellishment of their native village. The architecture is peculiar. The houses are built of rough stone, with a coating of white plaster on the exterior, and a wainscot of larch in the interior. The windows are numerous, but in general small, square, and deeply sunk in the wall, like the embrasure of a battery. Here and there, the white stucco is painted, but seldom tastefully. But above all, the churches are so elegant that it is difficult to believe oneself in a Protestant district. For our good reformers, in general, seem to have been of opinion, that good taste was of the party of the Pope and Cardinals, and to have abjured it accordingly in their ecclesiastical edifices. The churches of the villages above named are, for the most part, decorated with quadrangular towers and cupolas of goodly height and proportion. Further down, towards the Lower Engadine, spires become frequent.' pp. 24, 5.

Who are the architects? Are they natives of these Alpine regions, or foreigners from the sunny side of the mountains? The trade chosen by these emigrants, is a strange choice; and a most curious circumstance it must be deemed, that natives of the loftiest Alps of Europe should be found occupied in refining the sugar produced from the burning plains of tropical countries by the labour of Africans. In the Lower Engadine, the scenery takes a much more romantic character; and there, our Traveller found himself among a people to whom his German was unintelligible. In this remote nook of the Rhetian Alps, and in some of the contiguous valleys, there still survives a remnant of a language which is neither German nor Italian, but is supposed to be that of ancient Latium and Etruria, in a form entirely distinct from that which it assumed under the Romans. More than half the inhabitants of the Grisons, Mr. Latrobe says, speak this language; and the abbey of Dissentis, founded in the seventh century, possessed, prior to the irruption of the French into this canton in 1799, a library containing many works relating to this ancient tongue; among others, a translation of the Four Gospels. The language is divided into two distinct idioms; the *Romane* or *Cia-lover*, spoken by the peasants of the valleys watered by the Further and Middle Rhine, and the *Ladin*, in use in the Engadine, which is thought to be of later origin, and has more affinity than the former with the vulgar or Roman idiom. The *Romane* is supposed to be a mixture of the language of ancient Etruria with the Celtic dialect spoken by the *Lepontii*, the original inhabitants, with whom the Tuscan refugees peaceably intermingled.

‘When the people of the Grisons embraced the Reformation in great numbers, the Rhetian language was made the language of the pulpit, and books began to be printed in it. The first was a Catechism, in 1551, in the *Ladin* idiom of the Engadine. In 1640, a translation of the New Testament appeared, many detached portions of the Bible having previously been printed. Indeed, the New Testament was translated into one of the dialects as early as 1560. The entire Bible appeared in 1748. The *Romane* library comprises about thirty volumes, consisting almost wholly of books of devotion; and the *Ladin* enumerates probably as many.’ p. 33.

Had the same enlightened policy been adopted in respect to the Irish language, had *that* been made the language of the pulpit, instead of being tyrannically proscribed and discouraged, Popery would not now be the national religion of the Irish, embalmed in their mother tongue, and endeared by the medium through which it is taught. But England has intercepted the Reformation, and prevented its being naturalised in Ireland; and she is now reaping the bitter fruits of that fatuitous and wicked policy. Mr. Latrobe has given the Lord's Prayer in both idioms. From these speci-

mens, however, we should not have supposed them to be of very remote origin; and we cannot but suspect that they will be found closely related to the Provençal, Waldensic, and Catalanian dialects.

At the Martins-brück, where the vale of the Inn opens for an instant, before it again contracts into the savage pass of the Fins-termünz, the road, crossing the bridge to the right bank, enters the Tyrol. The canton or county which bears this name, comprises the central and eastern portion of the Rhoetian, and the westernmost part of the Carnic and Noric Alps. Tyrol, or Teriolis, from which it takes its name, is a small place near Meran, the ancient capital, in the upper valley of the Adige, where the old counts of Tyrol had a castle. A line drawn through the glacier of the Ortler, in a direction nearly n. and s., will give a general idea of its western limits, separating it from the Val Teline, the Grisons, and the Voraarlberg. To the east, 'the snowy pyramid of the Great Glockner rises from its sea of ice, as the 'boundary-stone of the three provinces of Tyrol, Salzburg, and 'Carinthia.' The chain of mountains to the north of the vale of the Inn, overlooks the well-cultivated plains of Bavaria. From the southern declivities of the Tyrolese Alps, a multitude of streams find their way to the plains of Eastern Lombardy and Friuli.

Our Pedestrian's route led him still to follow the course of the Inn, which winds and 'worms' its way through a succession of narrow clefts and savage defiles, to the romantic town of Landeck; situated in that part of the Stanzer-thal, 'where the more 'abundant and more nobly descended stream of the Inn, bursting 'through the narrow ravine, enters the valley, and mingles its 'waters with those of the Rosanna.' A gloomy castle, in bad repair, crowns a rugged rock on the right bank of the Inn; and a little to the right of this castle, Mr. Latrobe was surprised at finding 'the most singularly beautiful and regular Gothic structure' he had seen among the Alps*. It has three aisles, the centre one terminating in a deep semi-octagonal apsis, with light pillars, brackets and windows of the perpendicular style, very good tracery in the latter, and an excellently groined roof. The doorways, also, are in strict harmony; and there is a purity and chasteness in the general proportion, which, says our Author, 'not all the gaudy and cumbersome trappings of a Roman 'Catholic interior could destroy.' The position is perfectly beautiful, nor less so the view that it commands. This place forms a point of junction for the three principal roads of North

* A strikingly picturesque view of Landeck will be found in Heath's *Picturesque Annual* for 1832; but the church is dwarfed by the Campanile; and Mr. Ritchie does not notice it.

West Tyrol; that of the Engadine and Southern Tyrol, that of Innsbruck and the Lower Inn-thal, and that leading, by the valleys of Montafun and Stanz, to Switzerland and Lake Constance. Our Pedestrian's route was the second of these. The Vale of the Inn increases in interest as you approach Innsbruck; and near Zirl, the Martins-wand, a precipitous mass of rock, fronts the Vale, forming a buttress to the Solstein, one of the highest mountains of the range.

These precipices were the scene of a terrible combat between the Tyrolese and their Bavarian invaders in 1703; and an historical legend is connected with the Martins-wand, of which Mr. Leitch Ritchie or Mr. Kennedy would have made good use. Our Author describes better than he narrates; and he tells the story with provoking matter of fact simplicity, without any elegant exaggeration. It is to this effect. In the year 1493, the Emperor Maximilian, while engaged in his favourite pursuit of hunting the chamois on the Martins-wand, suddenly found himself upon the edge of the precipice, in a situation from which he could neither advance nor recede. At a very considerable height, the rock bends inward, and gives place to a large hollow of very singular form and depth. To attain this from below, a small footway leads gradually up through the brushwood which covers the earthy slopes to the west of the precipice; and, on reaching the angle, 'winds cautiously round one or two dizzy corners, and finally ascends by a steep and broken stair cut in the rock, to the landing-place under the shade of the impending masses, which hang over the hollow like a pent-house.' Here, at the height of 740 feet above the Inn, is found a cavern 80 feet in breadth and 60 feet deep; now consecrated by a crucifix 18 feet in height, to which pilgrims are attracted from all parts of the Tyrol. No stair had been cut in the rock, no crucifix had consecrated the spot, when the young Emperor found himself clinging to the rock in the vicinity of this cavern, on the brink of the abyss, and sustained only by the spikes of his cramp-irons. He had wandered from his attendants; and his cries for help were for some time unheard; till they reached the ears of a peasant-girl, who gave the alarm to the inhabitants of the knoll below, and a search was commenced. When, at length, the Emperor was descried, and his person recognized, it was found impossible to render him any effective aid. After a few fruitless efforts, these loyal subjects thought that they could not do better than send off to the nearest chapel for some priests, to chant the service for the dying, while they collected together at the base of the impending precipice, dissolved in tears, and calling upon all the saints to render that assistance which was out of the power of man. The Emperor, believing his death to be inevitable, in this uncomfortable oratory made confession of his sins; and 'the sacred elements and valedictory

'oil were held up to him,' that he might have the satisfaction of considering himself as having received extreme unction. The spikes of his *crampons* were giving way,—nothing remained for his imperial Majesty but to leave hold,—when a wild shrill cry was heard above him, which seemed 'not of this world.' 'I repent,' moaned the Emperor; and his hopes revived. An angel, in the shape of a chamois-hunter, was seen above, descending the face of the same precipice; and by means which, not being recorded, must evidently have been miraculous, withdrew Maximilian from the jaws of death. Mr. Latrobe cites some old German pamphlet for the statement, that his deliverer was afterwards knighted and ennobled by the name of *Hollauer*, 'in memory of the cry he had so opportunely uttered at the moment 'the Emperor was going to shrink from further effort.' But this is a Protestant Version of the story, and spoils the legend. If you at this day ask a peasant girl of Zirl, what saved the Emperor, she will answer, "a good angel."

Hitherto, our Pedestrian had noticed no costumes of a remarkably graceful character. 'Dirty black caps, body-vestments, and 'scarlet stockings' prevail in the Engadine. But in the upper valley of the Inn, something of a national costume is perceived, and a singular one our fair readers will deem it.

'Among the male portion of the community, the black or green high-crowned hat with a tassel may be observed; not to speak of the chamois leather breeches. To these the more acceptable name of *shorts* applies to the very letter, as they seldom reach the knee. The latter is consequently bare, as the stocking is gartered below it. The women—I only speak of the peasantry—resemble as to their attire, for the most part, those of their class in the neighbouring countries, and may be distinguished from them chiefly in the three following particulars. First, the head-gear, consisting of a thick, round, dark blue or black machine, something between the cap of a grenadier and a bee-hive in form, and apparently both warm and weighty. Into this the head is inserted to a considerable depth; and I do not know to what to compare a parcel of old women upon their knees in the fields, (for so they are constantly seen,) if not to a swarm of gigantic moles. In the second place, I should notice the stockings, which are ordinarily worn without feet, shoes being also a superfluity. And thirdly, the petticoat, or petticoats; (for, to produce the effect usual, they must indeed be many;)—these start out from the hips with such an unnatural swirl, that, not being remarkably long, the lower part of the woman looks like a bell. I understand that a kind of wooden yoke or hoop is used to produce this effect.' p. 47.

In the Lower Innthal, below Inspruck, the female costume becomes increasingly hideous.

'From Schwatz to Kufstein, the most preposterous stockings prevail, being a long woollen cylinder of about 4 feet in length, without footing, which, after being drawn on the leg, is rolled down, and

disposed in broad round plaits or rings from the knee to the ankle, so that the fair sex seem at a distance to have been furnished with supports like those of the hippopotamus. But this is not all. It would seem that as the rattle-snake gets an additional rattle to his tail every year, so the women of Schwatz add a fresh woollen petticoat every twelve months, such is their preposterous appearance; and all being short, they fly off from the waist in a marvellous manner. An old woman of the Lower Innthal looks like a walking mushroom.*

pp. 67, 8.

Innsbruck or Inns-bruck, which has been the capital of the Tyrol since the thirteenth century, is situated on the banks of the Inn, more than 2000 feet above the sea*, encircled by mountains which tower to the height of from 6000 to 7000 feet above the plain of the Inn. To the north, the Great Solstein is seen rising above the Martins-wand to the height of 9106 feet above the sea. The Iser springs from the northern acclivity of the latter, from the summit of which the view over the plains of Bavaria is said to extend as far as Munich. In the city itself, there is not much to arrest the attention of the traveller, except the mausoleum of the Emperor Maximilian, which Mr. Latrobe styles 'an astonishing work of art', occupying the centre of the main aisle of the Church of the Holy Cross; and, in a corner of the same church, the plain marble flag-stone which covers the ashes of Andrew Hofer.

'A peasant,—but their proximity brings no dishonour to the imperial remains which repose under the same roof. It is fitting that this should be his resting-place. In this church he celebrated that day of thanksgiving which goes by the name of "Hofer's Festival," when, in 1809, his native country was freed for a third time from a foreign yoke, and its capital again resounded with the name of KAISER FRANZ (The Emperor Francis)! A name which, in the war-cry and the prayer of the Tyrolese, always stood linked with GOTT and VATERLAND (God and our country or father-land). How little that proud distinction was merited, the history of the Tyrol for the last twenty years will tell.' p. 61.

A well authenticated and detailed history of the war of 1809, our Author remarks, is yet a desideratum, and one which it is becoming increasingly difficult to supply.

'It was to be supposed, that the annals of France, Bavaria, and Austria would give very different accounts of this episode in their mutual warfare; but while the two former of these have written like

* Mr. Latrobe says, 1325 feet above the sea; a misprint, perhaps, for 1825 feet. Madrid, which is 309 fathoms above the sea, has been reckoned to stand as high as Innsbruck. Mr Ritchie makes the Tyrolese capital, however, 2124 French feet above the sea, on the authority of Zallinger. See Pict. Annual for 1832. p. 229.

enemies, the latter has not written like a friend: for it felt that to publish the knowledge of the truth, was to publish its own shame. The Tyrolese have but few authors amongst them; and it appears that the Imperial interdict prevented the publication of a chronicle prepared by Baron Hormayr.* p. 74.

The attachment of the Tyrolese to the House of Austria, so heroically signalized, so basely requited, was not in its origin wholly unreasonable. The county had originally fallen to the dukes of Austria by the bequest of Margaret, the last of the race of the counts of Tyrol, whose first husband was of the house of Habsburg; and the possession was confirmed to the Austrian dukes by the Emperor Charles IV. Many of the princes of Austria, appreciating the value of the Tyrol, favoured its inhabitants; and to Frederic IV., the Tyrolese ascribe the foundation of their comparatively free constitution, and many privileges and immunities, which, till of late, were considered sacred. The country was governed by a representative body, convened from time to time, and composed of deputies from the Four Estates. When, by the treaty of Presburg, in Dec. 1805, the Tyrolese, as yet unsubdued, were abandoned by Austria, and given over to the detested rule of Bavaria, it was expressly stipulated and solemnly promised, that they should retain inviolate their former institutions and government. These promises were forgotten. The ancient constitution was undermined; the representative body was annihilated; public funds and ecclesiastical property were confiscated; and a novel and vexatious taxation was introduced; and thus, the ancient hatred of Bavaria was inflamed by the oppression resulting both from public ordinances and private aggression. These circumstances, without taking into account the romantic affection once entertained by these mountaineers for their Emperor, will sufficiently account for the national revolt which effected the first expulsion of the French and Bavarians from the Tyrol in 1809. Moreover, the peasantry were encouraged and directed by their priests, without whose aid, when did a cause ever become national, or an insurrection ever prove successful? It is when patriotism is allied to religious feeling, or to that fanaticism which is instead of religion, that it becomes invincible†. One of the most singular circumstances

* By far the most authentic work, Mr. L. says, is Professor Bertholdy's "*Kriege der Tyroler Landleute in jahre 1809.*"

† Among the leaders of the Tyrolese, was a Capuchin friar, Joachim Haspinger, who, 'throughout the war, whether buried in the silence of his cell, or combating in the first rank, manifested true devotion to the cause of his country. He was of athletic make, and always appeared, even in battle, dressed in his dark-brown mantle with corded waist; using no other weapon than a massive ebony crucifix, by appeals

that attended this first successful struggle, and which tended to raise the enthusiasm of the Tyrolese to the loftiest pitch, is thus narrated.

‘ Among the Bavarian officers in Inspruck was Colonel Dittfurt, a man of a bold and uncompromising disposition, and of distinguished military reputation. He was believed to have been one of the main causes of the separation of the Tyrol from Austria, and for this reason was detested by the peasantry. Moreover, having been sent early in the year into the Fliemsthal, to enforce the new system of recruiting set on foot by the Bavarians, but resisted by the Tyrolese, he committed divers excesses, and added to the measure of deep hatred, which was treasured up against him till this day of retribution. At Inspruck, he saw too late what was the real character of the peasantry he had despised and oppressed; and, escape being impossible, resolved to die with honour. He fought in the streets with desperate valour, and though pierced with four balls, still urged resistance. Even when in the hands of the Tyrolese, he continued to rave with impotent wildness over schemes of vengeance, and modes of defending the country. But the circumstance particularly alluded to, was the following:—that, while lying faint and bleeding in the guard-house, whither he had been conveyed after capture, he suddenly turned to the by-standers, and asked with solemnity, who it was that headed the Tyrolese in their attack? Upon being told, that the peasants had had no particular chief, but had combated, each and all, for God, the Emperor, and their homes; the wounded man insisted that this could not be, for that he had frequently seen their leader pass him in the *melée*, upon a white charger. Upon this wild expression, the enthusiastic fancy of the peasantry immediately raised the belief, that they had really been headed by one of the blessed saints, visible to their foes, though invisible to them, and were more than ever convinced of the holiness and justice of their cause.’ pp. 82, 83.

But the same success did not attend the operations of the main Austrian armies either in Germany or in Italy; and the defeat they sustained at Wörgl, on the 13th of May, laid Inspruck again open to the enemy. The march of the French and Bavarians from Wörgl up the Innthal, was marked by the most unjustifiable and barbarous ravages. The whole of that ‘glorious valley,’ smiling with a luxuriant vegetation, and rejoicing in the spring, was converted into one widely deformed and desolate field of destruction. The villages and hamlets were given to the flames; the town of Schwatz was completely destroyed; and the population which escaped the sword, were driven forth like sheep

to which he, one moment, raised the devotional heroism of his companions, and the next, made use of it to break the heads of the Bavarians. His *nom de guerre* among the soldiers of that nation was *Rothbarb*, or the Red-beard, from a long flowing appendage of that kind, which he kept trimmed with great care.’

to herd upon the mountains. The enemy re-entered Inspruck on the 19th. Towards the close of the month, the Bavarian General received orders to pursue the Austrian division under Marquis Chastelar; but, in descending the Lower Innthal, he was attacked, along his whole line, by a peasant army hastily collected, and aided by about 1000 regulars with five guns. After two desperate battles, in which the Bavarians lost fifteen times as many as their opponents, the former effected a rapid retreat; and the Tyrolese, on the 31st of May, made their second triumphal entry into Inspruck.

The ensuing six weeks were occupied by the Tyrolese leaders, in endeavouring to bring into order the civil and military affairs of the country; but the want of money, the difficulty of preserving any thing like military discipline in the patriotic levies, the impotence of the peasantry, and Bavarian intrigues, rendered these attempts wholly ineffective. At length, on the 17th of July, the news of the decisive battle of Wagram and the armistice of Zuaime 'came like a thunderbolt upon the people and their chiefs.' The Austrian General Buol was still in the Tyrol; but he now received positive orders to evacuate the country, and to surrender it to the Bavarians. At this intelligence, the confusion and dismay were extreme. The Tyrolese at first insisted that the orders received must be forged, and refused to allow the regulars to retire. It was at this crisis that Hofer, who till now had appeared only as the leader of the brave *landsturm* of his native valley, was called upon to assume the office of commander in chief of the patriot army. At length, the Austrians were permitted to depart. Baron Hormayr, the Imperial Intendant, and many of the chiefs and functionaries, despairing of the cause of liberty in the Tyrol, followed in their train. Among them was Speckbacher himself, who had organized the first rising in the Innthal, and distinguished himself by the energy and fire of his character, but who had suffered himself to be persuaded by the Austrians, that nothing more was to be done for his country.

'While descending the southern side of the Brenner, it happened that they met Andrew Hofer. Though they passed without halting, Speckbacher's person had caught the quick eye of the Tyrolese chief, and an expression of surprise and grief was borne by the wind to the ear of the former. It was unnoticed by his companions, but sank deep into the bosom of him to whom it was addressed. A mental struggle was the consequence, which terminated in his secretly quitting the car at the first post-house, procuring a horse, and rejoining Hofer. The result of their interview was a renewed determination, never to desert the Tyrol while a blow could be struck in its defence.' p. 102.

For some time, however, Hofer remained at his cottage in the Passeyrthal, undecided how to act; and Speckbacher, Haspinger, and the other chiefs had recommenced hostilities, before he had

been roused from the apathy which was the effect of a fit of despondency. On the last day of July, the Duke of Dantzic had entered Inspruck, and threatened to advance with his whole force over the Brenner into the Southern Tyrol. Early on the 4th of August, in consequence of pre-concerted measures, the sound of the alarm-bells, tolling simultaneously from vale and mountain, summoned the peasantry to recommence hostilities; and from that morning till the 11th, the deep vale of the Eisack, the open plains of the Sterzinger-moos, and the heights of the Brenner, were the scenes of a terrible struggle between the Tyrolese and their invaders, which completely undeceived the Duke as to the character of the peasantry he had thought by a blow to subdue. Before three days, he returned, a fugitive, and in disguise, to Inspruck. On the 13th of August, another fiercely contested action took place between the Tyrolese under Hofer and the remains of the Bavarian army. The former had taken post on their favourite field of battle, the Iselberg; and the Duke formed his line opposite to them, between the city and the foot of the mountains. The bridge of the Sill, and the church-yard of Wiltau, within whose sacred precincts lay interred the bodies of their brethren slain in the former engagements, were again the scenes of the most terrible slaughter. But victory remained with the Tyrolese; and before sunset, the humbled invaders had evacuated Inspruck, and were in full retreat down the Innthal, with Speckbacher hanging on their rear. On the 15th, Hofer made once more his triumphal entry into the mountain capital. The conduct of this extraordinary man during his brief administration of the government, is thus described by Mr. Latrobe.

‘Considering the difficulties by which this singular man was surrounded, and his apparent inadequacy for the duties of legislation which he was now imperatively called upon to discharge, it is truly wonderful to consider how much was effected, as long as transient tranquillity, and the absence of disturbances from without, allowed him to proceed with his labours with little interruption. He partially succeeded in restoring the ancient form of government as it had existed before the Bavarian innovations. He levied such taxes as were absolutely necessary for the continuance of the war, re-opened the courts of justice, and coined money to some amount. The enthusiastic love borne to his person by his countrymen, caused the regulations which he saw fit to publish for the general good in the name of the Emperor, to be generally respected: and during the course of the two following months, both the civil and military organization of the country were in a measure redeemed from the disorder into which the varying fortune of the summer had cast them. Many of those chiefs who had fled from the Tyrol with the Austrian regulars, as we have related, when at the end of July the affairs of their native country seemed desperate, had heard in their places of retreat, with mingled joy and shame, of the unhopèd for and brilliant successes of their brethren; and now thirsted to re-

turn. Among the number of these were Eisensteckken and Sieberer, who made their appearance at Inspruck on Sept. 28th, as bearers of letters from the Emperor, with three thousand ducats, the first pecuniary assistance that the court of Austria had afforded, and of a gold chain and medal from Francis to Andrew Hofer. It was long before the latter could be persuaded to see them, so deeply did he feel hurt by their having abandoned him in the hour of distress. The 4th of October was appointed for a solemn day of thanksgiving. The Bishop of Wiltau celebrated High Mass in the great Franciscan Church of the Holy Cross; the *Te Deum* was chanted; and, after the exhortation, Hofer kneeling at the foot of the mausoleum of Maximilian, was decorated by the hand of the prelate, with the gift of the Emperor, amidst the tears and acclamations of a great multitude of the Tyrolese. Many anecdotes are upon record with regard to the conduct of this patriotic man during this period. He took up his abode with his adjutants and attendants at the castle, but affected no state, retaining his national costume and long black beard, and the rustic simplicity of his manners. He was always accessible to his countrymen, who continued to address him by the familiar name of 'Anderl,' and none gave him the title of 'Your Excellency,' but those who desired to ridicule him. He lived in the most simple manner, and it is calculated that the daily cost of his personal entertainment at Inspruck, did not exceed one florin, or fifteen pence of our money. Unfeigned and heartfelt devotional simplicity seems to have been one of his principal characteristics. Whoever dined with him, was afterwards required to join him in his evening devotion, whatever might be the difference of their rank: "we have eaten together," said he to them, "let us also pray together." pp. 285—287.

The sequel is melancholy and tragical. After some temporary successes, Speckbacher was defeated by the Bavarians at Melek; and on the 25th of October, the enemy was again in possession of Inspruck. In the mean time, the Peace of Vienna was signed, and Hofer received an order from the Archduke to lay down his arms. He obeyed, and issued a proclamation advising his companions throughout Tyrol to follow his example. Suddenly, in an evil hour, a Tyrolese officer, named Kolb, undertook to incite the people to believe that the official report of the Peace, received by Hofer, was a forged document. This idea was unfortunately embraced by Hofer himself, who, a few days after his first proclamation, issued another, urging his countrymen to continue the war. The consequence was; that, during the greater part of November, the peasants were induced to maintain an unequal struggle against overwhelming numbers, in which more Tyrolese blood was shed than during the whole war hitherto. By the middle of December, opposition was at an end. Some of the leaders in this last struggle had fallen with honour; Kolb and others escaped over the mountains to Austria; but a number, less fortunate, were taken prisoners and shot, for having borne arms after the publication of Eugene Beauharnois's proclamation.

ordering a cessation of hostilities. Hofer, for a time, concealed himself; but, in January, the place of his retreat was betrayed by a traitor, 'once his intimate friend,' and he was conducted a prisoner to Mantua, and shot.* Haspinger, who had not joined in the last fruitless and fatal struggle, after lying hid among faithful friends for nine months, escaped, in the monkish habit, to the abbey of Einsiedeln in Switzerland; and thence, by way of the Grisons, the Veronese, and Friuli, to Vienna. Speckbacher was less fortunate; and his adventures and sufferings, as detailed by Mr. Latrobe, on the authority of his widow and children, from Christmas 1809-10, till the beginning of the following May, were such as few could have endured or survived. It reflects deep disgrace upon the Tyrolese character, that the high price set upon his head by the Bavarian Government, induced his own countrymen to be his pursuers. After surmounting almost incredible difficulties and perils, he made good his escape, but with a broken constitution, to Vienna, where, in the following year, he was joined by his wife. On the restoration of Tyrol to the dominion of Austria, Speckbacher returned to his native valley, where he closed his days in 1820.

These facts, with additional interesting details, Mr. Latrobe has distributed over different parts of his personal narrative, with a view to relieve the sameness of topographical description. His readers would, we think, have been better pleased, had he given the story unbroken. No one likes to have a tale dealt out to him in scraps. Had the historical sketch been thrown into a distinct chapter, it would have formed an attractive feature of the volume; and the reader would have tracked, with the *Pedestrian*, the localities referred to in the story, with increased interest.

The conduct of Austria towards these brave people, since the Treaty of Vienna once more consigned them to her leaden sway, has been such as must inspire universal indignation. At this very day, says Mr. Latrobe, the Tyrolese peasant holds down his head, when you speak to him of his past deeds and sufferings, and mutters: 'The Emperor has forgotten all that we have suffered, and he takes from us even those rights which the Bavarians left us. *It was a foolish war.*'

'The present state of the Tyrolese is far from that which every generous mind could wish; and Austria will one day reap the bitter fruits of her narrow and ungrateful policy towards the bravest and

* 'His wife and family were permitted to retire to Vienna, where the Emperor gave them an estate, and settled a pension on them. His only son John is at present settled in Upper Austria.' But Mr. Latrobe found Hofer's widow occupying his cottage, now 'a well known inn, near St. Leonhard's.'

most devoted of her children. Her conduct during the war of 1809 was indefensible, in instigating them repeatedly to stand in the breach against an overwhelming force, which she herself had not the strength to confront ; leaving them finally to extricate themselves from the effects of their imprudence, and at the mercy of their enemies. And her conduct at this day is yet more reprehensible ; when, forgetful of the past, she treats the inhabitants of the valleys as the trophies of a recent conquest, rather than as those who have shed their blood, century after century, for the House of Habsburg, and honourably and victoriously upheld its banner, at a time when it was soiled and trampled on in every other corner of her dominions. But it is with nations as with individuals ; and the most devoted affection may be eradicated from the bosom of a whole people by ingratitude.' p. 315.

Mr. Latrobe describes the Tyrolese, with whom his extensive peregrinations through their valleys must have made him somewhat familiarly acquainted, as a light-hearted race, fond of hilarity ; ' greatly addicted to musical sounds, however rude,' as well as to dancing, and to games of chance ; and priding themselves upon their skill in poetry, ' so far as rude, pastoral, satirical, ' and epigrammatic verse can lay claim to the name.'

' They have the character among their neighbours, of being rude to excess in their social intercourse, and it appears to me that such is the fact ; yet their frank bearing and real kindness of heart outweighed that defect. They are extremely fond of teasing one another, and will say the most bitter things too in pursuit of this pastime ; yet I never remember to have seen blows given in consequence. Their wine, sour and sharp as it is, seems to have the power of washing away all real unkindness. It will have been understood, that they are devout in their religious observances ; and here the Roman Catholic religion appears, in spite of its abuses, in an infinitely more favourable light from the unaffected devotion of its followers, than in infidel Italy. The manners of the Tyrolese are not the most pure ; the custom of the country winking at considerable licence among the unmarried. Justice however obliges me to add, that conjugal infidelity is rarely known among them. The most influential men among the peasantry have always been the innkeepers ; and this is easily understood. They are, in general, men of more enterprizing mind than their neighbours ; mostly superior to them in wealth, and, though without the aid of superior education, possessing greater advantages from their constant intercourse with men of all classes, both at home, and by attendance at distant fairs. Such were Hofer, Mayer, Kemenater, and many other of their favourite chiefs.' p. 284.

Of the light-heartedness and improvidence which characterize these mountaineers, and distinguish them from their graver Swiss neighbours, most provoking evidence was afforded to their leaders during the war. At a crisis when ammunition was alarmingly scarce, both among the Austrians posted on the Brenner, and with the *Landsturm*, the Tyrolese peasantry were, as usual, ' marrying, baptizing, and feasting, and expending their gun-

' powder in *feux de joie*, without the slightest forethought of the ' consequence of that heedless extravagance.' (p. 98.) A difference in the shade of national character, as well as in the outward garb, distinguishes the inhabitants of the Southern Tyrol from those of the great northern valley. The latter approach more nearly to the Swiss. The costume of the Innthallers has already been described. The style of architecture in their upper villages and hamlets, is decidedly Swiss. In person, the men, though neither tall nor very muscular, are lightly built and active, and, upon the whole, our Author says, a fine race. The inhabitants of the Zillertal, are distinguished for their manly beauty, and also shew the best taste in their dress. The Zillertal falls into the main valley of the Inn, running up between 30 and 40 miles into the heart of the Alps, and presenting in its general character a strong resemblance to the more fertile and productive portions of the Swiss range. From its upper extremity, a footway traverses the glaciers into one of the diverging valleys of the Pusterthal; while from Zell, the chief village, another mountain path passes into the Pinzgau or valley of the Salzach, in the extreme east of the Tyrol. Of the Pusterthal, through which the Rienz descends towards the s.w., to meet the Eisack in the vale of Brixen, and of its inhabitants, we have the following description :—

' The general character of the valley of the Rienz rather disappointed me. Its fertility is however great, where there is place for it, and the inhabitants are very numerous, and a fine picturesque race. Though the surrounding mountains are in general by no means striking, their higher regions contain some of the finest pasturage in the Tyrol.

' The inhabitants are distinguished in many respects from their brethren in the great northern valley. They are, in general, of a fuller make than the latter, and have handsomer countenances. In the male costume, though, in general, the black leather chamois breeches, green suspenders and belt, are preserved, yet there is much more expense and taste displayed in their fashioning and colours. The hat is totally different, being a broad-brimmed yellow article, decorated with a large quantity of green ribbon, instead of the high crown and tassel elsewhere described. I noticed that the hair was in general worn long behind. The women, as elsewhere, are much less remarkable for a prevailing costume than the men. A red vest and red pair of stockings, with the absence of the hideous cap and non-descript hoop, principally distinguished them from the Innthalers. The Pusterthalers are considered the richest peasants in Tyrol. The crops, besides the hay and barley, generally cultivated in Tyrol, comprise a little maize and flax. The cheese is here as elsewhere, detestable beyond all belief. You perceive already in the character of the Pusterthaler, elevated as his valley is, that he has the sunny side of the Alps for his birthplace; for though gesticulation is but sparingly in vogue, the habit of violent screaming in general conversation, reminds you forcibly of Italy. I often lift up my eyes from my occupation, in the idea, that I shall see

blows or worse in a corner of the common apartment, where a special committee of peasants are occupied with some subject of dispute: but no—there they are, perfectly motionless, sitting, leaning on their elbows, with their heads and noses close together in the middle of the table, screaming and swearing like so many madmen: but they mean no harm, and not a finger is stirred.

Forest cultivation here, as elsewhere in the Tyrol, is greatly neglected. Indeed I have already come to the conclusion, that the Tyrolese are, in general, indolent, unenterprising beings; obstinately content to do as their fathers have done before them, and not easily roused to attempt any thing which is not absolutely demanded by present want or present pleasure. Let that principle be what it may, we see in Switzerland the beneficial effects of another system, and a more elevated way of thinking. With what I have already seen of the Tyrol, and that is the portion the least favoured by nature, I should be inclined to say, that it was a country of far greater capability than its neighbour, and of far less improvement, in consequence of the absence of knowledge and of proper attention to its interests. With regard to the towns and villages of the Pusterthal, little need be said, as I observed no great peculiarity. The outward form and proportions of the village churches are in no wise comparable with those in the Upper and Lower Innthal. The interior is, as usual in the Alps, overloaded with tasteless ornaments, and a showy display of tinsel artificial flowers, filagree, hideous daubs, and *ex votos*. The length of the valley of the Bienz, from Töblach to Mühlbach, may be about thirty miles.

pp. 124—126.

We must now take leave of the Tyrol, and hasten to close our account with the Writer to whom we are indebted for the most complete and distinct description of that romantic region that has hitherto appeared in our language. Our Pedestrian did not confine his ramble to the Alps; and the reader will be pleased to descend with him for a while, through the vale of the Adige, to Trent, and thence to Padua, Arqua, Venice. Mr. Latrobe passed some time at Trieste, of which he gives a good account, and then took his passage to Ancona, and crossed the Apennines to Spoleto and Rome. Indisposition, the effect of imprudent exposure under the fierce sun of that insidious climate, drove him back to Ancona and Trieste. There, with more than ordinary satisfaction, he resumed his alpenstock and knapsack, thirsting after the fresh breezes, shadows, and waters of the Alps. Crossing the plains of Friuli to Udine, our Pedestrian proceeded by the Pass of Monte Croce, leading from the vale of the Tagliamento into that of the Gail, within the frontiers of Carniola; and thence to Lienz, in the noble valley of the Drave. He did not, however, consider himself again in the Alps, till he had crossed the Isberg into the valley of the Mölbach, in Carinthia. At the head of this valley, the Great Glockner rears its snowy pyramids above its gigantic glaciers, to the height of 12,000 feet above the sea, at the junction of three chains of

the higher Alps, separating Tyrol, Carinthia, and Salzburg. Our Author's adventurous route lay across the glaciers of the Glockner into the Vale of the Is, whence he made his way once more into the valley of the Rienz. He then diverged from his direct route to Botzen, for the purpose of exploring the Gaderthal and the Grednerthal, lateral valleys opening into the Pusterthal. After a day's halt at Botzen, he ascended the valley of the Adige to Meran, the old capital of the Tyrol; and then struck into the great military road leading over Monte Stelvio, the loftiest pass in Europe. Instead of crossing that *col*, however, our Pedestrian turned homeward, and gaining the head of Monte Brauglio, crossed the boundary of Switzerland, and entered the Grisons. The Pass of the Buffalora led him, by way of the savage Val del Forno, into the Engadine; and that of the Albula into the Rhine-valley, which he descended to Coire. He then determined to ascend the Vorder Rhine to its source, and to gain the Canton of Bern, by the passes of the Ober-Alp and the Susten. By this route, he once more reached the home from which he had started in the Simmenthal.

Many readers may feel disposed to envy the physical energy, the practical philosophy, and the mental independence which carried our Pedestrian through all the self-inflicted hardships and perils of this adventurous walk among the Alps, and without which the pain would have preponderated over the pleasure. Some may be curious to know, what powerful motive impelled, or what specific object allured 'the traveller'

'with steps unceasing to pursue
Some fleeting good, that mocks him with the view.'

Was it the love of science? Mr. Latrobe discovers some knowledge of both botany and mineralogy, although he never obtrudes his attainments upon us; but he was no collector; and, moreover, he does not describe the scenes he visited, like a dry dissector of nature's anatomy. Is he an artist? He has given us no proof of the fact. If he has brought home any sketches, we should like to see them. Some of the worthy people in the Tyrolese concluded, naturally enough, that he must be an engineer or surveyor; but he appears to have travelled without either barometer or theodolite. Did he travel for the purpose of 'taking notes and printing them'? There are no signs of book-making in the volume; no symptoms of literary vanity; nor even any attempt to magnify his Pedestrian achievements. We must do Mr. Latrobe the justice to bear testimony to the unaffected simplicity of character which the volume displays, in its freedom from all pretence, or unpleasing egotism. One circumstance deserving of remark is the perfect security in which, alone and unarmed, he traversed countries in which there is nothing like

a police, and not a very advanced degree of civilization. In his directions to Pedestrians, which will be found invaluable to any persons disposed to undertake a similar pilgrimage, Mr. L. expressly dissuades them from encumbering their knapsack with the superfluity of pistols. We know not whether this advice might be extended to travellers exploring the Pyrenees or all parts of the Apennines. Mr. Liddiard tells us, that he met at the *table d'hôte* at Altorf, a traveller who seems to have been of our Pedestrian's school. 'Although he preferred his own society to any other while passing over the mountains, his communicative disposition evidently proved that, in his choice, he was not actuated by any misanthropical bias. While alone, he said, he was his own master, free and unshackled, and at liberty to take whatever path he pleased, without consulting a companion. He seldom or never took a guide.' All this answers to our Pedestrian himself; but Mr. Liddiard adds: 'In this manner, by his own account, he had crossed the Pyrenees; a matter he seemed to consider of more difficulty and danger than traversing any part of Switzerland.' And then the Rev. Gentleman proceeds to say that, 'above all things,' the traveller should be provided with a brace of pistols. Whether this advice was given him by the stranger, or whether it is his own gratuitous caution to his readers, is not clear. We are inclined to think that, where they are needed, they are likely to be of little use as a security. A well-schooled pedestrian, able to make himself understood in the *patois* of the natives, and willing to fall in good-humouredly with their ways and customs, furnished with the means of paying for his lodging, and yet carrying nothing so much worth stealing as fire-arms, would, in all probability, traverse even the Pyrenees more safely than if he trusted to any means of self-defence.

Mr. Liddiard is an artist and a poet; and the chief object of his tour was, he tells us, to visit *Morgarten*, where the battle was fought in which the Spartan 'Swiss proved victorious' over an invading foe, as also the splendid monastery of Einsiedeln, which gives the title to a metrical tale he was then writing. He travelled in the ordinary way, by steamer and *voiture*, to Geneva, which the reader reaches at p. 48. He then proceeded to Chamouni, crossed the Col de Balme to Martigny, and returned to Geneva by rounding the Swiss side of the Lake. His second excursion was from Lausanne to Bern *par calèche*; thence to Thun, where he embarked in a *bateau* for Interlaken. A *char au banc* conveyed him to Lauterbrun, where he took a sketch of the fall of Staubbach, which forms an attractive frontispiece to the volume, and of the Jungfrau as seen to advantage from this valley. In crossing the Schucken to Grindelwald, Mr. L. became, extemporaneously, a pedestrian, through distrust of his mule. Beds at a comfortable *auberge* and a sociable *table d'hôte*

recompensed the novel exertion. In descending the Scheideck, the Author's party was increased by a 'travelling school,'—about thirty or forty scholars of Mr. Fellenberg's celebrated establishment at Hofwyl, all dressed in a uniform jacket of hunter's green, with a cap to correspond, and each furnished with a large tin box for the purpose of collecting, botanical specimens. Further on, they were joined by a sketching party, consisting of a gentleman and two ladies; but alas! the ladies were too much fatigued to enjoy the scenery, much less to use their pencils.

'This accounts,' says Mr. L., 'for the very few views you meet with of the more majestic scenery of Switzerland: those usually to be met with in ladies' portfolios, who have had courage and enterprise enough to make the attempt, generally consist of sketches taken at or near the inns at which they stop. The only lady it has been my fate to meet with, who was in possession of any thing of a sketch characteristic of the wilder features of these Alps, told me, she left England an *invalid*, and returned to her native land much better in health, after having descended steepes on the brink of abysses, where one false step would be certain destruction, and where she was compelled always to retain two guides.'

One to hold the mule back by his bridle, and the other to hang upon his tail! Many ladies now, however, we are told, take up their abode for the summer at Interlaken, 'where there are several boarding-houses, whence, at their leisure, amateurs may issue forth with their pencils.' Thus far has the march of civilization advanced into the Alps; and Englishmen who wish to travel in private, are driven from Switzerland, and obliged, like Mr. Latrobe, to strike out new routes further east. We can conceive how our veteran Pedestrian would receive the proposal to take charge of a female companion in his next Alpine excursion—unless, indeed, it were some Tyrolese lass that could climb with the chamois, and handle the alpenstock.

The remainder of Mr. Liddiard's route comprehended Lucerne, the passage of the Righi, Lake of Uri, Altorf, Schweitz, Morgarten, Einsiedeln, the Lake of Zug, and back to Bern. We are sorry that we cannot compliment the Writer upon using his pen to so much advantage as his pencil. The model of his narrative seems to be Sir John Carr's 'Pocket-book;' but Sir John was generally entertaining, and his sentimentality was not quite so insipid. Lord Byron might be allowed to say, that 'he always found himself more religious on a fine day:'—we all know the character of Lord Byron's religion. But we are sorry to find a clergyman not only citing the sentiment with approbation, but stating that he never passed 'such a sabbath,' 'never was in such an appropriate temple,' as when sailing across the Lake of Lucerne. When a Writer assumes the title of 'Reverend,' he should pay a little regard to appearances. Our Author's sentimental

reverence for the 'great Poet' of Ferney is not *quite* so revolting as is his language, when he speaks of returning from Chamouni with 'a more exalted opinion of the great Maker of the Universe'; and palliates the idolatry of the old pagans who worshipped the Sun and Moon, by describing these as 'his *sublime representatives*'! Of Him who is the true 'Image of the Invisible God,' he appears to have little knowledge.

Art. III.—*The History of the Church of Christ: in Continuation of the Work of the Rev. Joseph Milner, M.A. and the very Rev. Isaac Milner, D D. F.R.S.* By John Scott, M.A., Vicar of North Ferriby, and Minister of St. Mary's, Hull. Vol. III. 8vo. pp. xx. 617. London, 1832.

THE volume of Mr. Scott's Continuation of the Milners' History now before us, commences with an account of the Disputation of Berne. This was the chief of the public meetings for discussion held in Switzerland, and was summoned by the grand Council of the Canton, by an ordinance published in November, 1527. Much opposition was made to the project by the prelates and their adherents. The bishop of Lausanne told the council, that 'they had no persons among them sufficiently learned in the scriptures to engage in a discussion of so great importance,' as that which was proposed for the determination of the points in difference, between the supporters of the Romish tenets and the abettors of the new opinions. The Emperor urged the Bernese Government to refer the whole question to a general council, and, in the mean time, to the approaching diet of Ratisbon. The meeting took place in the church of the Franciscans, and was continued from the 7th to the 26th of January, 1528, inclusive, with the exception of only one day. Two sessions were held daily, and each session was opened with prayer. Among the reformed who attended were, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Pellican, Bullinger, Haller, Capito, Bucer, and others of distinguished reputation. The first proposition debated in the assembly was brought forward by Haller, as principal pastor in Berne, and affirmed the primary articles, that Christ is the only head of the Church, and the written word of God the only rule of its faith. Of the scriptural learning of the Romanists who attempted to answer the reformed disputants in this part of the debate, there is a precious specimen in the arguments of Alexius Gratt, a Dominican of Berne; who, attempting to prove the pope to be the head of the Church, asserted that his holiness had received this supremacy from St. Peter, to whom our Lord with that intent gave the name Cephas, 'which,' said Gratt, 'is a Greek word, signifying a head, or chief:—so, he added, he had read in the vocabularies! Five days and a half

were occupied with the discussion of the first article. Other propositions followed, and were successively debated; and the disputation resulted in the establishment of the Reformation in the territories of Berne, and in strengthening and extending the influence of its principles in other directions. It must, however, be confessed, that, in the proceedings which followed this disputation, many circumstances are found which cannot be represented as in accordance with the primitive modes of propagating the religion of Christ; and the evils which were consequent on the deviations were neither few nor light. The council of Berne issued an edict on the 7th of February, sanctioning the articles which had been discussed in the disputation, and prohibiting the clergy to teach or speak contrary to them. They sent deputations throughout the canton, to explain the decree to the people, and to ascertain their sentiments by their votes; and the retaining or the immediate abrogating of popish rites in each community, was to be determined by the majority. Other measures were taken by the Bernese, which manifested the irregularity and misdirection of their zeal in enforcing the reformed religion. The Roman Catholic cantons were thus irritated, and occasions were furnished of animosity and strife, which committed both parties to the perils of actual warfare. Hostilities were more than once averted, but the intemperate conduct of the Zurichers supplied fresh grounds of quarrel. At length, on the 8th of October, 1531, the five Roman Catholic cantons declared war against Zurich; and the battle of Cappel followed, in which Zwingle fell, and the reformed sustained a disastrous defeat. The heroism of Zwingle had its proper scope in the intrepid boldness with which he assailed the superstitions and errors of the corrupt community from which he separated, and in the defence of the principles which he opposed to them. Here we fail not to express our admiration of his character and conduct; but we may wish that the circumstances of his death had been different. Neither the command of the council nor the customs of his country, seem to furnish reasons by which we might vindicate his accompanying the army, and taking a part in mortal conflict. He had previously exerted his influence in favour of peace, and laboured with great assiduity to effect an accommodation; and when the hope of promoting a pacification failed, he would willingly have retired, 'could he have done so with propriety, or 'without disobeying the orders of his Government.' How far these created the necessity by which his life was hazarded and lost in the shock of war, we submit to our readers to determine; but the reflections with which Mr. Scott concludes his account of these transactions, deserve every attention which we may be able to invite to the consideration of them.

'If, however, we may judge from the case both of Germany and of Switzerland, little encouragement is afforded to maintaining the

cause of religion by an appeal to arms. Never was a military enterprise more misconducted, or with worse success, than the wars both of Cappel and of Smalkald. Little is in general to be expected from a religious body undertaking to fight for their religion. Conscientious men in such cases form but an unequal match for men of the world, who will proceed with less scruple, and very probably acquit themselves with more address, and therefore with a better prospect of success: and especially this is not the means, unless in some cases of absolute and unavoidable necessity, (such as the Vaudois might at times be exposed to, to preserve themselves from absolute extirpation,) on which the blessing of Heaven is to be expected. "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal;" and "the children of this world are, in *their generation*, wiser than the children of light." But, even if a successful issue, in an external and political point of view, be in such a case attained, it will very probably be attended by more than counterbalancing disadvantages to the real, spiritual prosperity of the Church. Indeed may we not well ask, When will mankind at large learn how little—how very little conducive to the real good even of the victorious party, and speaking now only in a temporal sense—is gained by war? How much less than might in almost all cases be attained by pacific measures? How commonly, after a profusion of blood and treasure has been expended, does the contest end in a treaty of which the *status quo ante bellum*, if not something worse for both parties, is the basis? An exposure from actual history of the USELESSNESS of war, in almost all cases not strictly and unavoidably defensive, might be one of the best means of convincing men of the *folly* of that, which must always be, on one side or on both, an enormous *wickedness*.' pp. 119—120.

Nor would it be less important to collect from actual history, the circumstances in which wars have originated, and the reasons which have been assigned for their commencement by those who have directed them. An exposure of these would be as demonstrative of the folly and enormous wickedness of the parties, as would be the proofs of the unprofitable results of the wars which have been most widely spread. When will inquiries of this kind engage the attention of mankind at large? We shall, we fear, have to wait long before we perceive any such interest drawn to the question of war, as would amount to a pledge that the human race should not be smitten and pillaged and destroyed, at the instance of proud, capricious, and reckless men. What debasement to the understandings of a people is it, to see them led astray by the senseless verbiage which has been so current and so mischievous among the incentives to war! The war cries of all times have been much the same, as the passions which give them utterance, have with an almost undeviating uniformity governed the authors of the successive wars which have been the scourge of nations. What is the meaning of the expressions,—'dignity of the crown,'—'honour of the nation,'—'support and defence of the constitution,' as we read them in the proclamations and public

documents of sovereigns and statesmen? All wars, the worst and wickedest of them, have been 'just and necessary!' in their account. The defence of our 'holy religion,' has been urged with vehemence by the most irreligious and profligate of men, who hated nothing so cordially as they hated piety and every semblance of it. Men would set their mouths against the heavens at one hour, and at the next, give their voice for war to maintain the 'altar.' The reflections which suggest themselves to our minds on the causes and results of sanguinary wars, are melancholy in the extreme; and we would cherish the hope that the folly and wickedness in which they originate and are prosecuted, will so be learned and felt, as to induce not only an abhorrence of them, but a spirit and a practice which may tend to prevent these destructive courses.

Mr. Scott's twentieth Chapter (pp. 121—229) contains copious specimens of the epistolary correspondence of the two illustrious Swiss reformers, Zwingli and Oecolampadius, with a notice of some select works of the former, particularly his treatise on True and False Religion—*De verâ et falsâ Religione*. The first of these letters bears an early date, 1520, and was written by Zwingli to Myconius, 'then struggling with difficulties in his 'native town of Lucerne.' The following sentences are so excellent as to merit being transcribed; and we cannot but agree with Mr. Scott, that they 'will be found strikingly applicable to our 'own times, which appear to be characterized by *great good and 'great evil conflicting together.*'

' " Your mind is harassed, my dear Myconius, with thinking what is to be the issue of these times, which are full of agitation and confusion, so that it is difficult to say what is their true character. Things are so mingled, that nothing can present itself from one quarter, which does not find its opposite, to counterbalance it, in another. Thus our hopes and fears are strangely raised together. We have been led to promise ourselves that times were returning, when learning should be generally encouraged and cultivated: but the expectation is quashed by the obstinate ignorance or impudence of those who are determined to endure all extremities, rather than suffer their own deformity to be exposed. No feeble anticipations have been excited of the knowledge of Christ and the gospel being gloriously revived again, when so many good and learned and able men are ready to use every exertion to bring the harvest to perfection; but the sight of the tares which an enemy hath sown, and which have struck their roots so deep that we cannot with safety attempt to eradicate them from among the wheat, damps the expectations we had formed. We must however listen to Christ's words: *Let both grow together until the harvest; and in the time of harvest, they shall be separated.* Thus, my friend, must the gold be refined by the fire, the silver purified from the dross. So Christ warned his apostles: *In the world ye shall have tribulation: Ye shall*

be hated of all men for my name's sake: The time cometh when he that killeth you shall think that he doeth God service. The children of Israel, though they inhabited the promised land, never found the Philistines wanting to harass them, or to tempt them to idolatry, and draw them into the transgression of God's Commandments; to convert them into heathens instead of the people of God: and we shall never find those wanting, who will persecute Christ in us, though they ostentatiously boast themselves of his name. But he only is a Christian who bears the mark of Christ: *By this* shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye do whatsoever I command you. They therefore that obey the commandments of men, rather than those of God, lack the mark of Christ. These are the enemies of God, and a crown awaits those who hold out against them. The life of man upon earth is a warfare: he therefore who would be a partaker of future glory must fight manfully, putting on the armour to which Paul has directed us.—But, when you ask, in a tone of objection, 'What avails it to teach those committed to us, when our labour is but lost or derided, and few or none obey the gospel?' I answer, You must labour the more unremittingly to exhibit this goodly pearl, neglected or despised as it may be, in its native beauty, that there may be found those who shall be so captivated with it, as to sell all that they may purchase it. Does not Christ divide the seed into four parts, of which only one fell into good ground? Did he not say that he was come *to send fire upon earth?* and even anticipate its being kindled? And what can this be, but those sufferings in the midst of which the Christian is to endure to the end, and in which we seem even to *hate* our own parents when they would draw us to unfaithfulness? and in which we bear with a brother even delivering us to death?—Are we to descend into the battle for the glory of this world, or for that honour which cometh from Christ? If we seek the former, it shall but resemble stubble, which, as soon as the fire of the appointed trial touches it, shall vanish in smoke, and its memory perish: but, if the latter, then we shall resemble the wise man who built upon the rock, (*and that rock was Christ,*) and our work shall never perish.—

"I have little fear for the life of Luther, and none at all for his soul; even though he should be struck with the bolts of the Roman Jupiter. Not that I make light of excommunication; but that I think sentences unjustly pronounced may reach the body indeed, but not the soul. I am not called however to decide on the justice or injustice of the proceedings relative to Luther; though you know what my opinion is. I shall go in the course of a few days to the commissary of the sovereign pontiff, and if he introduces the subject, as he has done before, I shall urge him to advise the pope to issue no excommunication. That will be for *his* interest: for I foresee that if it is issued, the Germans will treat both it and its author with contempt.—But be of good courage: there will not be wanting in these times, men who will purely teach Christ, and be willing to lay down their lives for his sake, however their names may be *cast out as evil* among men. This has been the case from the times of old.—For my own part, I devote myself; and expect all kinds of evil both from laity and churchmen. This only

I implore of Christ, that he will enable me to endure with a determined mind, and either break or preserve me, his *earthen vessel*, as seemeth him good.' pp. 122—126.

The extracts from the correspondence of Œcolampadius, will be perused with pleasure by every pious reader. They are written frequently with great elevation of sentiment and feeling, and with remarkable propriety and beauty of expression. We see throughout, the wisdom, the meekness, and the simplicity of the Christian pastor. A letter written by him to 'his beloved brethren preaching the Gospel in the territory of Basle,' is so excellent, that, but for its length, we should have been induced to find a place for it in our pages: it is justly described by Mr. Scott as a splendid specimen of the manner in which he discharged the delicate and important duties that had been devolved upon him by his being appointed to visit the churches of the Bernese; and forms a most striking contrast, both for the contents and the manner of it, to those productions which, under the form of episcopal charges, have been so abundantly sent forth by mitred ecclesiastics. The following epistle, however, we are not willing to omit copying. It 'shews his opinion of needless removals and interested translations of the clergy;' and there are others besides expectant bishops and clerical solicitors for preferment, to whom it may convey an instructive lesson. The epistle is in answer to an invitation conveyed to him through Leo Jude, to become the successor of Zwingle at Zurich.

' "Health to you in Christ! The proposal and request which you communicate to me in the name of your venerable college (or consistory) were most unexpected. But, though my love to your church is such that, if I were to change my situation, there is scarcely a place in the world where I would more willingly become, not (as you propose,) pastor, but the humblest of its ministers; yet, as things are now situate with respect to myself and the church of Basle, I see not with what conscience I could for a moment entertain the thought of leaving this city. It is not only a long-established opinion, but a sentiment confirmed by the constitutions of the Church, that little confidence is to be placed in those who desert their own charges, to preside over others. Such in fact are generally found unserviceable men. For what good man will not reason thus concerning them: 'If this man had been content with a moderate provision, and unambitious, he would not have forsaken his own flock. How shall he, who rashly relinquishes the care of his own household, administer well the affairs of another man's? In a minister of God's word, much depends on his weight of character. An inconstant man will never firmly attach people to him; he is in danger of drawing ridicule upon himself, as one that sits down between two chairs. I cannot dissemble that there are many things in my own church which are painful to me: I know that I am obnoxious to many persons of consequence: I know how little success attends me among a great part of my people: but these things must be borne, rather than

violently thrown off. If on account of them I quit my post, I shall, in the first place, have reason to fear the displeasure of God for refusing to bear the cross which he lays upon me; and, in the next place, I may expect to bring upon myself, instead of one light burden, many that may be much heavier. I have found this heretofore, and should most assuredly find it again, if I were to comply with your solicitations.—Moreover a wise man will consider what he is equal to. I almost sink under my present charge: what folly then would it be to thrust myself into one of greater responsibility! Perhaps indeed I should little offend against my own church, which might find a more competent pastor; but then I should injure your's, by undertaking the care of it without the requisite qualifications. Or grant that I should be found qualified, and thus not prejudice your church; then I should be criminal with regard to my own, to which I am already devoted, which has encountered dangers with me more than once, and, on the whole, has not proved ungrateful to me. God forbid that I should be the first party to incur the reproach of ingratitude. If indeed she should prove ungrateful and cast me off, then I must go where God may call me: but at present it is my duty to serve the city in which I am placed.—I return my best thanks to your whole ecclesiastical senate for its great kindness to me, in thinking me worthy of its general suffrage for the office of pastor. Such men could not have erred in their choice, had not their judgements been warped by the excess of kindness. I most humbly entreat them, therefore, to view favourably my declining the high honour they would confer upon me. But really if they would give me two thousand crowns (*aureos*) a year, my conscience would not suffer me to comply with their request; whereas, if it did not forbid me, I would come, and even sue for the situation, with the smallest stipend attached to it.—Collinus truly tells you, that your habits and manners at Zurich would not be displeasing to me: but we must not always grasp at what pleases us. In all other things you shall find me faithfully devoted to your service. Christ is my witness how mindful I am of you night and day in the present emergency. I beseech him to send you a truly faithful and able pastor: and, if he sees that I should really be profitable among you, may he still drive me to you, as he drove Jonah and Paul to the work to which they were reluctant.”

pp. 190—192.

In his account of the works of Zwingli, Mr. Scott has very properly, in some instances, corrected the misrepresentations of his predecessor. Dr. Milner had evidently taken less pains fully to make himself acquainted with the sentiments of the Swiss Reformer, than was necessary to preserve him from a partial exhibition of them. It is singular that Mosheim should in like manner have mis-stated the opinions of Zwingli. Both of these writers deny that the absolute decree of God formed any part of this Reformer's theology. There can be no doubt on this point. The doctrine held by Calvin, was previously asserted by Zwingli. Mr Scott's quotations abundantly prove the fact. He has also shewn the injustice of Dr. Milner's accusation, that the Swiss

Reformer was defective in practically exhibiting the doctrine of Justification. In respect to the Lord's Supper, Mr. Scott agrees with Milner in opinion, that Zwingli maintained an extremely low doctrine. His views of this evangelical rite are not in accordance with the sentiments embodied in the Church of England formularies; but they are, we think, in agreement with the representations of the New Testament, from which it appears to be simply commemorative in its design. Zwingli saw clearly the corrupt abuses and the gross delusions which the Romish church had incorporated with this 'sacrament;' and he at once revived the primitive usage, while Luther and his coadjutors retained, without any intelligible difference in the new term which they invented, the Romish doctrine of the real presence. The New Testament account of the design of the Lord's supper is a very plain one; but how has it been overlooked by the numerous writers who have had systems to support!

The year 1532 is the date of the introduction of the reformation into Geneva. This city, in support of its liberties, and in resistance to the aggressions of the duke of Savoy, had formed an alliance with the cantons of Berne and Friburg in the year 1526; but these were divided on the great question of religion, and their opposition retarded the progress of the new opinions which had obtained adherents among the citizens. 'I learn,' said Farel in writing to Zwingli, only a few days before the death of the Swiss Reformer, 'that Geneva has thoughts of embracing Jesus Christ. Were they not restrained by the fear of the Friburgers, they would receive the gospel without delay.' The disputation of Berne had been attended by three Genevese divines; and the accounts circulated on their return had produced considerable effect. In the beginning of the summer of 1532, the expected publication of a jubilee with the customary papal indulgences, occasioning much conversation, printed placards were posted during the night, offering a general and free pardon to all sinners, 'on the sole conditions of repentance and a lively faith in Jesus Christ.' This excited much attention, was the occasion of some disturbance, and of a remonstrance from Friburg, and produced a decree of the council prohibiting the introduction of any novelties. An address to the grand vicar of the bishop followed, requesting him to cause the preaching in all the churches to be 'conformed to the pure doctrine contained in the Gospel, without the intermixture of fables and human inventions, that all might live in perfect harmony as their forefathers had done.' In the month of September, Geneva was visited by Farel and Saunier, who held repeated conferences with the friends of reformation, but were soon obliged to leave the city. Froment, a disciple of Farel, became a resident in the place in the November following, and was successfully employed in propagating the reformed doctrines,

when he was silenced by the council, who ordered him to withdraw. Other teachers were afterwards banished. The Scriptures, however, in the mean time were allowed to be publicly read. The Bernese interfered, and sent deputies who were accompanied by the reformed preachers, Farel, Viret, and Froment. Friburg renounced its alliance. The duke of Savoy and the bishop of Lausanne made attempts against the city, but failed in their design to establish their authority. A disputation was subsequently held, by which the interests of the reformed cause were extensively promoted; and on the 27th of August, 1535, a general edict was issued by the council, establishing the reformation, and prohibiting all popish idolatry.

Such were the proceedings at Geneva, previously to the arrival of Calvin, whose name has conferred such celebrity upon the city. His residence there was not in consequence of any intentional design. His purpose, on leaving France, was to settle at Basle or Strasburg; but the war which was then raging, compelled him to direct his course through Dauphiny and Savoy; and thus he entered the scene of his future labours. Farel and Viret, whom he could not but visit, urged him to stay; he yielded to their strong representations, and, in the 28th year of his age, in the month of August, 1536, he was appointed by the consistory and magistrates of Geneva, a professor of divinity, and soon after, with the consent of the people, a pastor of the church. He was not yet, however, permanently settled in these relations. Disputes arose, and Calvin, with his colleagues, was banished from the city, whence he repaired to Strasburg. After an absence of three years, he was recalled, and, soon after his return, succeeded in establishing the presbyterian polity. His name has been almost exclusively associated with the question of predestination, and, to many persons, is known only as it indicates an agitator of abstruse and repulsive theological dogmas. Mr. Scott has sufficiently proved that his doctrines on that question were no peculiarities of his. We have not space to transfer his valuable and temperate remarks on this subject, but we refer our readers to the paragraphs before us, pp. 402—419.

The case of Servetus is considered by the Author with some particularity, pp. 419—438. No new facts are indeed produced in illustration of that 'sad case,' but the proceedings are detailed with accuracy and in order. It is not necessary for us to repeat them, or to discuss the merits of an exhausted question. The transaction was altogether odious and cruel; and it is truly distressing to see it, in the veritable connection in which history has transmitted it, approved and applauded by men of illustrious reputation. We do not, we confess, admire the defence urged in favour of Calvin, that the miserable deed was in the spirit of the times. Calvin's doctrine is certainly not to be impugned on ac-

count of this affair, nor ought it to be attributed to his peculiar temper. But, if we allow the plea, that his proceedings against Servetus were the errors, not so much of the man, as of the age, this benefit of clergy may then be extended to all persecutors, to all who have dealt sharply and inhumanly with the erring on whom they could lay the hand of their power. It is an apology equally good for one time as for another, and for the prime abettor of intolerance in one community, as for a persecutor who bears the name of another denomination. It suits equally the Romanist and the Protestant. It is only to be asked on behalf of the individual to whose case this mode of defence shall be applied, that he believed his erring fellow-creatures ought to be denied all the rights of living men. But, in whatever age a man may have his existence cast, is he to be allowed such a practical belief? Can he be blameless in his persuasion that he may destroy the peace and life of others on account of their difference from him, how extreme soever the difference may be? It was Calvin's deliberate and proclaimed conviction, that open impugners or corrupters of Divine truth deserved the severest punishment from the hands of the magistrate,—*jure gladii coercendos esse hæreticos*. He instigated the proceedings against Servetus, who, at his instance, was apprehended and committed to prison; (*Me Auctore*;) and he anticipated the passing of a capital sentence upon the miserable man, and wrote down the expression of his desire that the sentence might be executed. The whole sum and substance of Servetus's proceedings which cost him his life, were his avowals and publications of tenets grossly impious. For these he was burned alive. A mode of destroying him less horrible might have satisfied Calvin's desire that capital punishment should be inflicted; but the additional terrors of the death make, in reality, no difference in the case.

Is the New Testament, then, an insufficient instructor to those who revere its authority, in respect to the manner in which they who believe its truths, shall assert and uphold them? Is it less clear in its referring all differences and all errors to the decision of an invisible Judge, and all awards in reference to them, to the time when the angels shall cast out of the Messiah's kingdom all things that offend, than it is in teaching the doctrine that a man is justified by faith? In doing justice to the principles of the New Testament, we must remember that "all judgement is committed to the Son"; and we can never concede, that they who judge the things of this life, are to take cognizance of either religious truths or religious errors. In publishing the doctrines of the Reformation, Calvin was not symbolizing with the errors of the age; and the light which separated him from the abettors of them, was sufficient to have guided him to another course than that which he was pursuing in the whole affair of Servetus.

Mr. Scott's narrative concludes with the death of Calvin, May 27, 1564. We have noticed but few of the incidents of his laborious life; and have the less occasion to apologize for the omission, as the volume before us, a great proportion of which is taken up with the history of the illustrious Reformer, will already be in the hands of those of our readers to whom his name and his merits are attractive; and as we shall have an opportunity of again adverting, before long, to his life and character, in noticing a work now on our table. The concluding chapter is entirely occupied with an Analysis of the Institutes, on which Mr. Scott's illustrative and corrective remarks will be acceptable to all who may wish to be acquainted with that celebrated production.

Art. IV.—*The complete Works of the Rev. Andrew Fuller; with a Memoir of his Life.* By Andrew Gunton Fuller. In Five Volumes. 8vo. pp. clxvi. 3182. Price 3l. 6s. London. 1831—1832.

IN our review of Morris's Memoir of the late Mr. Fuller*, and of Dr. Ryland's Account of his 'Life and Death,'† our readers will find an outline of his personal history, with some account of his works, and of his character as a writer. The latter of those biographical memoirs, published three years after his decease, was introductory to an edition of his works, in eight volumes, of which a notice also appeared in our Journal‡. In the edition now before us, a filial hand has been employed in commemorating an honoured name, and in extending the knowledge and perpetuating the usefulness of services rendered to the interests of true religion by an eminently endowed and devoted Christian minister. Besides the advantage of a new and improved arrangement, the present edition is more valuable than the preceding one, as it includes a selection of additional articles, and is executed in a superior manner, and published at a lower price. The number of ample and well-filled pages which the volumes contain, gives it the recommendation of cheapness, and evinces the liberal spirit of the Editor, in consulting the convenience and advantage of those who may wish to obtain the complete works of the estimable Author.

It is neither necessary nor practicable for us to give a particular account of the subjects which are discussed in the volumes before us; but, as a general notice of their contents may be useful to some of our readers, we shall furnish a report of the principal treatises and articles which they comprise. Vol. I. includes, The

* Ecl. Rev. 2d Ser. Vol. v. p. 478.

† Ib. Vol. ix. p. 181.

‡ Ib. Vol. xxiii. p. 505.

Gospel its own Witness. The Calvinistic and Socinian Systems examined and compared as to their moral tendency. Socinianism indefensible. Reflections on Belsham's Review of Wilberforce on Christianity. Letters on Universal Salvation. Vol. II. contains the Controversy on Faith, comprehending the Gospel worthy of all Acceptation, and the Defence of it. Letters on the Reality and Efficacy of Divine Grace. Strictures on Sandemanianism. Dialogues, Letters, and Conversations. Vol. III. Expository Discourses, on Genesis—the Apocalypse—Sermon on the Mount—Conversion of the Jews—Millennium—The Unpardonable Sin—Notes on various passages, and on passages apparently contradictory. Vol. IV. Sermons and Sketches. Circular Letters. System of Divinity. Thoughts on Preaching. Vol. V. Memoirs of Pearce. Apology for the Baptist Mission. Essays. Letters. Tracts. Reviews. Answers to Queries, and Fugitive Pieces.

To Andrew Fuller may justly be assigned a place of distinction among the most useful writers of his own time. His several productions were written in support of doctrines which form the essential difference between the evangelical dispensation and all other systems of religion. And though there were points maintained by him, in respect to which many persons, agreeing with him in the great principles which he asserted, were not prepared to declare their concurrence, he will be regarded by all who observe the vicissitudes and progress of true religion, as having contributed in no common degree to the advancement of truth. It is no exaggeration of his services, to represent him as having exerted an influence of a very salutary kind upon many of the Christian communities of his country. To his own denomination, he sustained the character of a Reformer. It might seem strange and incredible, that, among persons holding in their hands the New Testament, the notion should ever arise, and a practice in accordance with it be adopted, that the Gospel message is not to be addressed to mankind, in the largest sense in which a donation of benefits adapted to their greatest necessities may be announced to them. Whether the Gospel should be preached to men as sinners, is a question which, we may be well assured, never occurred to Apostolic teachers, to perplex their counsels or their purposes. They never hesitated fully to declare the import of the Gospel; and to all to whom they addressed the instructions which conveyed the knowledge of its design, they tendered its blessings. Nor was there any difference in their discourses and their manner towards the various persons whom they saw before them as they discharged the duties of their Ministry. Such as believed not, nor became converts, heard precisely the same things, as were addressed to those who repented and became obedient; the warnings and exhortations were in each case the same.

That sinners should not be exhorted to repent and believe the Gospel, was neither the persuasion nor the practice of the earliest preachers of it. But, in the Society in which Mr. Fuller commenced his employment as a religious instructor, this was the popular opinion. He himself for a time supported it, till circumstances arose which awakened his suspicions, and engaged him in inquiries from which resulted the emancipation of his mind, and to which may be traced the formation of his character as a controversialist.

It is curious to find in the early entries in his diaries, a prayer that he might 'never enter the polemical lists.' Nor is it less remarkable, that he found most of his opponents in the circle of his own denomination. For the labours to which he was destined, he possessed peculiar faculties. The powers of his understanding were vigorous and discriminating; his perceptions were acute and penetrating. Without the advantages of liberal education, and with no other mental discipline than that which was self-imposed, he was trained to the patient endurance of the difficulties inseparable from the investigations which he pursued. He was not less dexterous in detecting the errors of his opponents, than in exposing the weak and defective points of their reasonings; and as he conceded the insufficiency of his own arguments, and abandoned the positions which he had thought tenable, when his subsequent examinations enabled him to correct his former judgments, so he seldom failed to avail himself of the concessions as well as the mistakes and forced conclusions of his adversaries. It is very evident from the contents of the Volumes before us, that he was accustomed to lay hold of every occasion which brought under his notice any of the subjects that were congenial to his habits, and, by 'continually thinking unto it,' to render it familiar to him.

It would be very unjust, however, to represent Mr. Fuller as only a controversial writer. He was eminently a practical one. A very considerable proportion of the contents of these Volumes will be found to convey the instruction which tends to Christian improvement, and to interest the mind in the great objects of religion. In the discourses, many felicitous illustrations of the Scriptures will be found; and the occasions will not be few, which the reader of these volumes will have before him, of remarking on the wisdom as well as the piety of their Author.

- Art. V.—1. *Reflections upon Tithes*, with a Plan for a General Commutation of the Same. By George Henry Law, D.D. F.R.S. and F.A.S. Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells. 8vo. pp. 27. Wells.
2. *A Brief Inquiry into the Question, Whether a Christian can reasonably and conscientiously object to the Payment of Tithes*; addressed in a Letter to a Member of the Society of Friends. By the Rev. Samuel Lee, B.D. Prebendary of Bristol, Vicar of Banwell, Somersetshire; Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Munster; and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge. 12mo. pp. 24. Bristol, 1832.
3. *A Brief Inquiry into the Question, Whether the Clergy of the Church of England can reasonably and conscientiously consent to the Receiving of Tithes*. (In answer to a Tract entitled a Brief Inquiry into the Question, Whether a Christian can reasonably and conscientiously object to the Payment of Tithes. By the Rev. Samuel Lee, B.D. Prebendary of Bristol, &c.) By Joseph Storrs Fry, a Minister of the Society of Friends. 12mo. pp. 36. London and Bristol, 1832.
4. *A Plan of Church Reform. With a Letter to the King*. By Lord Henley. Fifth Edition, with Additions. 8vo. pp. xx. 97. London, 1832.
5. *A Letter on Church Reform*, addressed to the Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford; with one Remark on the Plan of Lord Henley. By the Rev. Charles Girdlestone, A.M. Vicar of Sedgley, Staffordshire, &c. pp. 16. Price 1s. London, 1832.
6. *Sequel to Remarks upon Church Reform*, with Observations upon the Plan proposed by Lord Henley. By the Rev. Edward Burton, D.D. Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, &c. 8vo. pp. 76. Price 2s. London and Oxford, 1832.
7. *Safe and easy Steps towards an efficient Church Reform: more efficient than that of Lord Henley*. By a Clergyman of the Church of England. 8vo. pp. 71. London, 1832.
8. *A Letter to the Rt. Honourable Lord Henley*, containing Remarks on his Plan of Church Reform, &c. By Rev. C. Stovel, Dissenting Minister, Little Prescott-street, London. 8vo. pp. 96. Price 2s. 6d. London, 1832.

THE sensation and commotion produced by Lord Henley's Plan of Church Reform, are greater than we can recollect to have been produced by any single pamphlet upon any topic, polemic or political. And yet, a publication more entirely free from every thing intemperate, inflammatory, or breathing of the partizan, has seldom solicited public attention. 'We believe,' say the Edinburgh Reviewers*, 'that no reader will rise from the perusal of his able, pious, and interesting work, without an intimate persuasion that he has been contemplating the genuine and heartfelt sentiments of one who writes in the discharge of a

* Ed. Review, No. CXI. (October 1832.) p. 203.

‘solemn duty;—who would be the very last man in all England to approve, or even to endure, the ribaldry with which the Church of England is so frequently assailed, and who has nothing in common even with the more temperate and argumentative of its opponents.’ This last clause of the sentence, we scarcely know how to understand. We hope that Lord Henley has much in common with many who on some points differ from him. The Writer of this article—a very singular one, considering the Journal in which it appears—goes on to remark upon the crisis at which the publication has been put forth. ‘The state of the Church has never, at any period since the Reformation, excited more general and more anxious solicitude. The admitted abuses of the Establishment are as anxiously canvassed by its adversaries, as its merits are strenuously asserted by its friends; with this difference, however; that among the latter scarcely any can be found hardy enough to deny that some reform is wanted, while a very large proportion of the former are disposed to allow it little, if any praise. The state of Ireland, where every question almost, in political controversy, bears immediate reference to some ecclesiastical abuse, and all men are agreed, that, as they now exist, things cannot by possibility go on, renders the discussion and the speedy settlement of this great question no longer a matter of choice. But, if that part of the empire could be wholly left out of view, the people of this country have become resolved, that the evils allowed to exist in our own Church shall no longer be suffered to pass uncensured, or to remain without a remedy.’ It is a great mistake, however, the Reviewer subsequently remarks, to conclude ‘that all Scotchmen are willing to see the Church of England destroyed, because their own Establishment is abhorrent of Episcopacy. They, and we believe we should be warranted in adding, *the bulk of English Dissenters* also, have no enmity to the institution itself: they only desire to see its abuses reformed. But both the one class and the other are naturally more ready to admit the existence of those abuses, than the members of the Establishment can be; some of whom benefit by them, and others become blind to them through habit.’

It has become very much the practice of late, for writers and orators to take upon themselves to answer for the sentiments and feelings of the Dissenters. Upon some recent political occasions, certain very busy individuals have come forward ‘in the name of the Dissenters.’ We have heard of the Dissenters being opposed to *this* candidate, and having pledged their support to *that* candidate. Just as if the English Dissenters were a mere political party, acting under leaders who could ensure their obedience, instead of forming a very large portion of the English

nation, including several distinct denominations, among whom is to be found a very wide difference of opinion on all subjects, political as well as ecclesiastical. We imagine that we know something about the English Dissenters; but we have never presumed to speak for them as a body, and should rarely feel warranted in putting forth any specific proposition or sentiment as that of even the bulk of the Dissenters, unless it related to some simple question of moral right and wrong—Slavery, for instance, or any infringement on the rights of conscience. Upon the subject of the Church as by law established, a very material difference of opinion exists among those who practically dissent from it, in reference to which they may be divided into two great classes; those who object to the Church *as it is*, but who do not hold ecclesiastical Establishments to be inexpedient, and those who object to all ecclesiastical Establishments. Each class has its subdivisions of sentiment. Under the former class range,

1. Presbyterians, who would not object to an established Church upon their own platform, but who are ‘abhorrent of Episcopacy.’
2. A large proportion of the Wesleyan Methodists and a smaller number among the other denominations, whom certain specific reforms would reconcile to the Church of England polity, and many of whom even profess to be churchmen.
3. Unitarians, whose cause is kept alive only by endowments, and whose patriarch, the late Mr. Belsham, wrote in defence of Establishments: *their ground of dissent is the doctrines of the Church.*
4. Those who conceive that the existing Establishment is indefensible, but that some species of ecclesiastical Establishment is desirable. Of the second class, the subdivisions of opinion are,

1. That which founds the main objection against Establishments on the alliance of the Church with the State.
2. That which goes further, and objects against all endowments and ‘compulsory support,’ whether by tithe, glebe, rate, trust-property, or state allowance, as anti-Scriptural and inexpedient. This extreme opinion is held by those mild and peaceable sectaries, the Society of Friends; and it is also very general, we believe, among the Congregational Dissenters of Scotland, and the Baptists in England. It is by no means, however, a necessary consequence of any Dissenting principle; and a large proportion of those who maintain it in theory, would deprecate any measures either of spoliation or of resistance. Still, we should not deem it consistent with truth, to affirm of this large section of the Dissenters, that they have ‘no enmity to the Institution itself.’ Lord Henley, on the contrary, affirms of ‘most’ of the Dissenters, that they ‘are decidedly, and upon principle, hostile to the very existence’ of the Establishment. Whether they form the ‘bulk,’ the majority, or not, they must be admitted to constitute a very numerous body.

With those who maintain this extreme opinion, it is known that we by no means agree: for, though we must concur in nearly all that may be urged as to the evils connected with existing ecclesiastical Establishments, we are not prepared to jump to the conclusion, that 'the voluntary principle' ought to be exclusively relied upon; that all endowments are purely mischievous; or that any principle of injustice is *necessarily* involved in the existence of a religious establishment. Still less, whatever were our opinions upon this point, should we feel authorized to demand, that the opinions of those who consider an Ecclesiastical Establishment as beneficial to the interests of religion and good government, should go for nothing with the Legislature; or to pray the Parliament, that it would 'be pleased to consider in what way 'the property now held by Government for the support of a 'State religion, may be disposed of for the relief of the poor and 'the liquidating of the national debt.' This modest, conciliatory, and tolerant *petition*, which Mr. Stovel puts into the mouths of the Dissenters, (p. 61.) we must, at the hazard of our reputation with all who think with him, utterly disclaim; nor can we reconcile it with this same Writer's disavowal of hostility to the Establishment in another part of his pamphlet. Referring to Lord Henley's representation, that Dissenters 'are, at best, indifferent 'to the welfare of the established Church, and that most of them 'are decidedly, and upon principle, hostile to its very existence,' Mr. Stovel says:

'In this, my Lord, I most sincerely hope that you have been mistaken. As long as there are men who wish for an establishment, so long will the Dissenters wish to see it preserved; so long will they be prepared to defend it from any injury. Nay, more than that, notwithstanding all that they have suffered, they will be ready to assist and to promote its welfare, wherever their abilities and their conscience will allow them. But they must beg to be relieved from compulsory measures, whether open or covert. If the clergy like to force their own members, let them; but to force those who have no connexion with the Church, is cruel and unjust. The Dissenters would not use compulsion even with their own brethren, much less would they impose it on those who, in conscience differ from their sentiments. If, therefore, this species of injustice be essential to the existence of an establishment, it must be confessed that they wish it removed, for this is a disgrace to religion; but if this be not necessary, then they only wish to see the establishment purified. Let the members of the establishment support the establishment, and they will always have the prayers and the blessing of their brethren.' p. 55.

Before Mr. Stovel undertook thus to negotiate with the members of the Establishment, in the high character of a plenipotentiary on the part of the Dissenters, we think that he should not only have furnished himself with credentials, but have taken more

pains to ascertain the precise terms of amity he was empowered to offer. At the commencement of the passage we have cited, he engages far more for the Dissenters, than we could venture to promise in their name; to wit, that, 'so long as there are men who 'wish for an establishment,' they will wish to see it preserved, and will be prepared to defend it from injury, to promote its welfare, and to give it their assistance. Nothing can breathe more of harmony and liberality than this assurance; and Lord Henley must be convinced that he is quite mistaken in supposing Dissenters to be hostile to the very existence of the Established Church. But towards the close of the paragraph, it would seem that the Writer, not having quite made up his mind whether injustice is not essential to the existence of the Establishment, would qualify the concession with this important condition, that the Establishment should first cease to be an establishment, by the alienation of the whole of its property, and the total withdrawal of the support of the State.

'Your Lordship' (adds Mr. S.) 'is also greatly mistaken in stating to his Majesty that some healing measures may bring the Dissenters into the pale of the Church. This can never be, unless the Church be first reduced to an *entire dependence on voluntary support and the blessing of the Saviour*. Those who cannot submit to compulsion themselves, will never join the Church in imposing it upon others.'

p. 55.

By submitting to compulsion, Mr. Stovel seems to mean, submitting to be rendered independent on voluntary support. This is not a very clear or usual mode of expression; but, to use compulsion, or to submit to compulsion, is, throughout his pamphlet, identified with every species of endowment, which he represents as a compulsory provision, unjust in principle and noxious in its consequences.

'Were I,' he says, 'to allow the justice of the thing, yet I should object to its expediency. For how fine soever it may be to rhapsodize over the magnificence of cathedrals, and the grandeur of the priesthood, more is needful to convince me that all this is advantageous to religion. Experience rather seems to say, that property, entailed upon the Christian Church, is the very poison that destroys it. Thus it is seen, from the trifling endowment of a dissenting meeting-house, to the bloated exuberance of the wealthiest bishopric. Such, indeed, is the dreadful influence, that nothing seems able to withstand it. Scarcely a school in the whole range of our country, whose charitable funds have not been diverted from their proper object. Witness the number of gentlemen's sons who are annually educated at those public schools, which were founded as hospitals for the reception and education of the indigent poor. Look over the whole map of our country; and scarcely will you lay your finger on one single place, in which an endowment has been left to a dissenting interest, which has not proved the very

means of its destruction. Stretch your view a little further; and through the whole of that space in which Christianity has prevailed on the earth, there is not one church which has grown rich in property entailed, and which has not rotted in its own corruption.' pp. 34—35.

That there is much truth mingled with Mr. Stovel's too declamatory representations, we readily admit; but it is not the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. The liability of trusts to be abused or diverted from their proper object, is not peculiar to charitable bequests and religious endowments. The complicated laws relating to property, both precautionary and remedial, the very existence of courts of legal redress and equitable administration, the whole apparatus of the statute-book presuppose such liability; and we must get rid, not merely of endowments and entailed property of all kinds, but of property itself, before the crimes connected with its misapplication can be wholly prevented. Property is 'the poison' that often destroys individuals as well as communities. The love of money is the root of all evil. And Mr. Stovel, who knows how hardly they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God, should, in order to be quite consistent, enjoin upon all Christian ministers the vow of voluntary and perpetual poverty.

Mr. Stovel declaims well, although he reasons badly. His pamphlet is eloquently written, and gives promise (if he is, as we presume, a young man,) of better things. It is adapted to make even a powerful impression upon those whose passions are stronger than their judgement, and to procure him more reputation with his own party, by its uncompromising boldness, than if his reasoning had gone a little deeper than the surface. It is the privilege of a young writer to have no misgivings. If he is so fortunate as to get hold of a train of thought connected with a proposition in itself true, he is not apt to suspect that it can be pushed too far, or stated too absolutely, or that that train of considerations can be crossed by other trains and modes of thought equally true. A young writer has chiefly in view to convince himself, which is a much shorter and easier task than to convince those who differ from him; and having no doubt that truth is on his side, he is confident of sharing in her triumph.

But if it be our object to persuade others, a scrupulous regard to facts will be more effective than the most brilliant oratory. Mr. Stovel, we regret to say, has not been very careful in this respect; and his statement, that our Poor-laws were '*invented to* relieve the clergy from those acts of charity, in consideration of which the tithes were granted them,' is but a specimen of that *inventive* kind of argument to which Mr. S. has unconsciously had recourse, and the effect of which upon an opponent, it is not difficult to estimate.

It is strange that Dissenters of the school which Mr. Stovel re-

presents, including many acute as well as excellent men, should fail to perceive the great disadvantage which is sustained by the cause they advocate, when it is removed from the impregnable ground of religious duty, to the debateable region of abstract principles and political speculations. Upon the palpable grievances connected with the present Establishment, we are all agreed. What purpose can it serve, at such a time, to raise a debate respecting the comparative efficiency and advantages of the voluntary principle and of endowments? A question, strictly, of political economy, applicable to religious institutions, only in common with others of a secular nature; and respecting which all reasoning must be, to a great extent, hypothetical. If, indeed, it could be proved, that the Scriptures clearly *forbid* any other provision for the maintenance of the ministers of religion, than the voluntary contributions of their hearers,—that all endowments are morally wrong,—then, to argue about their expediency or in expediency, would be quite superfluous. The voluntary principle would, in that case, rank among articles of faith; and the rule must be equally applicable to all ages and countries, and all states of society. This would involve, however, in most countries, one of two things; mendicity, like that of the Romish orders and the Burmese priests, or, the necessity of ministers' supporting themselves by their own industry. The Quakers alone are consistent in following out what they deem a Scriptural principle to its fair consequence. Their sentiments are thus stated in the 'Concise History of Tithes,' by Joseph Storrs Fry.

'We believe, "That God raises up his own ministers. That these are to give their spiritual labours freely; *'eating such things as are set before them,'* and, *'having food and raiment, to be therewith content;'* (which things they deserve, while in the exercise of their calling, as much as the labourer his hire;) but that no bargains are to be made about religion. That ministers of the Gospel are not authorized to demand, consequently not to *force*, a maintenance from others; or to take away any thing from those who are unwilling to receive them; but that in such case they are to go their ways, and to shake the dust off their feet against those who reject them; or, in other words, to declare that they have done their own duty in going with the word of exhortation, and that the fault lies with those who refuse to hear it. That when they are not occupied in the work of the ministry, they are to support themselves, if necessity require it, by their own industry, using their own scrips, purses, and clothes. That any constrained payment on account of religion, as it is contrary to the intention of Jesus Christ, is an infringement of the great Christian tenet, that, Christ's kingdom being of a spiritual nature, the magistrate has no right to dictate a religion to any one, nor to enforce payment for the same; and that therefore any legal interference in these matters, which are solely between God and man, is an act of legislation BEYOND THE BOUNDS OF MAN'S

JURISDICTION, and is neither more nor less than a USURPATION OF THE PREROGATIVE OF GOD." pp. 11—12.

In accordance with this belief, 'when their ministers travel from 'home in the service of the Gospel,' they are supported by pecuniary contributions.

'When at home, they provide for their own maintenance, following the example of the Apostle Paul, Acts xviii. 3. And should it so happen, that the family of a minister thus abroad stand in need of assistance during his absence, it is cheerfully provided for; as all the necessities in this Society are, whether preachers or hearers, without suffering them to become chargeable to other societies or to the public. This we conceive to be the true Gospel order; and to be the *extent* of every thing that is enjoined by Our Lord and his Apostles on this subject.' *Fry*, pp. 4, 5.

It would be difficult, assuredly, to prove that more than this is authoritatively *enjoined* upon Christians; and the practice of the Quakers in this respect, must be admitted to come the nearest to what prevailed in the apostolic age. We admire and applaud their consistency; and if we thought, with them, that 'the voluntary principle' was thus *religiously binding*, we do not see at what point we could make our stand, short of their practical conclusions.

Without going this length, we can maintain the superior efficiency of the voluntary system to any other,—its practicability to a very considerable extent, and its superiority, so far as practicable. We can and do maintain, that this system is most in accordance with the spirit of the Gospel; that it can never be superseded by endowments and the compulsory provision, without entailing the certain corruption and decline of the Church; that it excites a vital energy which is never found to inhere in endowed corporations; that it is the conservative principle of Establishments themselves; and that to this principle we are indebted for the whole amount of that zeal, and combination, and benevolent exertion, which so remarkably distinguish the present times. Mr. Stovel does not overstate the fact, when he says:—

'The result of voluntary benevolence has actually outstripped the very largest imaginations of our forefathers. In point of practical energy, it has, in many cases, perfectly superseded the labour of the endowed clergy: so that they would have no official employment whatever, were it not for the conflict they determine to maintain with the Dissenters. Hence, the schools of the Dissenters have produced the schools of the Church; the colleges of the Dissenters have awakened the universities; the missionary societies of Dissenters have produced similar institutions in the Establishment; and the improved tone of religious instruction among the clergy has been produced by the energy and success of those whom they constantly affect to despise

The Dissenters will be glad to see the Church roused up from her slumber, and using her mighty strength ; but they hope she will not scorn and run over them, as though their existence were unworthy of notice, and their interests were to be disregarded in the arrangements of Government.' *Stovel*, pp. 53, 4.

The greatest objection against the utility of Endowments and Establishments, is, that they have too generally *swamped* the voluntary principle, to which they should rather have been auxiliary. The consequence has been, that the curate, to whom the voluntary contributions of the parishioners would otherwise have furnished a competency, has starved upon a scanty stipend. 'Where property is to be obtained without labour, and without regard to character,' Mr. Stovel justly remarks, 'men who have no character will be the first to get it.' The benefices of the Church have been engrossed by sinecurists: the ministers who have chiefly sustained the character and done the work of the Establishment, have not been the receivers of Tithes. All church reform will be a mockery, that does not apply a remedy to this crying grievance.

With this, however, Dissenters, as such, have no concern. The practical grounds upon which *they* have reason to object against them, may be stated in the words of Mr. Douglas. 'There is great injustice in making any individual pay for the support of opinions which he deems to be erroneous ; and equal injustice in making one man more eligible than another to civil situations, not on account of his aptitude for office, but on account of the peculiarity of his opinions.* But the learned Writer adds : 'Neither of these two circumstances is in any way essential to a religious establishment.' The abolition of the test-law, so long considered as the very bond and cement of the alliance between Church and State, has redressed the one species of injustice. The other must and will find redress also.

But the point upon which Mr. Douglas and Mr. Stovel, with those who respectively think with them, separate and take different directions, is this. The former maintains, that this species of injustice is not essential to a religious establishment: the latter that it is, and therefore, that Dissenters wish to see the Establishment removed. Mr. Douglas states, that, 'by the composition of tithes, and their transformation into land or other property, we should have a church-establishment without any contribution from those who deem that Establishment erroneous.' Mr. Stovel would contend, that the tithe is a tax, and that all taxes are contributions ; and that the conversion of the tax into fixed property, would not alter the case, as the Church would still be supported at the national expense. We have before us,

* See Ecl. Rev. Feb. 1832. p. 130.

certain 'Resolutions passed by the Board of Baptist Ministers 'in London, specially convened, Nov. 6, 1832,'* the fourth of which runs as follows:—

'That they therefore feel it a matter of injustice to be compelled by law to support a religion from which they conscientiously dissent, convinced as they are, that the expenses attending the support of Christian Ministers, the celebration of Christian worship, and the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, should not be compulsory, but free; and that the most honourable maintenance any man can enjoy, is that of the Christian Minister, when, like his Saviour, he derives it from the spontaneous, liberal, and affectionate contributions of those who receive spiritual advantages from his instructions.'

"The Son of Man had not where to lay his head." This Resolution is not intended to advocate reducing the Ministers of the Gospel to a state of mendicity and vagrancy; but precisely the same argument, drawn from the poverty of Christ and his apostles, was the strong-hold of the mendicant friars with whom Wiclif maintained so long and strenuous a controversy. This is, in fact, the Quaker theory, except that *their* ministers work with their own hands, and provide for their own maintenance, when not itinerating. For our own parts, we deem that to be the most honourable maintenance, which is fairly and honourably earned, whether it results from voluntary contributions, or endowment, fees, rent, or salary.

In the same Paper from which we copy the above Resolution, we find an account of a public meeting at Glasgow, (the Rev. Dr. Dick in the chair,) at which still stronger language was employed. 'Every church ought to be left to the voluntary support of its own members; and thus Christians of all classes be put on the same level.' 'The Scriptures require all payments made in the service of Christ to be voluntary.' 'The church as by law established is a burden on the nation, of which it ought to be immediately relieved.' The immediate confiscation of all church property, as property of which the nation has been 'defrauded,' appears to have been considered by the reverend gentlemen who addressed this meeting, as a righteous, feasible, and most desirable consummation.

We shall not now enter upon the question, how far the seizure of the whole Church property would be a public benefit. We must confess that, although we have not a very large stake in the country, we have a sort of nervousness, or pusillanimity, or old English prejudice, which disqualifies us for coolly and philosophically discussing the expediency of setting aside all the laws that protect alike personal and corporate property, by an act of Par-

* Patriot Newspaper, Nov. 21.

liament. All that we shall venture to suggest, on the present occasion, with meek timidity and deference, is, that we do not hold ourselves bound by our *religious* principles as Dissenters to unite in this demand; and it is on religious grounds alone, that we feel disposed to come forward in the capacity of Dissenters. In common with all their fellow subjects, Dissenters have a full and undoubted right to take their share in all political discussions; but Dissent is with us a matter of religion, not of politics, and we have an extreme dislike against mixing them up together. What, as politicians and Parliament men, we might be led to deem conducive to the national welfare, had we the honour of a seat, we will not say:—we disapprove of the pledging system. But this we must avow, that if we could not advocate the alienation of the church property upon political grounds, we would not attempt to do it in the name of religion. If we felt that we could not do it being Churchmen, we would not make use of our Dissent for that purpose. As a rule of faith and practice, we recognize no authority but the Word of God; but we have an invincible objection against substituting interpretations of the New Testament for the statute-book. As we would not levy tithe, so neither would we rob the tithe-owner, *in the name of God*.

The *political* reasons are sufficiently numerous and urgent for bringing the whole subject of Church Property under the great laqueus of the nation. That the system of tithes must be abolished, is admitted on all hands. The patriotic Bishop of Bath and Wells has done himself honour by his manly avowal on this subject.

‘That Tithes,’ says his Lordship, ‘are at present an objectionable and impolitic mode of provision for the Clergy, is a fact very generally acknowledged, and deplored . . . The present system has been alleged to be unfair, inasmuch as the amount of the value of Tithes is far greater now, than it was at the time of their first institution. Since that period, the produce has much increased, from the increased expense and labour of cultivation. According, therefore, to the industry and capital expended on the soil, is the sum now received by the owner of the Tithes:—a mode of payment which, as it has formed the ground of animadversion, the Ministers of our Church would naturally rejoice at seeing altered. Hence, the demand of Tithe must have very frequently put a stop to the increasing improvement of the soil. The public, consequently, as well as the proprietors, are losers by the system. For, as in the natural body, so also in the body politic, where one part is affected, the others suffer also. And the loss thus sustained by the nation is of no inconsiderable amount.

‘But these effects, prejudicial as they may be, yet still are trifling and evanescent when compared with the injuries which the Tithing system inflicts upon the clergy of our Church. With pain we must acknowledge that the Stewards and Ministers of God’s holy word and ordinances have, on this account, and by no fault of their own, in-

curred a degree of unmerited odium, and been rendered less efficient throughout the land. Nor is this all. The cause of Christianity itself has suffered through their diminished estimation and usefulness.'

The tithe-system is, indeed, only one among many causes that have contributed, in the words of Dr. Chalmers, to 'sever the Church from the common people, and to reduce to *naked architecture* one half of that costly apparatus reared by a former age for upholding the Christian worth and virtue of the commonwealth.' It would not be difficult to shew, that other circumstances, which call as loudly for reform, have had an equal share in alienating the minds of the people, and have rendered the tithe at length as intolerable and odious as it was always vexatious. But upon this we need not now insist. The question is, how is the tithe-system to be extinguished? Some writers have recommended the substitution of a *corn-rent*; but this, the Bishop admits at once, would be 'a greatly fluctuating, and therefore an improper provision for the clergy.' And as to any mode of Composition, he justly remarks, that 'the ascertainment of the value of the tithes would be an evil continually recurring; and thus would all those feelings be kept alive, which form the ground of dissension between the clergyman and his parishioners, and tend to diminish his means of doing good among them.' That which the Bishop, after long and anxious consideration, regards as in every point of view the least objectionable plan, is a *Commutation in land*. And this plan is the only one, we imagine, that any rational friend of the Establishment would think of advocating. It is, like every other, open to objections, and incumbered with difficulties; but the choice between evils is, in this case, all that is allowed to us. At all events, his Lordship adds,

'To restore to the clergy their due hold on the affection of the people, some commutation of tithes *must be adopted*. The times call for,—the sacred cause of religion itself demands it . . . All therefore who wish well to the peace and good order of society, all who are desirous of advancing the happiness of the human race in time and eternity, should endeavour to support the character and station of the ministers of the gospel. It were, however, vain to expect the attainment of this great object, so long as tithe forms, as at present, a line of demarcation between them. As well might we attempt to stop the waves of the ocean, as to restrain the turbulent feelings of the people under the present popular excitation. The cause then, we see, of religion itself is involved in the issue of the measure.'

But while the immediate object of his Tract relates solely to the question of Tithes, the Bishop cannot, he says, conclude without declaring,

—'that no one would give a mere unhesitating assent, none a warmer support than himself, to any prospective regulations, which, without invading the existing rights of individuals, might secure a better pro-

vision for the poorer labourers in our vineyard ; and which might thus obtain for them the increased affection and respect of an attached and grateful people. And the present state of our Church, it may be observed, would afford peculiar facilities for the accomplishment of such a measure, according as ecclesiastical vacancies in sinecures might happen.'

Apart from a most material improvement in the internal arrangement of the Church, and the distribution of its revenues, no plans for commuting the tithe will long protect the Establishment from ruder reforms from without. Of this, its best friends and wisest advocates are well aware ; and although Lord Henley's plan is considered as inefficient, chimerical, and objectionable, Dr. Burton fully accords with him as to the necessity of a very extensive Church and State reform. The following remarks are highly deserving of candid attention.

' Lord Henley says, in one sentence, "The most prominent evil in the Church is the non-residence of the beneficed Clergy and the system of pluralities." To this I heartily subscribe, and most thankful should I feel, if I could join his Lordship in any scheme for preventing these crying evils. But if I am not mistaken, I mentioned in my former pamphlet the real impediment to their removal. In nineteen cases out of twenty the fault is in the patron. The Church is not the cause of non-residence or pluralities, except where the patronage belongs to an ecclesiastical body : and I have no wish to say, that Bishops or Chapters are less liable to err in this matter than laymen. I would only observe, that lay-patrons are vastly more numerous, and much more jealous of any interference with their patronage.

' I would extend this remark to almost every topic which is touched upon by Lord Henley. He inveighs most justly against the translation of Bishops : and I have literally not found a Clergyman who does not take the same view. Why then is this evil inflicted upon the Church? According to Lord Henley it may be explained on the following principle. " If any one turns to the list of the Dignitaries of our Cathedrals, he will find that not more than one-twentieth of them have had any claims to preferment, on the ground of theological or even of literary attainments. Parliamentary Interest, Family Connections, or Party Gratitude, have in general filled up all vacancies as they have arisen, with the Sons, the Brothers, and the Tutors of Ministers, and of their adherents." It will be remembered that these are the words of Lord Henley : and if the fact be so, it would be more reasonable in him to write upon State Reform than upon Church Reform. It now appears, that the Church is the suffering and not the offending party. She has all these evils inflicted upon her by ambitious or irreligious statesmen ; and yet she is abused, as if she were herself the cause of all the evil. Lord Henley mentions the case of the Earl of Bridgewater, who " drew the magnificent income of one of the golden stalls of Durham while living at Paris." I merely ask, who gave him a dispensation from residing at Durham?—The Crown. In the same way we might go through almost every case of abuse, which is mentioned by Lord

Henley and other Church Reformers. I have no wish to say, that the Church is free from blame. In a body of fifteen thousand persons, there must be many, I fear, who are forgetful of their clerical character, and traitors to the Master whom they pretend to serve. Most earnestly do I wish, that the Government and the Legislature would make it more and more difficult for a clergyman to neglect his duty. *At quis custodiet ipsos Custodes?* The Government may, at this moment, without any Act of Parliament, prevent nearly all the abuses which are mentioned by Lord Henley. And yet these abuses exist. Surely, then, Church Reform means more than is generally intended by that expression.

'In the first place, it is absolutely necessary that the patronage of ecclesiastical preferment should be taken from the Crown, or at least submitted to some control. I shall speak out upon this subject more plainly than Lord Henley. He says, as I have quoted him at page 19, that "the time is not yet arrived, when we can hope for any legislative enactment respecting the mode of disposing of the Crown Patronage." I say, in answer to this, that if the time is not yet arrived, we may spare ourselves the trouble of discussing Church Reform.'

Our limits will not allow us to enter into the details of the proposed plans of reform. Dr. Burton's pamphlet reflects the highest honour upon his independence, integrity, and liberality of mind. Of such men, never did the Establishment, and the country at large, stand more in need. That his plan should, as well as Lord Henley's, have drawn down a vehement attack from that depository of party spleen and factious bigotry, the British Magazine, might be expected. The conductors of that Magazine may succeed in blinding those who are interested in the perpetuation of abuses, to the danger of obstinately resisting all reform,—in strengthening their infatuation, and exasperating their haughty contempt for sectaries and infidels. But they may learn too late, that no bullying will now aid the cause of the Church, or repress for one moment the tide of public opinion, which has set in with such force against the foundations of the Establishment. 'If the Establishment stand', remarks Mr. Douglas, 'it must become popular.' In order to this, its emancipation from State patronage and from private patronage must be effected. Now let us suppose, for a moment, all these desirable reforms accomplished,—the tithe extinguished,—the clergy converted into 'a class of elective land-owners' holding their lands on the tenure of residence and service,—and 'Church-patronage so modified, as that the popular voice shall have its 'right degree of ascendancy in the appointment of ministers';*—let us suppose the Church-rate abolished, (an exaction from which Dissenters may justly claim to be relieved,) and other

* The words of Dr. Chalmers.

grievances redressed;—would the rights of conscience be still violated by the existence of the Establishment,—that is, of an order of religious teachers, not dependent on voluntary support? Should we then have, as Mr. Douglas contends, a Church-establishment, without any contribution from those who deem it erroneous? Or would the Dissenters still have reason to complain, that they were compelled to support the Establishment,—that it was maintained, in part, at their expense? According to the language of the Edinburgh Church-reformers, and the reasoning of Mr. Stovel, the injustice would still be as palpable as before. All sects would not, even then, be brought down to a level. All ministers of religion would not be thrown upon the voluntary payments of those who were willing to offer them. Should a Quaker occupy a glebe farm, or Church land, he would still, we suppose, feel bound in conscience to refuse paying rent. That the clergy should hold lands, might still be represented as contrary to the practice of Our Lord and His Apostles; and it might be urged, that the first Christians *sold* their lands, and gave the proceeds to the poor. But would it be said that those lands, being national property, were held by the clergy at the expense of the Dissenters, and that they contributed to support the clergy? Could a plea of equity be set up for seizing the Church-lands, that Peter might not have more than Paul? We must confess that we should be very sorry to see persons of this way of thinking presiding in any of our law courts, or taking the lead in the senate or in the cabinet.

That error should be pensioned and endowed, whether by estate or by private munificence, must ever be an occasion of lamentation and regret. But there could be no greater intolerance, than to prohibit individuals from disposing of their own property for what they deem religious and benevolent purposes, or to deprive those who are in possession of endowments, because they hold erroneous sentiments. It is a fair objection against the system, that it has been the means of perpetuating error more than of advancing truth; and let that objection have all its weight in governing the future plans of the wealthy. But those who hold property under that system, whether lay-impropriators, or corporations, or beneficed usufructuaries, are not, we presume, to be penally dealt with, either on the ground of holding erroneous opinions, or because the system of endowment is deemed inexpedient. An endowed clergy may become a bane and a curse, as in Spain; but, by their exactions only, not by their possessions, can they be properly represented as a burden to the State. Dissenters ought not, we contend, for many reasons, to be required to contribute to the Establishment; but were the church-rate abolished, and the tithe commuted, we cannot perceive that they could be considered as contributing any thing. Should the

wealth of the Church be deemed enormous, should it have absorbed, like an unhealthy excrescence, too large a portion of the resources of the country, it is for the Government to interfere, in the exercise of its protective sovereignty over all estates, to relieve the Constitution from the unequal pressure. And this will be done without any prompting of the Dissenters. Catholic sovereigns have not scrupled thus to interpose; Catholic bishoprics have been secularised, and monastic estates have been sequestered, without compunction or fear of excommunication, by Catholic princes. And were the Church of Ireland made to disgorge half of its dishonest and misapplied wealth, for the benefit of the State, the most unexceptionable precedents might be produced. But let it be done by the State, with all possible tenderness to individual life-interests, upon the broad ground of national policy, and not upon false pretences, or for theological reasons.

Will it be imputed to lukewarmness in the cause either of Reform or of Dissent, that we deprecate the employing of unfair weapons against the Establishment, which may break in the hands of those that wield them, and wound themselves? That we regard with dissatisfaction and dread, the infusion of fanaticism into the elements of debate and strife that are now in action, and lament that good and wise men should be betrayed into expressions savouring of bigotry and violence? If so, it must be because we have failed to make ourselves understood, or because those who have been misled, disdain to be set right by so feeble and unauthoritative a voice as ours.

Art. VI. *The Annuals.*

IN resuming our account of the Annuals, we find that we have still no fewer than ten to notice. We shall first pay our compliments to our old friends, and then introduce to our readers the new competitors for their favour.

The Literary Souvenir maintains its character for the taste displayed in the selection of the embellishments. 'The Prince of Spain's visit to Catalina,' from a painting by Newton in the collection of His Grace of Bedford, furnishes a splendid frontispiece, delicately engraved by Rolls. Next to this, the Editor probably prides himself upon the 'splendid composition by Fragonard,' from the finished sketch of a picture which forms one of the *plafonds* of the Gallery of Charles X. in the Louvre. The subject is, Francis I. receiving the honour of knighthood at the hands of the Chevalier Bayard. It is certainly a rich and shewy composition, in the true style of French picturesque; and is effectively engraved by Greathach. There are two exquisite land-

scapes; Fairies dancing on the sea-shore in a golden sunset, from a design by Danby, and, Shipwreck off the Isle of Wight, from a design by Bentley, both beautifully engraved by W. Miller and J. Thomas: they are treasures for the portfolio. Heidelberg Castle, from a design by Roberts; Naiads, from a classical painting by Henry Howard; The Inundation, affectingly told by an interesting and well contrasted groupe, on a rising ground, with the submerged village in the back ground, from a painting by A. Scheffen; a Dutch family groupe from Watier, in which, however, the engraver has not succeeded; Children in Prayer, from a painting by Uwins, full of feeling, though not of captivating beauty; and the portrait of a Cauchoise girl, from a painting by Newton; compose the remainder of this well chosen and brilliant selection.

The Volume itself opens, very advantageously, with a glorious sonnet by Wordsworth, on an occasion worthy of calling forth all the Poet's sympathy. Never has a more graceful chaplet been twined for the brow of a bard than the following.

'A trouble, not of clouds, or weeping rain,
Nor of the setting sun's pathetic light
Engendered, hangs o'er Eildon's triple height:
Spirits of Power assembled there complain
For kindred Power departing from their sight;
While Tweed, best pleased in chanting a blithe strain,
Saddens his voice again and yet again.
Lift up your hearts, ye Mourners! for the might
Of the whole world; good wishes with him goes;
Blessings and prayers, in nobler retinue
Than sceptred king or laurelled conqueror knows,
Follow this wondrous Potentate. Be true
Ye winds of ocean and the midland sea,
Wafting your charge to soft Parthenope!'

Among the other poetical contributors occur the names of the Editor, Mrs. Watts, Mrs. Hemans, T. K. Hervey, William Kennedy, Caroline Bowles, Mary Howitt, Sir Aubrey de Vere, Miss A. Strickland, the Rev. Charles Hoyle, and E. Gauntlett. 'The Isles of the Sea Fairies,' by Mrs. Howitt, would tempt transcription, but for what the reader will not find to be a fault,—its length: it is very gracefully imagined, and reflects something of the golden mist which the painter has thrown over the scene. Timour's Death-bed, by W. Kennedy, is extremely spirited,—a little pedantic, but this we could forgive for the clever use that is made of the richly sounding names—'Kharizmé, Kaundahaur, Iraun,' &c., but our ear *will* not tolerate the jerk and gallop with which each stanza concludes. The following stanzas are anonymous: if not of the highest order, they touch the feelings.

' THE FELLOWSHIP OF NATURE.

I.

' The mountain breeze ! the fresh,—the free !
 Oh ! bring the arrowy breeze to me !
 Be mine, the breathing heights to stem,
 The hills' empurpling diadem ;—
 To seek—to meet—the rushing flow
 That thrills my heart, and cools my brow :
 And feel my bosom gladly bound,
 To catch its soul-inspiring sound.

II.

' Keep, wealth ! thy domes and halls of pride,
 Thy teeming vales and gardens wide !
 Keep, pomp ! thy gauds, thy pleasures rare,
 Thy flowers, that wreath the brow of Care !
 Be mine the strength—the power to fly,
 Where care and sorrow come not nigh ;—
 To seek the glen, the mountain lone,
 Where nature's heart is all mine own.

III.

' Ay, earth has many a galling chain,
 That binds me down to want and pain ;—
 And cold and harsh the world I view ;
 And kindred hearts are far and few.
 But Nature !—thee !—through good—through ill—
 I seek—I bless—unchanging still ;—
 Alike in calm and tempest wild,
 Thou hold'st communion with thy child.

IV.

' Oh ! can I press the mountain sod,
 By mortal footsteps rarely trod ;
 Or plunge 'mid wilds and forests green,
 Where sordid dreams have never been ;
 Or meet—by far and lonely seas—
 Heaven's own—its pure—its blessed breeze,—
 Nor feel my bosom inly burn,
 And peace, and hope, and joy return ?

V.

' Oh ! can I lift to yonder sky
 A lonely and adoring eye,—
 When scoffing worldlings none are near,
 To aim the jest or point the sneer ;—
 Its million glories can I view—
 Its mighty clouds—its melting blue,—
 Nor, spite of pain and anguish, feel
 Their holy influence o'er me steal ?

VI.

‘ And when the tide of feeling strong,
The yielding spirit bears along,—
When the full heart is swelling high,
With dreams that meet not mortal eye,
Yet held in cold and stern control,
That shake and rend the inmost soul ;—
Then, Nature ! then—the world I flee,
To pour, unchecked, that soul to thee !

VII.

‘ Reviver thou of visions fled !
Of early joys long vanished !
Entwined with thee, they are not gone,
To sleep in dull oblivion :
Thy magic touch aside can roll
The blinding mists that dim the soul,
And oft, in colder years, renew
Its bright first loves—the warm—the true.

VIII.

‘ Dear, dear to me, through every scene,
Through storm, through sunshine, hast thou been ;
All else hath changed, save only thou ;
Bright wert thou aye ; and bright art now.
Oh ! still on *thine*, my burning breast
Shall lay its throbblings wild to rest ;
Nor feel care’s chilling weight, while free
In thine own realms, to worship thee !’

Σ

The prose contributions comprise one of Mr. Leitch Ritchie’s continental legends ; Frank Lygon, by the Author of Selwyn,—like all that comes from that pen, very clever and interestingly told ; Recollections of the Life of Secundus Parnell, by William Howitt ; the Sleeper’s Shrift, by H. F. Chorley ; and some smaller pieces.

Of the two Juvenile Annuals which claim our notice, the young folks instruct us to report, as usual, very favourably. Miss Leslie of Philadelphia and Dr. Walsh have each contributed, as before, very pleasing papers to Mrs. S. C. Hall’s Juvenile ; L. E. L. has furnished a beautiful story for young people, entitled *The Indian Island* ; and ‘ *Seven and Seventeen* ’ is worthy of the Author of “ *Chronicles of a School-room*.” The Juvenile Souvenir shines in its embellishments, and in a goodly list of contributors : the following stanzas we must venture to transcribe.

'A LITTLE GIRL'S LAMENT FOR THE FAIRIES.

I.

' Ah ! where are all the fairies flown ?
 Why ceased their merry reign ?
 We 're all so dull and solemn grown,
 I wish they 'd come again ;
 Mid lawns and bowers, when daylight 's done,
 Once more to dance and play ;—
 There never has been any fun,
 Since fairies went away.

II.

' You weary me,—you tiresome doll !
 You cannot speak or walk,
 A fairy's wand, my good Miss Poll,
 Would soon have made you talk !
 Then you and I, so merrily,
 Had sported all the day ;
 But now, oh dear ! that cannot be,
 The fairies are away.

III.

' Now, there are none of them to ask
 For water from the well ;
 No diamonds now reward the task,
 As Mother Goose doth tell ;
 No toads the naughty lips disgrace,
 That say a sulky nay ;—
 This world is quite a stupid place,
 Now fairies are away.

IV.

' We cannot meet them at a spring,
 When drawing water out ;
 For water to our doors we bring,
 By leaden pipe or spout.
 One still finds toads ; I 've seen them crawl
 About, at close of day ;
 But diamonds,—none ; they vanished all,
 When fairies went away.

V.

' There's puss sits purring by the fire,
 Or chases mice and rats ;
 The stupid thing ! I do so tire
 Of these dull, common cats !
 A cleverer one my fancy suits,
 Who can do more than play ;
 But, ah ! there is no Puss in Boots,
 Since fairies went away.

VI.

‘ The bean-stalks in our gardens all,
How widely Jack’s outshone ‘em ;
Ours grow so slowly,—never tall,—
And nought save beans upon ‘em ;
No wealthy giants at the top,—
No gold,—no harps to play,—
We ‘ll ne’er see such another crop,
Now fairies are away !

VII.

‘ And books,—and maps,—and lessons,—ah !
They ‘re fit to bend one double ;
A fairy for one’s god-mamma,
Would save one all the trouble.
Quite wise, without instruction, she
Could make one in a day ;
But now,—there’s no such luck for me !
The fairies are away.

VIII.

‘ Farewell to fairy finery !
To fairy presents rare ;
No slippers made of glass have we,
As Cinderella’s were ;—
Nor pumpkin coach,—nor coachman rat,
Nor lizard footman gay ;
Nor steeds,—those mice that feared no cat,
Now fairies are away.

IX.

‘ They meet no longer by the light
Of moon-beams ‘neath a tree ;
Why ! one might walk abroad all night,
And not a fairy see !
One would but catch a cold or fever,
Before the dawn of day ;
And those are things that happened never,
Till fairies went away.

X.

‘ Farewell to all the pretty tales,
Of merry elfins dining
On mushroom tables, in the dales,
Lit by the glow-worm’s shining,
And tripping to the minstrel gnat
His jocund measure singing,
While o’er their heads the lazy bat
A silent flight was winging ;
Farewell ! like theirs my song is done ;
But yet once more I’ll say
There never has been any fun,
Since fairies went away.’

The Landscape Album comprises *sixty* views of towns, cathedrals, lake-scenery, and other picturesque subjects, in the British Isles. We have Abbotsford and Melrose Abbey, Hampstead and Brighton, Stonehenge and Canterbury, Peak Cavern and Rydal Lake, Salisbury Crags and Limerick. In short, there is no lack of variety; and if the engravings are not all in the most finished style, they are respectably executed, and their number amply compensates for any inequality. A brief topographical description accompanies each plate; and the Volume may fairly claim to range in among the Annuals, in the boudoir or on the library table.

We do not know what to say of Miss Sheridan's Comic Annual. The *pun-ography* of the cuts is extremely clever; those who love merriment, have only to look at the odd conceits of the pantomimic pencil. But the laborious comicality of the written contributions soon palls, and too often offends by its coarseness. The Volume should not have been edited by a female humourist.

Mr. Harrison has this year laid aside the cup and bells, and now comes before us in his more native and pleasing character. His 'Christmas Tales, historical and domestic', four in number, with five 'pictorial embellishments' to which the tales are accommodated, may be allowed a middle rank between the juvenile annuals and those of higher pretensions.

We have yet to notice those which claim the character of religious Annuals. The Missionary Annual carries with it, in the name of its Editor, the estimable Author of the Polynesian Researches, and in the list of contributors, its own recommendation. The embellishments are not, indeed, of the same attractive and splendid kind that are found in some of the other Annuals. They consist of engravings on wood, by Baxter, some of them admirably cut, and the subjects are intrinsically interesting as illustrating the scenes of Missionary enterprise, and the cruel rites or absurdities of idolatry. Still, we fear that they will not be thought, in general, to add much to the attractiveness of the publication. For this however, the literary contents will, we think, amply compensate. Among those whom respect for the Editor have led to furnish contributions, are Robert Southey, The Author of the Natural History of Enthusiasm, Archdeacon Wrangham, James Montgomery, the Rev. Thomas Dale, Josiah Conder, Thomas Pringle, Bernard Barton, The Rev. James Hough, the Rev. Dr. Fletcher, the Rev. H. Townley, the Rev. Elijah Hoole, the Rev. G. Redford, the Rev. J. Alexander, James Edmeston, Mrs. Gilbert, H. Rogers, Esq., Miss A. Strickland, and John Carne. From 'A Sunshine Prospect,' by the Author of the Natural History of Enthusiasm, we select a few paragraphs, highly characteristic and striking. The entire paper deserves a thoughtful and deeply reflective perusal.

‘ Let it then be granted—and granted in the fullest sense—that the spiritual condition of the mass of mankind is a fit subject of the most profound sadness ; and let it be confessed, moreover, that the temporal and *visible* degradation and miseries of the nations—their cruelties, their infirmities, and their wrongs,—are deplorable.—Yes, we not only admit these sorrowful facts, but we ponder over them daily, and resolve again and again to take no settled ease, while so much wretchedness, moral and natural, affects our fellow-men.

‘ Nevertheless, these melancholy feelings, although just, shall not be allowed to exclude from our minds some other feelings, equally just, and more agreeable. Nay, far from excluding, we will rather cherish any cheering and brightening thoughts which (illusion apart) may serve to attemper our emotions as that sadness may not settle into gloomy indolence, nor zeal become acrid, and especially in order that no one element of sacred truth may overpower another.

‘ “ The earth, O Lord, is full of thy riches.”—This is true, notwithstanding that other melancholy truth, that “ the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.” Nor are the riches of Divine beneficence to be seen merely (no, nor chiefly) in the luxuriance, and splendid colours, and noble forms of the inanimate and animal kingdoms. Must we look only to the gorgeous flowers and luscious fruits, to the stately trees and spicy shrubs of torrid climates, or to the gems and ores bowelled in the mountains,—or must we think only of the gay and busy myriads that fill the air, and earth, and water,—when we would admire and adore the bounty and power of the Creator? Oh no! for the Creator is Creator of Man; and notwithstanding all the disgraces and corruptions that have come in, the praise of God is still to be gathered from the lot of humanity, and from the *special circumstances* of the several communities of the human family.

* * * * *

‘ Where shall we draw the line, beneath which human existence ought to be deemed utterly undesirable, and where the spectacle of domestic manners becomes revolting and horrid? Shall we say that the famished and filthy Esquimaux, and the ferocious Malay, and the squalid Australian, together with the hardly less squalid and much more unhappy crowd that crams our cotton mills, and the mendicant hordes of our metropolis, mocked of the rags that hang about them! Shall we say that all these are outlaws of the commonwealth of natural enjoyment, and wretches by destiny? We will not decide so difficult a matter, but turn to somewhat brighter scenes.

‘ Let no unfair or sinister inference be drawn, as if we would palliate great evils or great crimes, when we commence this our commendation of the Divine benignity towards man, from the hut of the slave in our colonies. Our indignation against the usurpations of men, must not carry us so far as do a wrong to the providence of Him who filleth the world with his bounty. Man must indeed do much before he quite defeats the benevolence of God. Hearts that crouch and tremble in one hour, are free and gay in another; mild affections take their rights, spite of the oppressor; an easy oblivion hides the injuries that have been endured; the common goods of animal life are tasted. Infancy

has its joys, thoughtless of the bonds it is born to;—childhood has its prattle and pastimes, as jocund under the meridian of Jamaica, as under that of Benin. No; our horror of slavery shall not drive us to the impiety of denying that existence has its boons, even within the pale of the plantation.

‘ And if the enthralled portion of the Negro race should not be thought of as quite shut out from the goods of life, certainly the free hordes of its native continent, have a share in them. Say what we may of the miseries and horrors that attend savage despotism and superstition, neither the one nor the other has had power to make the negro visage, as seen in the wilds of Africa, gloomy, or to check the din of merriment that quite frightens silence from the precincts of a Negro village. Nothing less than the *spleen of system* can make us say, that the men and women and children of these rude tribes are altogether wretched. How many times over might the length and breadth of the British islands be measured along the bold sweeps of the Niger, the Senegal and the thousand lesser streams that, in their long paths of sultry luxuriance, make glad those torrid regions! Throughout those wide expanses,—untrodden by the traveller, and yet unknown to our assiduous geography, and in thousands of green seclusions,—the morning sun awakens merriment;—the fervour of noon, not inimical as we think it, but genial and invigorating to dark skins, sheds into dark bosoms a *relish of life*, such as our chilly days and artificial modes quite deny us the knowledge of. The evening too, and the tender moonlight, not only *look* peaceful, but *are* peaceful, in glens and glades, where our map-makers have written “unknown deserts.”

‘ The round of the year, far from being terrible to the Laplander, the Samoyede, and the Kamtschatdale, so delights them, that these tribes are awake to a love of country, such as quite puts ridicule on the pity wherewith we may sometimes contemplate their condition. The lamp-heated burrow—shall we call it tomb of the living?—which inhumes an arctic family three-fourths of the year, contains perhaps ordinarily more comfort, more amusement, and more plenty, than the hut or cottage (sport of wind and rain) of the peasant of a temperate climate. Then the muffled lord of the wilderness of frost, fully caparisoned, and tight in his sledge, and whirling like a sprite over hill and dale, enjoys without dismay the clear, deep intensity of the stern sky. And even *he* has his summer—brief days of enchantment during which all powers of Nature, as if conscious they had slumbered too long, are at work with visible haste, in loading the earth with flowers and fruits.

‘ From the arctic snow-belt, we ascend the pasture table-lands of Asia, and look too over the grassy steppes of Eastern Europe. How pure and invigorating are the gales on these lofty and boundless slopes, verdant expanses, spread out to the sun above the level of the clouds! The Tartar, hot and restless—the Mougul, placid and inert—both follow the rambling path which Nature herself by the breadth and freedom of her style in these ample regions, marks out for them. Rid of the cares that infest a more artificial mode of life, and scornful of the restrictions that attach to the tenure of a single rot, he drives his

wain and his herds from side to side of the vast space, as if lord, not of a field, nor even of a province, but of a continent. Say not that this pastoral life is a faulty and wasteful mode of existence, and that it is a necessary cause of ferocity;—say it not, lest God's own appointment, who fixes the bounds of nations, and measures out their inheritances, should hastily be blamed.

‘ From the nation of herdsmen we pass over to the nation of horsemen, and from the wilderness of grass to the wilderness of sand. Shall the scrupulosity of any deny us leave to admire, in this instance, the adaptation of the race to the country, or of the country to the race? If we discern and commend the structure and the instincts of the camel—“ship of the desert”—as the creature by whose aid those terrible regions are habitable, may we not also recognise in the physical character and temper of the driver of the camel, corresponding proofs of specific design? * * * * * It is there, we venture to say, that the most elevated style of piety might be fostered.—It is there, that with two objects only on which the eye may fix, and both of them terribly magnificent—the clear abyss of heaven, with its fountain of fire, and the boundless breadth of undulating sand—that the soul, abstracted from the cares of artificial life, is thrown upon its inner sentiments, and made to feed upon its own substance. Arabia, the home of patriarchal piety; Arabia, birth-place of the knowledge of the stars, and birth-place too of the most splendid creations of fancy; Arabia, the cradle of enterprise and empire, wants nothing but that her fainting sons should have their “eye opened” by some messenger of the Lord (Gen. xxi. 19), to descry that “well of water,”—spring of true wisdom, which long ago burst up in the wilderness of the world.

* * * * * ‘ Indeed, we mourn that India, and Burmah, and China sleep under the deadly shade of spiritual delusions: we mourn it with a pungent sadness—parent of zeal. But we will not—nay, we *dare not*, mourn that these glorious lands, teeming with the rarest products—the paradises of the earth, *are full of people!* Who shall be so bold as to grudge when they witness the flooding forth of the creative and conservative energy over these regions—regions opulent by special grants of nature? On all those warm and humid plains, watered as the garden of the Lord, and on all those hill-sides of fruit and spices, God is at work; and may we not follow and adore? And if, by fatal and lamentable ignorance, the men of those countries fail to render tribute to the Creator for the plenitude of his gifts, we will go there and take up his neglected praises.

‘ Could we but stretch the powers of vision across the midnight hemisphere, or take wing from west to east, upon the breeze that fans the dark sultry hours of the torrid zone; and could we look down and see those swarthy millions of our fellow men, resting in safety under the sheltering hand of that Providence which slumbers not, and which defends the couch as well of one people as another; should we not hear a whisper of reproof checking any harsh suppositions we might have entertained, as if the goodness of God were all measured within the straight lines of a given latitude and longitude? Yes, it is this very spectacle of the large beneficence of the Creator and Preserver of men, freely dispensed to all people, which animates our hope of the

conveyance at length to all people of the highest boon and the best ! Ah ! while gazing, as we have just imagined, upon the sleeping millions of the Eastern world,—guarded by the ever-present Power, how should we desire that the loud voice of some bright herald from on high, might now, at last, rend the silence of midnight, and waken as in a moment, the infatuated nations from the mortal slumber of their errors !’

As a poetical specimen, we cannot do better than give the following beautiful stanzas.

‘ THE FIELD OF THE WORLD,’

‘ BY JAMES MONTGOMERY.

‘ Sow in the morn thy seed,
At eve hold not thine hand ;
To doubt and fear give thou no heed ;
Broad-cast it round the land.

‘ Beside all waters sow,
The high-way furrows stock,
Drop it where thorns and thistles grow,
Scatter it on the rock.

‘ The good, the faithful ground,
Expect not here nor there ;
O’er hill and dale, by plots, ’tis found,—
Go forth then every where.

‘ Thou know’st not which may thrive,
The late or early sown ;
Grace keeps the precious germ alive,
When and wherever strown.

‘ And duly shall appear,
In verdure, beauty, strength,
The tender blade, the stalk, the ear,
And the full corn at length.

‘ Thou canst not toil in vain,
Cold, heat, and moist, and dry,
Shall foster and mature the grain
For garners in the sky.

‘ Thence, when the glorious end,
The day of God is come,
The angel reapers shall descend,
And Heaven sing “ Harvest Home !” ’

We shall make room for a sonnet by F. R. C., in which, we think, the citation from the lxxxth Psalm is very felicitously introduced.

‘Ariel! Ariel! City of our God!

How art thou fallen! No more the voice of prayer
Ascends from thy proud temple; nor repair
The tribes of Judah o’er the sacred sod,
To worship where their fathers’ feet have trod.

How long, O God, how long wilt thou forbear?

How long the oppressor of thy people spare?

How long must Israel bow beneath thy rod?

Thou hast, O Lord, from Egypt brought a vine,

Prepared room, and planted it. The land

Was covered with its shadow. Oh, return,

Revisit it, and cause thy face to shine;

And place upon thy servant thy right hand

So we to call upon thy name shall learn.’

In point of solid and various information and permanent interest, the *Missionary Annual* must be admitted to stand at the head of this class of publications; and we can have no doubt that among religious readers it will obtain the preference to which, without disparaging the merits of its competitors, we cannot but deem it entitled.

We are happy to be able to report in terms of high commendation of *The Amethyst*, published at Edinburgh, under the editorial auspices of Dr. Huie, and Dr. Greville. A vignette title-page is the only embellishment, but the Contents exhibit names of contributors that will command attention. Among them are, the Rev. C. Bridges, J. J. Gurney, the late William Mc Gavin, James Montgomery, Mrs. Opie, Lady Charlotte Erskine, the Rev. Dr. Raffles, the Rev. Dr. Belfrage, Bernard Barton, and James Edmeston, besides the Editors and other Scottish literati. The character of the publication is throughout serious, adapted for ‘instruction and edification,’ and such as to render the Volume ‘a suitable present from one Christian to another at a season ‘when such tokens of friendship and affection are ordinarily interchanged.’ Shall we be accused of partiality to the Author, if we select the following as no unfavourable specimen of the contents?

‘AN EVENING SONG FOR THE SABBATH DAY.

‘BY JAMES MONTGOMERY, ESQ.

‘Millions within thy courts have met,
Millions this day before thee bow’d;
Their faces Zion-ward were set,
Vows with their lips to thee they vow’d:—

‘But thou, soul-searching God! hast known
The hearts of all that bent the knee,
And hast accepted those alone,
In spirit and truth that worshipp’d thee.

- ‘ People of many a tribe and tongue,
Men of strange colours, climates, lands,
Have heard thy truth, thy glory sung,
And offer’d pray’r, with holy hands.
- ‘ Still, as the light of morning broke
O’er island, continent, and deep,
Thy far-spread family awoke,
Sabbath all round the world to keep.
- ‘ From east to west, the sun survey’d,
From north to south, adoring throngs;
And still where evening stretched her shade,
The stars came forth to hear their songs.
- ‘ Harmonious as the winds and seas,
In halcyon-hours, when storms are flown,
Rose all earth’s Babel-languages,
In pure accordance, to thy throne.
- ‘ Not angel-trumpets sound more clear;
Not elders’ harps, nor seraphs’ lays,
Yield music sweeter to thine ear
Than humble pray’r and thankful praise.
- ‘ And not a pray’r, a tear, a sigh,
Hath fail’d to-day some suit to gain;
To those in trouble thou wert nigh,
Not one hath sought thy face in vain.
- ‘ Thy poor were bountifully feed,
Thy chasten’d sons have kiss’d the rod,
Thy mourners have been comforted,
The pure in heart have seen their God.
- ‘ Yet one pray’r more;—and be it one
In which both heaven and earth accord!—
Fulfil thy promise to thy Son,
Let all that breathe call Jesus, Lord.
- ‘ His throne and sovereignty advance;
For his soul’s travail let him see
The heathen his inheritance,
And earth’s last bound his portion be.’

Another new competitor has just appeared, under the title of “the Aurora Borealis, a Literary Annual, edited by Members of the Society of Friends.” The portrait of a Bride in Quaker costume forms the frontispiece to the volume; besides which it contains an exquisite landscape,—Rokeby, from a painting by George Balmer, excellently engraved by W. Miller. The Howitts, Wiffen, H. F. Chorley, Bernard Barton, Joseph John Gurney, Mrs. Opie, P. M. James, John Holland, Thomas Doubleday, and Sarah Stickney, are among the Contributors. The volume, its Editors say, ‘will be found of a different *hue* from that of the ‘other Annuals’; but that hue is certainly not *drab*. Its out-

ward garb is green and gold ; and as to its inward grace, it ' necessarily breathes something of the spirit of that Society of which, ' with a few valued exceptions, the writers in its pages are members,' but we perceive nothing of the formality or severity that has usually been regarded as an attribute of broad-brimmed Quakerism. For instance, the following is taken from a lively and well-written paper, entitled, ' Fancies on Clocks.' By V. F. Chorley.

* * * * *

' The claims of the country to poetry, are, and have been, universally allowed. Few have ever thought, and fewer would ever admit that the town could have any : and yet it has its share. Putting out of the question the dear and romantic associations which belong to those time-hallowed places, where every street has its history, and every house is decorated with armorial bearings, where the ancient fountain, the mutilated statue, and the grey tower, and the church full of monuments of merchant princes, and their wives and children, take back the mind at once to the rare times of old ;—putting all these out of the question, there are sights and sounds to be seen and heard daily, in every town, which have a meaning and a voice to the hearts of all those who are open to receive deeper impressions than are entertained by the common-place and worldly. A sea-port, for instance, where great ships come and go ; and many families send out their hopes to foreign lands, whether in the gallant, daring boy, or the experienced frugal man ;—are not the thoughts, which the mere consciousness of dwelling in such a place, must, at times, awaken,—full of poetry ? And then the streets ; the strange intent faces which you encounter,—the stranger figures—the bronzed Lascar,—the heavy limbed Negro,—the bright-eyed rosy-cheeked country child, to whom a city is a perfect bewilderment of delight and glory. ' The itinerant musician,—grinding out from his organ—or pinching out of his tuneless *vielle*, strains that breathe of far mountain lands,—the Savoyard, with his tray of images and his ready smile,—the joyous sailor with his parrot—there is something more than prose in all these. Town-clocks, too : (to return from my digression :) who has lain awake at night, and heard the hours announced in succession, by their many solemn tongues, without a deeper thought than the mere animal thankfulness that morning was so much nearer ? How many watchers are listening for the same sound ! Some by sick beds ; some too full of joy to sleep. How often in times of trouble have secret assemblies been called together by the same signal ! and conspirators have crept from remote quarters to do that by night which they durst not speak of by day. And at the hour of midnight—the last hour of the year—can there be any thing more sublime than to sit alone and listen to their toll from tower and belfrey, giving token that another year is at hand,—another year, fraught with change and importance to each of the thousands of human beings who are clustered around us,—sounding at once the knell and the birth-peal,—surely this is poetical.

' Then, too, we remember the times of pestilence, "when the clocks stopped, because there were none to wind them up." I have

met with this simple sentence in many histories of the visitation of plagues into which I have looked ; and to me it says more than many an ambitious and laboured description. It seems as though Time stood still, while the destroying Angel did his work. Myriads died and were buried ; and the public herald of day and night was left untended ; so great was the dismay of the survivors, so far-spreading the calamity !

‘ But enough of town clocks—though I must not pass without brief mention that precious relic of antiquity, St. Dunstan’s, with its guardian giants—alas ! deposed from their ancient sovereignty in Fleet Street. Let us look at their country brethren. There arises at once before the mind’s eye a quiet and pleasant vision : a large grey church standing in the midst of a village. The building is all gables and corners, and is surrounded by an ample church-yard, thickly sown with grave-stones, and funeral mounds of turf, garnished with the sweet natural epitaph of flowers. The church-yard is bordered with trees ; and the most ancient man does not remember the planting of the youngest of them. Here, looking out upon a green, with the school-house, and its children playing in the sun, and the cottages in their trim gardens—here stands the Patriarch of the Tower, the same as he has ever been ; or perhaps a little more brassy in his voice than of yore, by reason of his age, the oracle, consulted a hundred times in the day by peasants who shade the sun from their eyes with their brown hands, and look up, not like the foolish children of a town, to see how goes the enemy ; but to inquire of their friend, the friend of labour, what space is left them wherein to perform their healthy and needful toil.

‘ True it is, that these same patriarchs, from their having lived so long in uncontradicted supremacy, fall at times into lamentable irregularities. But the farmers do not love them the less for this want of truth. If they are half an hour before the real time (and who ever heard of a country clock erring upon the losing side ?) it is rather a cause of rejoicing to the proprietors of lazy serving-men and maids, who are cheated into rising betimes. I remember once assisting at a harvest dinner in the neighbourhood of Lancaster. The village clock was half an hour faster than those of the town, which went before those of my native place in like measure. We sat down to dinner hearty, happy, and hungry, precisely at *twelve* : and I could not help smiling as I thought, how many of the inhabitants of L—, were at that moment yawning over unenjoyed breakfast tables, wondering how the day was to be got over.

‘ But the subject is inexhaustible. Whether we think of old clocks or new clocks, those cased in oak wood, or those enshrined in or-molu, a thousand reminiscences and reflections crowd upon the mind.

‘ “ What did you say, John ? ”

‘ “ Sir,” said my servant, “ the clock has stopped, and the cook does not know when to put the meat to the fire.”

‘ It was even too true. I was half an hour too late for my appointment.’

The following stanzas must be transcribed.

‘ APPRAL FOR THE INJURED AFRICAN.

‘ BY J. H. WIFFEN.

- ‘ O Thou, to whom the mournful sigh
Of sorrow and despair ascends,—
Who hear’st the ravens when they cry,
The babe, when at Thy feet he bends!—
- ‘ More weak than is the raven’s brood,
Less pure than infants though we be,
Our silent prayers for Libya’s good,
O Father! let them rise to Thee.
- ‘ By realms dispeopled, tongues struck dumb
With the brute outrages of years,
In Thy remembrance let them come—
The negro’s wrongs, the negro’s tears.
- ‘ Whate’er of crime, whate’er of woe,
Europe has wrought, or Afric wept,
In his recording volume, lo!
The Angel of Thy court has kept.
- ‘ Yet—ere the assessing Spirit stands,
Prepared to sound from shore to shore,
That golden trumpet which commands
The oppressor’s scourge to smite no more;—
- ‘ Ah, stay his vials!—with our prayer
No vengeance breathes; in judgement break
The oppressor’s galling chains; but spare
The oppressor for Thy mercy’s sake.
- ‘ Didst Thou not form, from pole to pole
The various tongues and tribes of earth
Erect, with an immortal soul
Expectant of one holier birth?
- ‘ And shall the nations dare to hold
In chains whom Thou hast chartered free?
Or buy, with their accursed gold,
The sinewy arm and servile knee?
- ‘ No! not for this didst Thou commend
With westering keel, and sails unfurled,
Columbus o’er the waves, to rend
The curtains of that younger world.
- ‘ And O! ’twas not for this that he
Upreared Thy hallowed ensign there;
Alas, that e’er Thy cross should be
The joyless herald of despair:—

- ‘ That whom Thy loved One died to save
 Man, guilty man must hold subdued,
 And plead “ prescription ” o’er the grave,
 When questioned of his brother’s blood.
- ‘ But Thou art righteous ; Thou wilt rise
 All mighty, as in days of yore,
 When Israel sighed as Libya sighs,
 Beneath the tasks his children bore.
- ‘ Cry not the isles themselves aloud ? —
 “ Three hundred thralling years are sped,
 Since earth by tyranny was ploughed ; —
 The vintage of the earth is red ! ”
- ‘ In that great day, when Afric’s race
 Are from *their* House of Bondage cast,
 O ! hide us in some peaceful place,
 Till all Thy wrath be overpast !
- ‘ For dark, except Thy mercy shine,
 This later Passover must be !
 Our prayers, then, at Thy pardoning shrine,
 O Father, let them rise to Thee ! ’

There yet remains to be noticed, a third volume of the ‘ Sacred Offering ’ ; — a little annual of modest pretensions, unembellished, except by the taste which has presided over it, the purity and piety of the sentiment, and the correct and melodious versification. Those who have the former volumes, will not be less pleased with the present one. We regret that we have not room for extracts. The lines on the immortality of thought are very striking ; and the stanzas entitled, ‘ The Pestilence that walketh at noon day,’ are as beautiful as they are excellent in spirit and sentiment.

It is altogether a beautiful shew of annals, indicating the richness of the soil and the high state of cultivation. We hope that the flowers will be duly succeeded by the fruit.

Art. VII. CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ECLECTIC REVIEW.

SIR,

IN your Review for October, 1832, p. 293, I find the following passage. "The authority claimed (by the Church of England) in controversies of faith, was originally a *forged* authority, &c.": and by way of confirming this assertion, there occurs in a note, an extract from Lord Kames' "Sketches of the History of Man" to the following effect. "The people of England must have been profoundly ignorant, &c."

Now, as I take it for granted, that your Reviewer has been misled by the authority of Lord Kames, and that the object of your Review is for the development of what you conceive to be *truth*, I do not anticipate any difficulty in prevailing upon you to reprint the above-quoted passages in your next number, with the following observations upon them.

1. So far were the good people of England from being "profoundly ignorant" of the existence of the Clause in the 20th Article which Lord Kames asserts to have remained unnoticed till the year 1724, that Archbishop Laud, and the other Bishops of his time, were accused of having committed the Forgery on which your Reviewer animadverted. It appears, however, that the Puritans were less scrupulous in their assertions respecting the time when "the spurious Editions" appeared "in which the Clause was foisted into the 20th Article," than Lord Kames is; for whilst the latter allows that these "spurious Editions" appeared soon after the year 1571, the Puritans manfully declared that the Clause in question was not to be found in any Editions of the Articles printed prior to the year 1628.

2. In answer to this accusation, the Archbishop pointed out *four several Editions* of the Articles all containing the disputed Clause, and all printed before 1628, (one Edition being as early as 1563): he produced an attested Copy of this Clause from the original MS. of the Articles; and maintained that the Clause said to be forged was to be found both in the original Records of the Convocation of 1562; and also in the Articles subscribed by the lower House of Convocation in 1571. As it regards the truth of the Archbishop's assertion respecting the Editions of the Articles printed before 1628, any person who will take the trouble may inform himself; and although the MSS. referred to perished in the Fire of London, and we are now, consequently, unable to verify Laud's appeal to them, yet it is an historical fact, that, at the time, these MSS. were open to the inspection of his accusers; were shortly afterwards in the possession of his enemies, and yet none ever ventured to impugn the validity of his defence.

3. Whilst Lord Kames asserts truly, that "In the Act xiiiith of Elizabeth, an. 1571, confirming the 39 Articles, these Articles are not engrossed, but referred to in a printed Book, &c." he yet leaves his readers to suppose that the Book referred to was printed in 1562; whereas, (independently of its being next to certain that no Edition of

the Articles was printed earlier than 1563,) every body at all conversant with the subject is aware that the Edition referred to by the Act must have been that of 1571.

4. So ill-informed, indeed, does Lord Kames appear to have been respecting the History of the 39 Articles, that one cannot help suspecting him of a design to draw largely on the credulity of his readers when he penned the Note which it has been my object to examine. Any person who considers for a moment, must conclude that it is a thing which beggars probability to suppose that a reputed Forgery such as that which Lord Kames describes to have occurred, could have escaped detection until 1724. Without any certain knowledge of the fact, it might *a priori* be assumed that it was morally impossible for an Apocryphal Article to have eluded the notice of the Disputants of the 17th Century;—of men who brought to the discussion of the subject of Church Authority much more learning (though perhaps, not much more bitterness) than has unhappily sometimes marked that discussion in more recent times.

One of your Readers.

Nov. 19. 1832.

We have not hesitated to give insertion to the above communication. And upon one point, we agree with our Correspondent; that it was impossible for an apocryphal article to have eluded the notice of the Disputants of the 17th century. Lord Kames was certainly mistaken in supposing that the forgery had passed unnoticed, till Anthony Collins revived the controversy. His "Detection of the Fraud of inserting and continuing that clause, 'The Church hath power,'" &c. appeared in 1710; and went through three editions in the same year. The facts do not, however, rest upon his authority. Archdeacon Blackburne, in his Confessional, has a long note which would seem to justify Collins's representation, that the Latin clause was a forgery. A passage which is cited from Hales's Letter to Laud, the Archdeacon represents as 'equal to a thousand witnesses, that the first clause of the twentieth article, as it now stands in our present editions, was not held, by the most leanned and judicious divines of those days, to be of the least authority whether it was found in Latin or English copies.' (*Confessional*, pp. 367—372. 1770.) In 1633, the authenticity of the clause was publicly debated in the Divinity Schools at Oxford, upon occasion of Peter Heylin's disputing for his Doctor's degree. Prideaux, the Professor, read the Latin article out of the *Corpus Confessionum*, published at Geneva, 1612, *without* the clause. Heylin produced an *English* edition *with* the disputed clause, but was unable to verify it by any Latin copy; and a Latin edition of the articles printed at Oxford in 1636, three years after, does not contain the clause.

After all, Laud's own 'Speech' supplies us with strong reason for doubting its authenticity. First, he affirms, that 'the Articles of Edward VI. and those made under Queen Elizabeth, differ very

much.' And those of Edward VI. not being binding, 'whether the clause be in them or out of them, it is not much material.' He then asserts, that he had a copy of the articles in English of the year 1612; and of the year 1605, and of the year 1593, and in Latin, of the year 1563, which was one of the first printed copies: and 'in all these, the affirmative clause for the Church's power is in.' But, in the year 1571,—the very year in which the articles were first confirmed by Act of Parliament (13 Eliz. c. 12,) Laud admits, that the articles were printed both in Latin and English, *without the clause*, which 'certainly could not be done,' he says, 'but by the malicious cunning of that opposite faction.' And he openly charged upon the Puritans, 'the foul corruption of falsifying the Articles.' We do not, however, find that Laud produced one of the early copies which he said he possessed. And his 'altered copy' was transcribed by his own officer, from records in his own office, not then accessible to his Enemies. That 'none ever ventured to impugn the validity of his defence,' is an unsupported assertion. It was not by evidence, but by authority, that the controversy was cut short. That the Puritans should have falsified the articles, is at least as incredible as that Laud should have interpolated them. At all events, our Correspondent should have shewn, that the Christian Remembrancer (one of Mr. Hanbury's authorities) was mistaken in affirming that the Clause never was composed by, or exhibited 'in manuscript to a convocation.' Who then could have authority to interpolate it in the article?

ART. VIII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The concluding volume of Robert Hall's Works, containing the Memoir by Dr. Gregory, and Observations on his Character as a Preacher. By the Rev. John Foster, will be published early in the present month.

In the press, The Epistle to the Hebrews, a new Translation, in Sections, with Marginal References and Notes, and an Introductory Syllabus. Intended to facilitate the devout and profitable perusal of the Epistle, by elucidating its scope and argument. Fcap. 8vo.

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Collections from the Greek Anthology, and from the Pastoral, Elegiac, and Dramatic Poets of Greece. By the Rev. Robert Bland, and others. New edition, revised and corrected, with a great number of additional Specimens, the principal part of the former illustration being omitted, and the whole newly arranged in Chronological order under the names of the Authors. With short Prefaces and Notes, critical and explanatory.

The principal Memoirs, in Vol. 17 of Annual Biography and Obituary, will be those of Sir Richard Hussey Bickerton, Rev. Geo. Crabbe, Sir W. Grant, Bishop Huntingford, Lord Henry Paulet, Henry Liverseege, Esq., Dr. A. Clarke, Sir William Bolton, Muzio Clementi, Sir J. Mackintosh, Joseph S. Munden, Esq., Admiral Peere Williams Freeman, Dr. Walsh, Sir Alexander Cochrane, Charles Butler, Esq., Sir Walter Scott, Bishop Turner, Miss Anna Maria Porter, Earl of Donoughmore, Sir Albert Pell, Daniel Sykes, Esq., Sir Israel Pellew, Jeremy Bentham, Esq., John Syme, Esq., Lord Tenterden, Sir John Leslie, &c.

In the press, Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell, from the Norman Conquest. By J. H. Wiffen, Author of a Translation of Tasso, and of the Works of Garellaso de la Vega, &c., with much curious unpublished correspondence, from the Reign of Henry 8th to that of Geo. 3d inclusive. Illustrated by Portraits, Views, and Armorial Bearings. In 2 large vols. demy 8vo. and royal 8vo.

The Life of Frederic the Second, King of Prussia. By Lord Dover. New edit. 2 vols. 8vo.

The Entomologist's Useful Compendium; comprising the best means of obtaining and preserving British Insects; with a Calendar of the times of appearance and usual situations of nearly 3000 species. By George Samouelle, A.L.S. New edition, 8vo. with Plates.

Inquiry concerning that disturbed state of the Vital Functions usually denominated Constitutional Irritation. By Benjamin Travers, F.R.S. Senior Surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital. Vol. II. 8vo.

America and the Americans. By a Citizen of the World. 1 Vol. 8vo.

ART. IX. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

Life of Frederic the Second, King of Prussia. By Lord Dover. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 8s. boards.

THEOLOGY.

Lectures on Revivals of Religion. By William B. Sprague, D.D. Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Albany. With an Introductory Essay, by the Rev. George Redford, A.M., and the Rev. John Angell James. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

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Scriptural Researches. By the Right Honourable Sir George Henry Rose. 12mo. 7s. 6d. boards.

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